COLOUR ME FATHER: LIVED EXPERIENCES OF INCARCERATED FATHERS IN NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

The purpose of my thesis was to seek answers to the main research question: What is the lived experience of incarcerated fathers in northern British Columbia? My research sample consisted of seven fathers who were clients of the Northern John Howard Society. The approach used in my research is qualitative and the specific methodology is critical hermeneutical phenomenology.

Data analysis involved two methods: critical hermeneutical phenomenology and metaphorical. The literature review critiques historical ideologies inherent in the history of fatherhood and penal history. Findings show that incarcerated fathers care deeply about their children and seek to change their behaviours to further paternal relationships with their children. Implications for the profession of social work include the development of specific interventions and recommendations for the reinstatement of inmate rehabilitation.

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Dedication

To Danae Morrigan Parrent McCroy

Chapter One: Introduction and Background

As a child and teenager, I was very fortunate to have a loving father who nurtured, guided, and granted me the freedom to learn and explore life in all its rich aspects. However, as a young adult, I learned that my happy relationship with my father was a privilege that many children and teenagers in our society are denied. In my professional and personal experience, I witnessed firsthand the incredible devastation and suffering caused by father loss. The intense anguish of this father loss was thrust on children and teenagers, who were unable to cope with or understand why this heartbreaking experience was happening to them.

The compelling reason for completing my thesis on this topic was not only to fulfill requirements for a graduate degree, but also to advance the hope that this research may in some way contribute to the development of healthier relationships between fathers and their children.

Researcher Location

It is important to locate or position myself to aid in the understanding of the possible assumptions and biases I bring to this research (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Strega, 2005). I was born in a small community in northern British Columbia, and lived there with my family until the age of ten. My family then moved to the south of BC. The majority of my adult life was spent in southern BC and Alberta raising a family, working, and furthering my education. As a White, older, well educated woman I consider myself to be privileged in life. Additionally, I am very aware of spirituality and consider myself to be a spiritual person. Throughout my life I have never been a prison inmate, the spouse of an inmate, or the child of a prisoner. I have not been a volunteer or an employee

of a correctional institution or agency. Therefore, I describe myself as an outsider to the topic. However, it is important to note that I have had life experiences, both professional and personal, that have increased my compassion and concern for the incarceration of persons who struggle with problematic substance abuse, and mental health issues, the over incarceration of Aboriginal peoples, and the impacts of incarceration on children, families, and communities.

Significance of the Research

The topic of incarcerated fathers is significant for several reasons. For instance, prison is a gendered space with the vast majority–96%–of prisoners being men (Braman, 2002; Comack, 2008; Parke & Clark-Stewart, 2003; Reynolds, 2008; Travis & Waul, 2003); and 93% of these men are fathers (Travis & Waul, 2003; Turner & Peck, 2002). Further, research findings show that there is no connection between parenting and criminality (Hairston, 1998; Phillips, Erkanli, Keeler, Costello, & Angold, 2006; Weintraub, 1982). However, there are risk factors for becoming involved in the criminal justice system, such as addiction and mental health issues which may contribute to poor parenting (Phillips et al., 2006; Weintraub, 1982).

Turner and Peck (2002) state that "...the vast migration of dysfunctional fathers into prison has yielded one of the most destructive tidal waves of social upheaval" (p. 72). Father absence is linked to grim statistics, some of which include 63% of youth suicides, 90% of all homeless and runaway youths, 71% of high school dropouts, and 80% of rapists motivated by displaced anger (Turner & Peck, 2002). Incarcerated fathers unlike the media stereotypes of "deadbeat dads"– genuinely care about their children and about how their children perceive

them as fathers (Boswell & Wedge, 2002; Day, Acock, Bahr, & Arditti, 2005; Hairston, 1998, p. 621).

Most notably, there is a dearth of research on the experience of fathers and parenting behind bars (Comack, 2008; Hairston, 1998; Jeffries, Menghraj, & Hairston, 2001; Roy & Dyson, 2005; Tonry & Petersilia, 1999). Other researchers support this notion, and state that most studies of the impact of father absence do not focus on incarceration as a variable; the tendency among researchers is to extrapolate the sparse information about incarcerated mothers and apply that knowledge to fathers (Gadsden & Rethemeyer, 2001; Hairston, 1998). I concur with the above research. My extensive search for research regarding northern incarcerated fathers proved fruitless.

Northern BC

There are many reasons attention to the northern context is important. For one, attachment to place is an important consideration when discussing incarceration, in relation to fathers who live in Canada's northern provinces, particularly northern British Columbia (Coates, J., 2003; Coates, K., & Morrison, 1992). In rural, remote, and northern settings "...the notion of context, of locality, of place... [has]...powerful implications for human identity...a shared history and lifestyle leads to a rural identity that is rooted in a sense of belonging and profound attachment to place" (Zapf, 2009, p. 89).

Northern British Columbia, at 500,000 sq km, is double the size of the United Kingdom (BC Tourism, 2011). The land is replete with lakes, rivers, lush valleys, and rugged mountain peaks, perfect for wilderness adventures (BC Tourism, 2011). The rich geography of the north is inextricably intertwined with the people of the north (Delaney, 1995; Zapf, 2009). Northern BC is home to approximately 300, 000 people with 17.5% of

the population being Aboriginal (Northern Health Authority, 2011). See Appendix A for a map of Northern British Columbia (BC Stats, 2008a).

Prince George is the largest city in northern BC with a population of 71,974 people (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Unfortunately, the people of northern BC have borne the consequences of "industrial development and exploitation" of the northern environment (Delaney, 1995, p. 5). For many, coping with the changes results in higher rates of violent crime and problematic substance abuse. Many are caught in the cycle of substance abuse: "Substance abuse reduces suffering while at the same time increases the potential for destructive behavior" (Ferguson & Trainer, 1995, p. 149).

The regional crime statistics for the north are higher compared to the rest of BC with violent crime being the highest in the province (BC Stats, 2010). The northeast has a serious violent juvenile crime rate almost double that of the province of BC with nine incidents per a population of 100,000 compared to five incidents per a population of 100,000 (BC Stats, 2008b).

The Prince George Regional Correctional Centre is the only prison in northern BC. There are no public correctional statistics for the north region regarding custody and community supervision. Statistics for the province of BC in 2010 show there were 2,817 persons in custody and 14,464 persons under community supervision (Statistics Canada, 2011b). Additionally, for the year 2010, BC shows the highest crime rate per 100,000 compared to Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, excluding traffic violations, for a total of 380,772; of that number 70,766 are violent offenses and 26,753 are drug violations (Statistics Canada, 2011c). The other provinces have significantly lower rates.

Purpose of the Research and Central Question

The purpose of my research is to understand the meanings fathers ascribe to parenting in a northern setting, while incarcerated. This research enters into the everyday lived experience of northern incarcerated fathers. Arditti, Smock, and Parkman (2005) conducted an exploratory study on incarcerated fathers. These researchers state that imprisoned fathers must be understood in their situated context, such as the northern prison. As well, the research must consider the impacts of this context on the incarcerated fathers' relationships with their child/ren (Arditti et al., 2005).

The central research question for this research is: What is the everyday lived experience of incarcerated fathers in the north of BC? My research sought to understand answers to this main question.

Conceptual Lens: Critical Theory

To view the everyday lived experience of northern incarcerated fathers a conceptual lens is necessary. The two lenses applied to this research are the critical theory lens as espoused by Fook (2002), and the spiritual perspective (Canda & Furman, 2010). These two lenses complement each other in various ways and also overlap with certain commonalities.

Payne (2005) summarizes Fook's analysis of critical theory and details some of the prominent tenets: 1. Domination although formulated through structures is experienced personally; 2. False consciousness means that people are not aware of the history of social structures and therefore people believe that structures cannot be changed and inequality is natural; 3. Positivist ideology reinforces the idea that social environments are not subject to change, whereas critical theory emphasizes the agency of a person–their capacity to strive for change; 4. With the awareness of opportunities for social change, people become cognizant

of their location as participants with voluntary control of social institutions rather then accepting social control from other locations; 5. Researchers actively construct knowledge through reflection and communication which are fundamental ingredients toward the goal of social change.

Fook (2002) states that knowledge derived from research is necessary to understand how structural institutions impact everyday lives. This understanding of structural ideologies and the existing social relationships within them may be utilized to dislocate dominant structures and discourses, offering opportunities for change from diverse groups (Fook, 2002). Moreover, the reflective researcher interacts with empirical findings through reflection that unearths power relations and the ways structural institutions construct and maintain oppression and domination (Fook, 2002).

Fook's (2002) interpretation of critical theory embodies the elements of knowing in new ways, power, language, narrative and discourse, and identity and difference. Regarding "interpretive approaches" Fook states:

> Because stories and meanings might change over time and context, an interpretive approach is important in that it acknowledges that meanings are made and do not exist independent from the 'reader' (interpreter). What becomes important is an understanding of how meanings are made and how they influence the situation, both from the point of view of the 'teller' and the 'reader' (p.68).

Fook's (2002) analysis of empowerment as a tenet of critical theory is extensive and includes the notion that empowerment of one group or person may inadvertently result in disempowerment of another group or person therefore creating conflict. Further, Fook (2002) adds that outside efforts to empower marginalized persons or groups may be experienced as disempowering because the group may not share the same understanding of

their experience. Therefore, there is the risk that empowerment is simply another tool to reinforce existing power imbalances (Fook, 2002).

Critical theory involves reflexivity which includes the understanding that we as whole individual researchers impact the research contexts and circumstances that we engage with (Fook, 2002). Further, reflexive researchers pay attention to phenomena that appears to be contrary to preconceived ideas and experiences about the phenomena; they search past the obvious phenomena (Fook, 2002). Reflexivity in research allows for participants to participate jointly with the researcher in creating data (Fook, 2002).

Human rights and critical theory. Ife (2005) states the importance of acknowledging the role of a human rights framework in critical research. Human rights are usually presented as privileged legal discourse, but the use of reflexivity in critical research may link the personal reflexive to the political discursive. Ife (2005) deconstructs the dominant concepts of human rights and reflexively constructs rights "...as emerging from our own attempts to make sense of the world and from our day-to-day negotiations with other people ...in families, workplaces, communities...or wherever" (p. 58). Consequently, research can focus on an explanation of how research participants understand and define their individual rights and the rights of others; research participants then situate themselves as well as the community and the state regarding their respective obligations and responsibilities (Ife, 2005).

Conceptual Lens: Spirituality

Canda and Furman's (2010) spiritually sensitive model of practice is informative for social workers in research and practice. These researchers offer seven guiding principles in this model: 1. Demonstrating value clarity, 2. A respect for diversity through

nondiscrimination, affirming human rights and responsibilities, and engaging with specific

locality and specific cultural approaches, 3. Being reflective through silent mindfulness,

transformational learning and engaging in introspective reflection between self and the world,

4. Supporting strengths and empowerment through relating holistically, emphasizing

strengths, capacities, goals and resources, becoming involved in actions toward social justice,

and considering helpful and harmful impacts of religion and spirituality, 5. Taking a holistic

framework, 6. Applying best practices, 7. Comparing vantage points between religion and

spirituality (Canda & Furman, 2010, p. 11).

Principle number four indicates the importance of empowerment. This coincides with

critical theory. Canda and Furman (2010) state that "Empowerment requires that people

become aware of obstacles to individual hopes and collective justice...Awareness is not

enough...so empowerment involves implementing an action plan for change in oneself and

the environment"(p.20).

Research Questions

Research participants completed a two-page demographical questionnaire for the

research. After establishing the demographical component of the interview, I proceeded with

questions such as: I am interested in your everyday experience of parenting in the north

while under the supervision of B.C. corrections. What are some of your thoughts? Questions

are open-ended and unstructured as well as semi-structured (Seidman, 2006). See Appendix

B to review the questions.

Definitions

Term definitions are as follows: Father is defined as either a birth father, or adoptive

father of a child or children under the age of 19 years. Fatherhood is defined as consisting of

male motivation regarding the role of father, the type of behaviour associated with male fathering, and the male's "internalized image or role identity" (Arditti, et al., 2005, p. 269). Fatherhood involvement is defined with three facets: 1. endeavors with positive interactions, 2. receptivity and affection, 3. direction (Pleck, 2010). North is defined as the geographical area of British Columbia that is serviced by the Northern Health Region (BC Stats, 2008). Ideology is defined as "...a set of ideas and processes which function to maintain individual people in their social place. In this sense, ideology is directly about power, since it is about how social ideas maintain the social structure (with its inherent power imbalances)" (Fook, 2002, p.57).

Summary

This chapter has provided a background for my research detailing the contextual realities as well as the conceptual lens through which I viewed my research. The details elaborated on in this chapter are foundational to the other chapters in my thesis. These details represent my unique approach as a novice researcher to this specific research and they hold within them the commitment I have toward the success of my thesis.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

For the purposes of this literature review, I employ the metaphor of iron bars much like the bars in prisons to represent strong, rigid, ideological thought. These bars like the ideologies they represent are separated in some contexts and in others they overlap. Openings between the bars represent space for hope, reflection, and change. The metaphor of bars is suitable when applied to Eurocentric thought because of the linear, hierarchical approach to justice (Cousins, 2005). In contrast, the Aboriginal way of approaching justice is circular and non-hierarchical (Cousins, 2005).

History of Eurocentric Fatherhood

An understanding of Eurocentric fatherhood throughout history provides the background for analysis of contemporary Eurocentric fatherhood. Unfortunately, there is not a substantive history of fatherhood that informs the present of what manhood and fatherhood involve (Laqueur, as cited in Aitken, 2009). What does exist are "histories of fatherhoods" (La Rossa, 1997, p. 21).

To begin with, the nuclear family, father, mother, and child or children, as well as extended family, is the norm in most past societies (Freedman, 2002). Badinter (1980) adds that it is impossible to study one member of the family throughout history without discussing the other two members. The triangular relationship formed is a reality, not only socially but psychologically, with the respective roles of each family member determined by the values and ideology of society (Badinter, 1980).

Coltrane (2009) supports these ideas and adds that family member roles are learned and not instinctual; they vary according to the complex demands of factors such as natural environment, politics, culture, couple dynamics, and personal temperament. Hobson and

Morgan (2002) add that "fatherhood is bound up with institutions, embedded in law and shaped by policy" (p.9). When society ideologically favours the father and gives him the dominant place in the family the mother retreats into the shadows to the status of a child (Badinter, 1980). When the dominant ideology shifts to favour the child the mother is given essential power to the detriment of the father; the woman becomes a good mother to the degree that society bestows esteem on the role of motherhood and the father retreats accordingly (Badinter, 1980).

The 2nd century BC, Classical Period. The history of the powerful father is coupled with the authoritative husband with this two-fold role originating in the ancient texts and remaining virtually unchanged during the Classical Greek and Roman period (Badinter, 1980). A short review of the Classical Period of Roman history, 2nd century, BC, offers some enlightenment regarding this two-fold role (Thompson, 2006). The Roman father known as the "paterfamilias" was the "father of a family or household" and was invested with "patria postestas" which means "legal authority (or power) of the head of household" (Thompson, 2006, p.3).

Thompson (2006) states that the father's authority mainly extended to: observance of religious practices, ownership and control of family property, and life or death rights over all family members. Thompson adds that past historians favored the view that the Roman father brutally exercised these rights, but recent contemporary historians have tempered that view stating that the Roman father was accountable to the state for the use of life and death rights.

Christ's arrival. The ideology from the 2nd century BC remained the dominant ideology until Christ's arrival– with new teachings guided by revolutionary ideas about love (Badinter, 1980). Christ taught that husband and wife are equal and share the same rights and

duties toward their children; in this way Christ abolished the husband's excessive authority, delegating the role of father to be in the interest of the child; Christ demolished the idea that the woman was a slave to the husband, but instead established the notion that the man and the woman were each other's companions (Badinter, 1980).

The 17th century. Badinter (1980) states that the revolutionary message of Christ was subject to arbitrary interpretation, although, to a certain extent it did change the status of women. Badinter adds that although the father still maintained greater power in the family during the Middle Ages, this power was tempered by the power of the woman and by the institutions of the time. In the 17th century, the whole of society was based on authoritarian ideology that stemmed from Aristotle's thoughts, Judeo Christian theology, and political ideology that incorporated both of the former (Badinter, 1980).

Aristotle's underlying philosophy is that the authority of the man is inherent and legitimate because it rests on the inequality between human beings (Badinter, 1980). Theology reinforces these thoughts through invoking scriptures from the old testament that paint women as below man, and the cause of man's misfortunes (Badinter, 1980). Further, Freedman (2002) notes that the term "paterfamilias" was still used in 16th and 17th century historical accounts. Freedman adds that a 17th century paternal axiom was that a husband did not have the right to take his wife's life or to be violent against her. The term "Paternal Society" refers to the obligation of fathers to their children, some of which include restrictions against abortion and the abandoning of one's children (Freedman, 2002, p.299). Additionally, the father's predominant role was that of shaping the character of his children through moral teaching, and exemplifying moral values in his home (Lamb, 2000).

The 18th century. The history of fathers, in previous centuries, primarily focused on

the public aspect of fatherhood, to the exclusion of the everyday life of fathers (Barker,

2008). Barker (2008) adds to the literature by offering a micro glimpse of life for fathers

during the 18th century. Barker presents masculinity and fathers as being reliable, and

attached firmly to their homes, places of work and places of worship. These men show warm

emotions toward their children, welcoming their arrival into the family (Barker, 2008). They

were masculine, but did not shun domestic life (Barker, 2008). However, there were

challenges to being the head of a household in the 18th century.

During the 18th century –named the early modern period by some–families and

communities were created and recreated with increases in powerlessness due to the shifting

newly emerging capitalistic economies (Aitken, 2009; Barker, 2008). Fatherhood was

relegated to institutional form and fathering as a societal practice was diminished (Aitken,

2009). Thus, "…the family and fatherhood became parts of an 'ideological state practice'"

(Aitken, 2009, p. 48). Capitalism depended on a vital workforce drawn from the family, so

societal roles changed to accommodate capitalist goals (Aitken, 2009). For instance, fathers

and mothers shared the economic responsibilities in providing for their families, but with

fathers leaving the home during the day to work, mothers managed the day-to day operations

of the home (Griswold, 1993; Lamb, 2000; Nutting, 2010). The home– as the center of

authority and financial provision– was significantly altered by the end of the 18th century and

the beginning of the 19th century (Griswold, 1993).

The 19th century. During the 19th century men gained wealth and power in the public

realm whereas women gained control over domestic matters and reproduction (Aitken, 2009;

Nutting, 2010). Women gained this control partly because men were required to leave home

for long periods of time, sometimes years to provide for their families (La Rossa, 1997; Nutting, 2010). The once nuclear family may be described as now semi-nuclear (Nutting, 2010). Also, more and more of the functions of the family were transferred to the state, such as education, health, and the manufacture of clothing (Aitken, 2009). There was a basic premise for the 19th century family, that if there was no wage earner, there was no way to survive (Aitken, 2009). Unfortunately, men, women, and children became caught in the machinery of capitalism (Aitken, 2009).

Within the time frame of two centuries, the role of the father was significantly altered from the 17th century king's representative– possessing virtues and powers of perfect goodness– to the 19th century ordinary human being with the propensity for error, ignorance, and malevolence (Badinter, 1980). The "...home represented the materialization of social schisms" with the mother now the authority primarily responsible for the children (Faron, 2001, p.372). The image of the unfit father was stereotypically presented as a man of poverty, marginalized, a drunkard, and an abuser of his wife and children (Badinter, 1980; Parke & Brott, 1999). This portrait accompanied by the stereotype of an uneducated man was alleged to be the forefather of the delinquent and vagrant (Badinter, 1980).

The state, in the interest of the child, began to closely scrutinize the father with the result that new institutions were built to replace the failure of the father (Badinter, 1980; Faron, 2001; Griswold, 1993). Liberal governments slowly supplanted the rights of the father, with the introduction of state workers in the form of educators, psychiatrists, social workers, and judges, each one acquiring some of the father's responsibilities (Badinter, 1980, p.253). Therefore, the patriarchy of the family became the state patriarchy (Badinter, 1980; Faron, 2001).

The father became the subject of state surveillance, and if a child was delinquent, the father was considered unworthy (Badinter, 1980). Through the vehicle of the children's courts the loss of parental authority was most evident (Badinter, 1980). Fathers in the court system were mere actors without any real position, caricatures of their former glory, being stripped of paternal authority; even wealthy fathers could find themselves in such humiliating positions (Badinter, 1980; Faron, 2001). Therefore, instead of the father being esteemed for the role of moral teacher for his children, the father was primarily valued for economic provision (Lamb, 2000).

The 20th century. At the end of the 19th century, society placed women firmly in the dominant parenting role, thus, one challenge for men was to find equilibrium in their relationships with their children (Faron, 2001). Fathers struggled with this new redefinition of fatherhood, and the economic claims on their time, resulting in less time with their children (Griswold, 1993).

Faron (2001) states that the 20th century presented further challenges to fathers, one being societal changes wrought during World War One. Faron adds that many men did not survive this war, and of those that returned home, scores suffered the mental, emotional, and physical effects of their ordeal. Women shouldered more of the responsibilities previously allocated to men, while balancing their own domestic responsibilities to their children (Faron, 2001).

During the 20th century, the relationship between fathers and their children changed significantly as a result of capitalism's effect on the transmission of trades and professions from fathers to their offspring (Faron, 2001). Although the role of provision was still strongly maintained, during the 1930s and 1940s society stressed the need for fathers to be

healthy role-models for their children, especially their sons (Lamb, 2000). In the 1970s,

1980s, and 1990s, societal pressures exhorted fathers to spend more time nurturing their

children (Griswold, 1993; Lamb, 2000). This pressure coincided with further fragmentation

of the family; for instance, by 1990, in the U.S. over 36% of children were living in fatherless

homes (Blankenhorn, 1995). Blankenhorn (1995) states that circumstances in father absent

homes were preceded by divorce and children born outside marriage, which weakened the

family ties providing no motivation for the mother to continue supporting the man in his

paternal role.

To summarize this historical account, "[t]here has been a deep-rooted, historical, and

structural interdependence,... between fatherhood and the (public patriarchal) state, even

though individual fathers or groups of fathers may experience the opposite" (Hearn, 2002,

p.271). This brief historical account, of some aspects of Eurocentric fatherhood, shows how

the state through ideology has assumed many fatherhood roles and thus has created iron bars

for the exclusion of fathers. Aboriginal fathers experience this ideological exclusion but for

different reasons.

Aboriginal Fatherhood

Ball (2009) conducted research with Aboriginal men in British Columbia. Ongoing

colonization through Canada's Indian Act was identified as one of the barriers to successful

involvement of Aboriginal fathers with their children. Aboriginal fathers are rendered

invisible in research, which is reflected in the lack of policy directed at inclusion of

Aboriginal fathers. The sparse research available details the last century of colonialism that

forced Aboriginal peoples to relocate to reservations that attempted to destroy the Aboriginal

governments, cultural practices, clans, and language (Ball, 2009; Frideres & Gadacz, 2008).

Residential schools were a vicious tool of colonial governments and resulted in great trauma to Aboriginal peoples (Ball, 2009; Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). Children in residential schools did not receive any parenting role models, only cumulative abuses and neglect (Ball, 2009; Frideres & Gadacz, 2008; Maté, 2008). Churchill (2001) supports these statements regarding the traumatic legacy of residential schools and states that Aboriginal fathers desire to be good parents, but many struggle with symptomology. Churchill (2001) states "[t]he question is how...people burdened with a symptomology including somatism, dissociation, depression, fragmented personality structure, intense anxiety, hypersensitivity to slights ("paranoia").... might be expected to comport themselves as good parents..."(p.25).

Ball (2009) adds to these challenges and states that for other Aboriginal men, the lack of parental modeling decreases the interest in parenting–being a parent has no personal meaning for these men. The pressures of family life for both parents exacerbate the problems already present, and violence erupts with family members possibly becoming the targets (Churchill, 2001). An unfortunate result of family violence in some instances is incarceration. Ball (2009) supports these statements and states that Aboriginal fathers are the most socially excluded group of fathers globally.

The removal of children from Aboriginal homes and relocation of families from traditional lands has created deep chasms in the transmission of father roles over generations–resulting in monumental barriers for the sustaining of Aboriginal fatherhood (Ball, 2009). Research findings confirm a trend in the absence of Aboriginal fathers especially when the father moves a long distance away or is incarcerated (Nelson, Clampet-Lundquist, & Eden, as cited in Ball, 2009).

Fatherhood and Incarceration

As history has shown – beginning with the 18th century ideological changes– the

paternal role in parenting has been viewed as a secondary role in society (Glennon, 1995;

Hairston, 2001; hooks, 1984). "The parenting roles and responsibilities of incarcerated men

have not traditionally been considered an important public concern" (Hairston, 2001, p.112).

Zealand (1998) supports this statement and states that the plight of the imprisoned father

continues to be unrecognized with society designating him as "under-class" (p.11). Parke

and Brott (1999) state that although throughout society there are opposing standpoints

regarding the value of fathers, "…academic researchers over the past two decades have been

nearly unanimous in their findings: fathers matter. And they matter a lot" (p.5).

There are various reasons for this significant oversight. From contemporary

childhood on, children are taught that motherhood has preeminence over fatherhood and

consequently they may view being a father as less significant (hooks, 1984). The overriding

childbearing role of women must not be the basis for deeming the parenting role of women as

more advanced than that of men (hooks, 1984). Parke and Brott (1999) support this

statement and add that expectant fathers also experience biological effects, as well as,

psychological symptoms including depression, tension, and insomnia. The parenting roles

filled by mothers and fathers are not regulated by biology, but rather vary with current social,

ideological, and contextual conditions (Badinter, 1980; Parke & Brott, 1999).

Many men, socialized to believe that they are inadequate and ineffective parents,

demonstrate this myth by relinquishing their paternal roles through non-participation (hooks,

1984). In many cases, it is understood that the woman will be the primary caretaker (hooks,

1984). Therefore, the primary challenge for fathers, especially incarcerated fathers, is to

become closely involved with their child/ren to build a strong, lasting attachment (Glennon, 1995; Neufeld & Maté, 2005).

Other research shows that the quality of a father's participation in his child's life hinges on the quality of the father's relationship with the mother of the child (Arditti et al., 2005; Sano, Richards, & Zvonkovic, 2008). Further, scores of women do not believe that men can parent properly and consequently prefer that men be excluded from parenting (hooks, 1984; Sano et al., 2008).

Roy and Dyson (2005) conducted research with incarcerated fathers to ascertain the influence of maternal gatekeeping on securing, restricting and defining the extent of involvement in their children's lives. From the men's perspectives, they found that mothers may help strengthen the paternal role by confirming their identities as fathers; in contrast, mothers may also exacerbate the prison experience for men by creating a new set of role expectations. Results from Roy and Dyson's (2005) study show that 74% of the men suggested the mothers of their children encouraged a relationship with the children, whereas 26% of the men reported instances of discouragement marked by conflict.

Sano et al.'s (2008) research offers the gatekeeping perspectives of mothers in a rural context. Over 80% of the mothers encouraged positive relationships of the father with his children. These mothers wanted more contact of the father with his children despite their perceptions of poor quality father-child interaction (Sano et al., 2008). Other mothers believed the father's parenting skills were inadequate, but this was partly based on their lack of trust in the father's nurturing abilities. Of the 20% of women who discouraged father involvement, Sano et al.'s (2008) study shows that the women were concerned about the children's safety in the areas of substance abuse, abuse, and criminal activities.

When men are imprisoned it becomes very challenging to plan the involvement of

fathers with their children, and then to maintain that involvement (Roy & Dyson, 2008).

Many of these challenges are perceived by fathers as overwhelming (Arditti et al., 2005).

Visitation of fathers with their children is the most obvious way to maintain the parental

relationship, but it is also an area that penal institutions carefully control (Nurse, 2002).

Goffman, (as cited in Nurse, 2002) states that policies aimed at cutting off relationships of the

offender with his family "[ensure] a deep initial break with past roles and appreciation of role

dispossession" (p.37). Fathers then become confused about their paternal roles and struggle

with the ambiguous loss of family boundaries (Roy & Dyson, 2008). Arditti et al., (2005)

support this notion and state that "incarcerated fatherhood was characterized by impotence

and the inability to carry out fathering functions...this was perceived as stripping a man of

his fathering identity"(p.276). One immediate challenge for fathers in prison is the severing

of physical family ties rendering the offender's family (spouse and child/ren) invisible to

society (Travis, 2002).

Invisible Women and Children

Innocent women, whose loved ones are incarcerated, are in many ways bound up in

the "collateral consequences" of imprisonment (Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002, p. 1). Other

terms describe these unintended consequences as, "invisible punishment" (Travis, 2002, p.15)

and "secondary prisonization" (Comfort, 2003, p. 77). Some direct consequences for these

innocent women include depletion of resources and restriction of rights (Comfort, 2003). In

most cases, along with even greater social marginalization, women must assume new

caretaking burdens as they struggle with the complications of navigating the criminal justice

system, and with being alert to the ever present danger of apprehension of their children by

child welfare agencies (Arditti, Lambert-Shute, & Joest, 2003; Carlson & Cervera, 1992; Comfort, 2003; Reynolds, 2008; Richie, 2002).

A father's incarceration forces the mother into an involuntary, temporary, state of single parenthood (Arditti, 2005; Ferraro, Johson, Jorgensen, & Bolton, 1983; Lowenstein, 1986). The single mother is now solely responsible for their children (Fishman, 1990). This change in the family has significant impacts on children who struggle to adapt (Bayes, 2009; Bernstein, 2005; Boswell & Wedge, 2002; Braman, 2002; Carlson & Cervera, 1992; Fishman, 1982; Hairston, 2003; Lowenstein, 1986; Seymour, 2001). These impacts on children will be discussed further in the following literature review.

Aboriginal women on reserve. Fiske (1992) lived with Carrier peoples for an extended period and found that Carrier peoples struggle with high unemployment and as a result, may be dependent on income assistance; the Band distributes the few economic resources to reserve members including income assistance. For single mothers income assistance is necessary; additionally, among the Carrier women on reserve there are kin networks that distribute salmon–to all community members–although the portions may vary. A community worker, T. Smith (pseudonym), states that an Aboriginal single mother may access help from her local Band for hydro and housing to help with family difficulties while her spouse is incarcerated (personal communication, November 4, 2010). It is important to note that the Eurocentric ideology of patriarchy was imposed on some Aboriginal communities disrupting Aboriginal family norms (Fiske, 1992; Turpel-Lafond, 1997). As a result, many of the Aboriginal men from these communities exhibit patriarchic behaviours toward women and these behaviours may result in further marginalization of Aboriginal single mothers (Turpel-Lafond, 1997).

The Single Mother and Parenting

Unfortunately, regarding the father's incarceration, single mothers and their children are pushed to the edges of society and further stigmatized (Holly & Hagan, 2007). Behaviours, as a result of stigmatization have lasting harmful effects on children (Bayes, 2009; Holly & Hagan, 2007). The children of incarcerated fathers have, like their mothers, not committed a crime, but they also are penalized heavily (Bernstein, 2005). Children in many cases are forced to lose their economic status, their family cohesion, their safety, and their primary source of comfort (Bernstein, 2005). Due to the drastic changes in these children's lives, many experience anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and shame (Bayes, 2009; Bernstein, 2005; Chui, 2010). In some cases these excluded, rejected children become delinquent and involved in crime and the drug culture; thus, their education as well as their health suffers (Holly & Hagan, 2007). Many follow their fathers into prison (Bayes, 2009; Holly & Hagan, 2007).

The criminal justice system profoundly affects the lives of children of the incarcerated, yet they have no rights within the numerous police, court, and parole institutions (Bernstein, 2005). Additionally, the educational, child welfare, and juvenile justice departments are not required to document the incarceration of a parent (Bernstein, 2005). The mandate of prisons dwells only with the imprisoned and not the prisoner's family (Holly & Hagan, 2007). Coupled with the lack of professional acknowledgment is the lack of programs for children whose fathers are imprisoned (Lopez & Bhat, 2007; Moses, 2010). Unfortunately, the single mother is faced with few resources to help her with this difficult task of parenting children while the father is imprisoned (Richie, 2002).

Disenfranchised Grief

There are other less obvious hidden needs for single mothers whose spouse is incarcerated. For one, incarceration is associated with societal stigma and thus disenfranchised grief (Arditti, 2005; Arditti et al., 2003; Condry, 2007; Fishman, 1990). "Disenfranchised grief is defined as occurring when persons experience a loss that is not or cannot be openly acknowledged, publicly mourned, or socially supported" (Arditti, 2005, p. 253). To complicate disenfranchised grief further, the significant loss of a spouse/father is exacerbated because although he is alive, he is treated as though he is dead (Sudnow, as cited in Arditti, 2005). Arditti (2005) states that the mother–although not a true widow because her spouse is alive in prison–is still a widow metaphorically who experiences loss in many areas one being economic support.

Secondary Stigma and Shame

Condry (2007) states that within society the tight bonding between family members creates space for the criminal actions of one relation to permeate other family relations spoiling the social standing of the whole family. The single mother and the children of an offending father may invariably carry an unwarranted secondary stigma based on family connection and implied guilt by association (Condry, 2007; Fishman, 1990). Condry (2007) conducted a study with relatives of offenders and includes the words of one spouse of a convicted offender: "It's the support we need because we are pariahs. So no-one wants to know us in that respect. It's the stigma...that's the feeling you have, that you're... a second class citizen" (p. 61).

The above narrative highlights how the single mother now perceives her identity as being tainted, as 'spouse of offender,' and thus blame is attributed to her via kin

contamination (Condry, 2007). Shame is a central emotion felt by stigmatized persons; Nussbaum (as cited in Condry 2007) defines shame as affecting the total self compared to a certain behaviour enacted by a part of the self.

Shame has a dehumanizing effect because of its attachment to the whole self (Condry, 2007). Many of the relatives in Condry's (2007) study found little community sympathy and support; shame was constructed around the [single mother's] own possible guilt. Further, the single mother's support for the offender was seen as condoning the offense (Condry, 2007). In everyday life this secondary stigmatization translated into exclusionary tactics, gossip, verbal abuse, and (in some situations) physical abuse (Condry, 2007; Fishman, 1990).

The Single Mother and the Criminal Justice Process

The single mother must grapple with the varying facets of her changed identity–some very painful aspects such as grief and shame–but additionally she may find herself intersecting with many systems at once or in overlapping ways (Arditti, 2005; Condry, 2007; Richie, 2002). The single mother will most likely be confronted with new responsibilities toward the criminal justice system and its intimidating processes (Condry, 2007). Richie (2002) states the overburdened single mother now must find her life further complicated by "chaotic trials, long prison sentences, expensive visits… phone calls from correctional facilities, [and] confusing parole hearings,…"(p.146). Condry's (2007) research found that in response to the criminal justice system, families formed new caring relationships to support the offender–with women taking over this role– ignoring their own needs to meet the needs of the offender. In the case of offending fathers the single mother usually took the caring lead (Condry, 2007).

Practical support–of the offender– may involve meeting with lawyers, attending court proceedings, cooperating with police investigations, eluding the media, and visiting the prison (Condry, 2007). Single mothers stated they organized their lives around the inmate, but found competing demands difficult to manage (Condry, 2007). For instance, in some cases single mothers were already caring for children and elderly parents; now they had the added responsibilities of an incarcerated spouse (Condry, 2007; Fiske, 1992). Many women found the court proceedings frightening and intimidating; in some cases their treatment by arrogant law enforcement officers was humiliating and further stigmatizing (Condry, 2007).

Visiting at the jail. A single mother and her children must bridge the gap from the outside world to enter the inside prison world (Christian, 2005). This presents a daunting task for an already overburdened caregiver who must expend time, resources, and intensive labor to surmount the barriers that would frustrate prison visitation (Arditti, 2005; Arditti et al., 2003; Bayes, 2009; Bernstein, 2005; Christian, 2005; Comfort, 2003; Comfort, 2008). Hairston (1998) supports these notions and adds that poor visiting conditions in most facilities include crowded, dirty, noisy surroundings as well as humiliating and rude treatment by correctional officers.

Single mothers employ various strategies to cope with the overwhelming nature of prison visitation and the invasion of the criminal justice system into their lives (Fishman, 1990). One strategy, which provides for the new identity of 'spouse of offender,' is for single mothers to "jail" themselves by disassociating with the outside world and constructing new lives around the prison; this strategy is also an outcome of stigmatization and intense feelings of shame (Fishman, 1990, p. 130). Single mothers commonly forge new friendships with other prisoners' spouses (Fishman, 1990).

Sex and intimacy. Comfort, Grinstead, McCartney, Bourgois, and Knight (2005) conducted a qualitative research study in San Quentin State Prison to understand how forced separation and the control of physical contact affect the sexual lives of women whose spouse is incarcerated. Comfort et al. posit that the correctional institution vicariously controls women's bodies, sexual lives, and expression through restrictive policies. Women's apparel is regulated, physical contact is prohibited, and there is a lack of privacy in the visiting spaces (Comfort et al., 2005).

There are several types of visits that take place in prisons depending on the jail/prison policy (Bayes, 2009; Comfort et al., 2005). One type is no contact where an inmate and his visitor speak through a speaker system with glass walls separating them (Bayes, 2009; Comfort et al., 2005). Another type of visit is contact where inmates and their visitors visit in restaurant style rooms; visitors may walk around or sit next to each other (Bayes, 2009; Comfort, 2005). Nevertheless, this type of visit is conducted with the watchful eye of guards (Fishman, 1990).

There are also family visits where conjugal overnight visits are allowed for prisoners who are legally married (Comfort et al., 2005). This latter type of visit is the only permitted venue for sexual expression (Comfort et al., 2005). Visiting is considered a privilege and as such can be disallowed (Fishman, 1990). Intimacy is further frustrated by the correctional institution, which monitors phone calls, and censors letters; there are strict guidelines for incoming mail (T. Smith, personal communication, November 4th, 2010).

Rural, Remote, and Northern Locations

If these circumstances are not complicated enough, add the fact that the woman's geographical location may be rural, remote, and/or northern which carries its own set of

challenges (Collier, 2006; Pugh & Cheers, 2010; Tranter & Vis, 1997; Zapf, 2001). One common challenge for single mothers living in a small community is the fact that community members know each other well socially and may be very aware of a community member's incarceration (Pugh & Cheers, 2010). The single mother will need to be cautious and non-confrontational avoiding quarrels (Pugh & Cheers, 2010).

One major challenge concerning visibility is the awareness of the stares of others, and when accompanied by feelings of shame, may inhibit the single mother from seeking help thereby increasing exclusion from society (Pugh & Cheers, 2010). The single mother's family may be the object of community gossip which will most likely be experienced by the family as oppressive (Pugh & Cheers, 2010).

Living conditions in the north may be extreme and unusually stressful (Tranter & Vis, 1997). For instance, weather may be forty degrees below zero and the nearest town several hours away which means travel in these circumstances may be difficult if not virtually impossible (McCallum & Lauzon, 2005; Tranter & Vis, 1997). Income assistance and BC Corrections does not allocate funds for transportation of the single mother and her children to the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre for visitation (Bayes, 2009; T. Smith, personal communication, November 4th, 2010).

In rural settings there are fragmented social services, a lack of access to social services, and minimal social support (Jategaonkar, Greaves, Poole, McCullough, & Chabot, 2005; Zapf, 2001). Many rural communities do not have public transportation to assist the family in contact with the inmate (Hairston, 2001; Zapf, 2001). Those most marginalized, such as single mothers, bear the cost (McCallum & Lauzon, 2005).

Intergenerational Effects of Paternal Incarceration

Most recent statistics show that across Canada, about 39,000 youth aged 12-17 years were admitted to youth custody, and community corrections (Prison Justice Canada, 2008). In BC, from a snapshot of any given day there are five thousand children with an imprisoned parent; therefore, in a year approximately 25,000 children are affected, and this accumulates each year (Bayes, 2008).

Children, regardless of their sex, are at risk for following their fathers into prison (Robbers, 2009; Zealand, 1998). Unfortunately, fifty percent of sons will do so, thereby completing the cycle for the next generation (Bernstein, 2005). Holly and Hagan's (2007) study found that the incarceration of the biological father resulted in the social exclusion of his children. Direct effects were exerted on educational achievement, which carried through to adulthood (Holly & Hagan, 2007). Holly and Hagan found the homelessness of daughters to be of special significance. The absence of the biological father left the daughters vulnerable to abuse from nonbiological adult males, forcing the daughters to flee the abuse (Holly & Hagan, 2007). The presence of the biological father has a protective benefit for daughters experiencing puberty (Holly & Hagan, 2007). Moreover, Yates, Beutler, and Crago (1983) found that paternal influences early in a child's life are stronger than maternal influences in shaping the presence or absence of violence.

The Impact of Incarceration on Children

There are 2.4 million American children who have a parent incarcerated (Bernstein, 2005; Clear, 2007). One in ten or more than 7 million have a parent supervised by the American justice system in the form of incarceration, parole, or probation (Bernstein, 2005). The 2.1 million American citizens in prison do not represent an increase in crimes of

violence, but rather represent radical policies toward persons who use and sell drugs (Bernstein, 2005). In British Columbia, there are 33,000 children who have a parent(s) in prison (Bayes, 2009). The numbers of Aboriginal children whose parents are incarcerated are not specifically documented (Bayes, 2009).

Maté (2008) states that human culture and human relationships struggle to adapt to the ever increasing rates of dislocation and fragmentation in families and communities in today's fast paced world. Children suffer devastating results to their development, with the loss of primary attachments to nurturing adults, relying more and more on their own peers. Maté states that children were never meant to nurture, model or mentor their peers to pass on values and direction for life. This peer affiliation may be a risk factor for any number of social evils, addiction being one.

Bernstein (2005) states there are individual circumstances to consider when analyzing the effects of incarceration on children. Some considerations are the gender of the parent, whether the child lived with the parent before the arrest and under what circumstances, why the parent was incarcerated, and the length of the sentence, as well as who the child's caregiver is, and how the child is financially supported (Bernstein, 2005). The results of research and interviews with children themselves offer a very negative picture of life for children with a parent in prison (Bernstein, 2005). Some characteristics children present with are post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, and attention disorders (Bernstein, 2005). Children may travel from one caregiver to another, cause trouble in school, and become poorer after a parent is incarcerated (Bernstein, 2005).

Bernstein (2005) adds that decades of attachment research shows that children need parents and suffer when a parental relationship is severed or compromised. Children with

disorganized, insecure, and disrupted attachment representations are at risk for developing any number of problems, such as mental disorders and substance abuse (Greenburg; Sroufe, Duggal, Weinfeld, & Carlson, as cited in Dallaire, 2007).

Bayes (2009) describes some common factors that children confront when a parent (regardless of gender) is incarcerated. Bayes states that some children experience fear of abandonment, of never seeing their parent again, and of worrying about the parent's safety and health. Bayes notes that children also become confused because they are often not told the truth concerning the imprisonment of their parents, and then become afraid to ask questions. Bayes states that children experience sadness with feelings of loss and grief, and a sense of guilt at not being good enough to keep the parent with them. Bayes adds that children may be embarrassed and feel the stigma of having a parent incarcerated. Many are angry with all the accompanying feelings associated with anger (Bayes, 2009).

Father's Ties to Their Families

Hairston (1998) states that despite the lack of research regarding fathers, what is known is that most incarcerated fathers have children who are dependent on them and for whom the father was responsible for prior to incarceration; the average number of dependent children is more than two. Hairston states that there are usually different mothers for these children because the traditional family structure is not usually applicable. The father's roles before imprisonment vary with some fathers living with their child/ren and others only sporadically; this also applies to financial support. Despite the fragility of the father-child relationship, the fathers in Hairston's study spend large amounts of time with their child/ren, and invest in their physical and emotional health and well-being. Unfortunately, these ties are tenuous and not reliable. Hairston adds that the instability of father-child/ren ties is often

related to spousal relationship dynamics that usually result in termination of the relationship after incarceration of the father.

History of Incarceration

The history of incarceration is extensive and very complex with a plethora of incongruent facets (DiMascio, 2009). Nevertheless, a study of the past history of punishment and its accompanying ideologies assists in the understanding of present day mass incarceration as a central "social phenomena" for both Canada and the United States (Carrigan, 1991, p. 11). The carceral system of Canada and the United States is fueled by four penal ideologies: Deterrence, incapacitation, retribution and rehabilitation (Depersis & Lewis, 2008; Ferguson & Berger, 2009; Phelps, 2011). Historical periods highlight the prison ideology present in each particular era all representative of iron bars used to formulate the carceral state. There are spaces throughout history where spirituality and reform/change have moved the public to act.

The practice of imprisoning men is probably as old as civilization itself (Johnston, 2009; Sykes, 1958). The Bible has many references to imprisonment, such as this reference to Egyptian prisons: "And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners *were* bound: and he was there in the prison..." (Genesis 39: 20, 22, King James Version). Writings from early Greece and Rome, BCE, include references to prisons used for specific purposes, mostly to imprison people until trial or a fine was paid (Johnston, 2009). Reformation of prisoners was an insignificant goal in ancient societies (Blomberg & Luken, 2000).

As late as the 1700s, imprisonment was utilized only to hold the prisoner before trial and sentencing, not as retribution (Sykes, 1958). However, England was an exception to this

worldwide practice, with incarceration being used as punishment as early as the 12th century

and advancing throughout the centuries; the death penalty was used extensively as well

(Johnston, 2009). For the rest of the known world, it is only within the last three hundred

years that states have embraced incarceration of offenders as the foremost weapon against

crime (Johnston, 2009; Sykes, 1958).

Throughout the centuries in Europe, religious ideology, such as that formed in the

Catholic Church—with its use of vast monastic structures—set a model for secular

governmental bodies to emulate in prison governance (Johnston, 2009). Unfortunately, this

religious model applied to secular prisons was rife with hidden violence, through the use of

torture and death, despite the public presentation of perhaps less brutal forms of retribution

through isolation, meager food supplies, and self-contemplation (Johnston, 2009).

The 17th century in Canada and the United States. During the 17th and 18th

centuries repressive, brutal punishments from France and England were imported to Canada

by new settlers (Carrigan, 1991). English Canada inherited the criminal justice system of

England with the implementation of the death penalty for even minor infractions, while New

France inherited the French legal system— also very punitive (Carrigan, 1991). At the same

time, in the colonies of the United States, English law formed the basis for crime control with

the brutal death penalty imposed despite the type of offense (Depersis & Lewis, 2008).

Pre-Enlightenment cruel punishments fulfilled society's demand for retribution while

the public exhibitions of harsh corporal punishment served as possible deterrents to future

transgressors; incapacitation occurred through exile and enactment of the death penalty

(Wodahl & Garland, 2009). Fortunately, with the advent of the Enlightenment punitive

societal attitudes were tempered (Wodahl & Garland, 2009).

The 18th century and incarceration. During this period of history, the

Enlightenment was responsible for the change in the way intellectuals thought about society

and how members of society should be treated (Carrigan, 1991). In the 18th and 19th

centuries Enlightenment thought resulted in a worldwide paradigm shift in societies, and

imprisonment was viewed as more humane than "...the hangings, floggings, burnings, and

mutilations..." that prisoners endured as punishment for crime (Sykes, 1958, p.xi). Dungeons

with the attendant tortures, executions, and dismissals of the imprisoned were replaced with

prisons embedded within the state jurisdiction; prisoners were made captives of the state

(Sykes, 1958).

Reformers. One of the most celebrated English reformers was the Sheriff of Bedford,

John Howard, whose daily work brought him into contact with the horrific, inhumane abuses

of English prisoners; sights so repelling to John Howard that he devoted his life to prison

reform (Carrigan, 1991). Some of the reforms Howard advocated for included appropriate

medical care for prisoners, increased measures of cleanliness, fulfilling work for prisoners,

and secure individual cells for sleep (Johnston, 2009). Further, John Howard knew that

prisons fostered crime and educated inmates in the whiles of felonies (Tonry, 2011).

Initially, in the early U.S. colonies, penal reform came through the advocacy of

William Penn who was granted permission from England's king to establish a new penal

code quite unlike the brutal English penal code (Depersis & Lewis, 2008). For the first time,

incarceration was allowed for most offenses– in place of the death penalty–the latter being

reserved for conspiracy and murder (Depersis & Lewis, 2008).

Canadian jails and prisons. During the latter part of the 18th century, in 1758, Canada

began the process of incarceration– although not for the goal of reform, but rather to put

certain classes of people out of the public eye (Carrigan, 1991). As a result, the first

workhouse termed a "Bridewell" was built in Halifax to house the poor, the mentally ill, the

physically ill, and the minor criminal (Carrigan, 1991, p. 306). To complete the task of

removing certain citizens from society, the workhouse was quickly transformed into a jail

replete with horrific surroundings unsuitable as a dwelling place for humans (Carrigan,

1991).

Carrigan (1991) states that the governments of Upper and Lower Canada continued to

construct jails solely for punitive purposes. Carrigan adds that although imprisonment was a

formidable punishment for prisoners to navigate, prisoners had to endure various extraneous

punishments depending on their crime. Thieves were whipped with thirty-nine stripes before

their prison term while women of the street and substance abusers were put in stocks and

publically ridiculed each day for three months before their jail term (Carrigan, 1991).

Canadians did not consider penal reform until the 19th century when experiments with new

prison models in the US were appropriated (Carrigan, 1991; Johnston, 2009)

U.S. jails and prisons. Punishment in jails in America during the 18th century was

punitive, and harsh with ample use of the death penalty (Depersis & Lewis, 2008). However,

Pennsylvania was different– managing prisons with the goal of rehabilitation through hard

labour– being strongly influenced by William Penn's religious beliefs in justice, self-control

and respectful behaviour (Depersis & Lewis, 2008). After the death of William Penn, in

1717, the state of Pennsylvania reverted back to punitive measures and re-invoked the death

penalty for all offenses (Depersis & Lewis, 2008).

For many decades, crime and punishment in America was in a deplorable condition

(Johnston, 2009). The Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners was founded

in 1776 largely by the Quakers and Episcopalians who were appalled by the conditions of the prisons (Johnston, 2009; Depersis & Lewis, 2008). In 1790, in Pennsylvania, the Walnut Street Jail was converted into a prison that would be a place of reform (Depersis & Lewis, 2008). The penal ideology of incapacitation through long-term incarceration was employed for the control of criminal activities (Depersis & Lewis, 2008). Reforms included the fact that prison management would now be accountable to ordinary citizens, prisoners would be housed in individual cells, and prisoners would be treated in humane ways; these reforms are now part of contemporary prison administration (Depersis & Lewis, 2008).

The new reforms at the Walnut Street Prison had many drawbacks. Modelled to some extent after the Christian monastery, prisoners were required to attend religious instruction, to remain silent, and to be isolated from fellow inmates throughout the period of incarceration (Carrigan, 1991). The goal of this treatment was for prisoners to repent and do penance for the crimes committed (Carrigan, 1991). Tragically, many prisoners succumbed to the psychological pressures these measures produced, becoming emotionally and mentally disordered (Carrigan, 1991). Nonetheless, despite the negative consequences for inmates, the Pennsylvania Model being the Walnut Street Prison became the foundational model for all U.S. prisons up to the present day, as well as for some European countries (Depersis & Lewis, 2008).

The 19th century and incarceration. During the 19th century both Canada and the US were dissatisfied with the current prison systems. The existing prisons were overcrowded, unsanitary, and rife with corruption from not only the prisoners who taught their criminal ways to incoming prisoners, but also from corrupt wardens, guards, and other

officials (Carrigan, 1991). North Americans demanded change so both Canada and the US considered the scientific approach to penal management (Carrigan, 1991).

Therefore, beginning in the early 19th century society slowly embraced the move toward the rehabilitative ideal (Wodahl & Garland, 2009). This rehabilitative goal embodies the idea that carceral penalties should be used to change the prisoner while he is captive and reduce subsequent recidivism (Wodahl & Garland, 2009). However, after several decades, it was clear that prisons were not suitable environments for the rehabilitation of inmates, therefore prisons became "warehouses" for the immigrant and the poor (Wodahl & Garland, 2009, p. 84S).

Canadian and U.S. prisons. In the first half of the 19th century, the effects of capitalism increased immigration to Canada, which offered more opportunities for crime, thereby swelling the numbers of inmates in prisons (Carrigan, 1991). The general public demanded more prisons but each for different reasons: one group wanted punitive, repressive treatments, while another group advocated for scientific treatment, and humane environments (Carrigan, 1991).

In the early part of the 19th century Auburn Prison was developed as a response to the public outcry for better prisons (Carrigan, 1991; Depersis & Lewis, 2008; Johnston, 2009). The Auburn system of penal control was founded on the Quaker principles of gentle management of inmates, giving them hope for parole, and reformation (Depersis & Lewis, 2008, p. 648). Other researchers view Auburn quite differently. A statement from the Auburn Board of Directors (as cited in Carrigan, 1991):

"The end and design of the law is the prevention of crimes, through fear of punishment, the reformation of prisoners being of minor consideration...Let the most obdurate and guilty felons be immured in solitary cells and dungeons" (p.327).

Many of the Auburn inmates–sentenced to solitary confinement– became insane, inflicted injuries on themselves, and committed suicide (Carrigan, 1991). Despite these facts, Canada chose the Auburn model for the first penitentiary which opened in 1884 in Kingston, Ontario (Johnston, 2009). The Kingston penitentiary was the model for all other Canadian penal institutions built in the 20th century (Johnson, as cited in Johnston, 2009).

Community corrections –parole and probation. Wodahl and Garland (2009) state that society recognized the experiment of incarcerating individuals failed miserably, so in the mid 19th century American and Canadian penal systems explored the new concepts of community supervision through the vehicles of probation and parole. These researchers state that the cruel and sadistic conditions within prisons fuelled the acceptance of the community as adjunct supervisor. Wodahl and Garland add that parole first originated in England and Ireland and then was exported to the US. The goals of parole were to offer incarcerated persons a source of motivation for good behaviour and to enhance inmates' reentry to the community, hopefully decreasing recidivism (Wodahl & Garland, 2009).

The US is credited with embarking on community supervision through the innovative idea of probation (Wodahl & Garland, 2009). This idea originated with a humble American shoemaker, John Augustus, who voluntarily took certain offenders such as those struggling with substance abuse, and helped them to turn their lives around in a positive way (Johnston, 2009; Wodahl & Garland, 2009).

The 20th century and incarceration. Canadians and Americans continued to grow

more discontented with the correctional system (Carrigan, 1991). Overcrowding, along with

many other issues became the catalyst for change (Johnston, 2009; Keve, 1991). Although

parole and probation began in the mid -19th century, in both the US and Canada these twin

community facets of incarceration became firmly established in the 20th century (Wodahl &

Garland, 2009). Parole and probation were not instituted as alternatives to incarceration, but

rather as components of the criminal justice systems in place at the time (Wodahl & Garland,

2009). Therefore, whatever ideology the penal system governed with at a certain time

became the ideology of the community sanctions branches of corrections (Wodahl &

Garland, 2009).

Canadian prisons. Throughout the early 20th century, Canadian prisons were

seedbeds for discontent and rife with human rights abuses (Carrigan, 1991).). Ferguson and

Berger (2009) state that until 1949, Canadian penal ideology was mainly retributive:

> In legal terms, retributive punishment is the deliberate infliction of pain, suffering,
> or deprivation on morally responsible offenders for their culpable violation of
> criminal laws. It is the criminal justice system's way of righting the wrong...the
> court's decisions never cited rehabilitation (p.28).

World War II interrupted the applications of reform measures lobbied for by prominent

reformers such as Agnes McPhail (Carrigan, 1991). Oakalla prison in British Columbia was

an example of appalling inmate conditions along with extensive overcrowding; these

unacceptable penal conditions were disclosed to the Canadian press (Anderson, 1993).

In response to public pressure, during the 1950s the Canadian correctional system as

well as the Canadian courts radically altered carceral policy; incarceration's primary goal of

retribution was tempered by a new focus on inmate rehabilitation (Ferguson & Berger, 2009).

As a result, new "reform" institutions were built in BC, one such being the "Young Offenders Unit at Oakalla" (Ferguson & Berger, 2009, p.32).

The new prison ideology of rehabilitation was the foundation of the medical model in Canadian prisons (Anderson, 1993). In 1946 the government of British Columbia instated the "Probation Act" (Ferguson & Berger, 2009, p.32). By 1956 probation services were extended to all Canadian provinces (Carrigan, 1991). On another front, Canadians were grappling with the barbarous practice of capital punishment (Carrigan, 1991).

After much debate in 1967, the Liberal government enacted legislation that abolished the death penalty in Canada except for the killing of a police officer; in 1976, the death penalty for all offenses was abolished (Carrigan, 1991). Canada's last executions were in 1962 for the murders of peace officers (Carrigan, 1991). Ferguson and Berger (2009) add that in 1995, Bill C-41 became included in the Canadian Criminal Code and states that judges should consider alternate forms of punishment instead of incarceration wherever possible especially concerning Aboriginal people. Unfortunately, this legislation has been limited in use with the result that there is an overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in the Canadian Justice System (Ferguson & Berger, 2009).

U.S. prisons. At the beginning of the 20th century, the US implemented a prisoner identification system that included the new technique of taking prisoner fingerprints (Keve, 1991). The US established the nation's probation services in 1933, several decades earlier than Canada (Keve, 1991). While practical, technical advances were made in the carceral system, efforts at rehabilitation lagged (Keve, 1991).

Research regarding the effectiveness of rehabilitation provided controversial results especially concerning recidivism, so the US withdrew rehabilitative programs under the guise

of limited finances (Johnston, 2009; Robinson, 2008). Phelps (2011) states that in the 1970s there was a change in U.S. carceral policies toward more punishment focused policies and a marked decrease in rehabilitation. Robinson (2008) adds that in the 1990s rehabilitation was revived both in prisons and in community corrections through the use of cognitive-behavioral interventions. However, Robinson adds that the new rehabilitation's goals are not to therapeutically help the inmate, but to make the community a safer place. In fact, the punitive ideology of the carceral state has become the ideology of community corrections exemplified in the inclusion of punitive facets that accompany rehabilitative programs (Robinson, 2008).

In 1995, England's carceral system removed the requirement for Probation Officers to hold Social Work degrees– due to the profession's affiliation with the best interest of the client– which conflicts with punitive goals (Robinson, 2008). Probation Officers were given the new title of "Offender Manager" (Robinson, 2008, p. 436). Additionally, the late 20th century witnessed the proliferation of the "Supermax" prison across the US as well as the privatization of carceral institutions; corporations owned and managed prisons (Johnston, 2009; Robinson, 2008).

The 21st century and incarceration. Incarceration– for present day Canada and the United States of America–inhabits a core position, both culturally and politically (Sweeney, 2010). The US is the leading carceral state in the world (Comack, 2008; Tonry, 2007), and has been the subject of condemnation from "the UN Commission on Human Rights and the Committee Against Torture" (Dayan, as cited in Sweeney, 2010, p. 698). Regrettably, Canada is predominantly influenced in its criminal justice policies by the US, and moderately by the UK (Roberts, 1998).

Regarding incarceration, Canada is "third or fourth behind the United States, South Africa and Russia and ahead of all other western nations" (Roberts, 1998, p. 425). Canada wide statistics show the rate of incarceration is 131 for every 100,000 in the adult population, despite the fact that the national crime rate is decreasing (Prison Justice Canada, 2008). Extensive research undertaken by the Canadian government shows that recidivism rates for incarcerated offenders are the same as that for offenders under community corrections; the longer the prison sentence the higher the rate of recidivism (Bewley-Taylor, Hallam, & Allen, 2009).

Spirituality and religion. Dodson, Cabage, and Klenowski (2011) state that historically, before the 20th century, religious beliefs strongly influenced carceral policy. Reform efforts based on Judeo-Christian values were implemented to some degree with the objective being to offer prisoners time for spiritual introspection (Dodson et al., 2011). "Spiritual transformation was considered the best defense against future offending; therefore religion was the primary mechanism for explaining and controlling criminal behavior" (Dodson et al., 2011, p. 368). In the 20th century, as history shows, society embraced the scientific paradigm as the new experiment with offenders (Dodson et al., 2011). Now in the 21st century carceral ideology has again taken another turn toward religious principles as a tactic in the war on lawlessness (Dodson et al., 2011).

Persons of colour. In the years between 1970 and 2010 more American citizens became inmates of prisons than all the imprisoned citizens of all other countries in the world (Thompson, 2010). Mainly, mass incarceration ideology was formed through criminalizing urban centers which housed many individuals of colour; this was coupled with repressive

drug laws and punitive sentencing (Thompson, 2010). In the US 53% of those incarcerated are there for drug related offenses (Bewley-Taylor et al., 2009, p. 6).

One area of concern in Canada is the over incarceration of Aboriginal peoples. In the US, the Black American prisoner is targeted for racist actions that also result in over incarceration for these men of colour (Thompson, 2010). Across Canada, these racist ideologies, overlapping with colonial genocidal policies, represent strong iron bars difficult to dislodge. Monture-Angus (2005) reflects on space for change and states that the Canadian carceral system depends on Aboriginal offenders, mainly men, to fill the cells "... If all Aboriginal offenders were released... tomorrow, prisons would be empty and forced to close..." (p.276).

The Over Incarceration of Aboriginal People

And judgment is turned away backward,
And justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street,
And equity cannot enter (Isaiah, 59: 14, KJV).

Henderson and McCaslin (2005) state that Eurocentric society has a passion for naming people as criminals, and then punishing them. This Eurocentric display of power is prejudiced toward human weaknesses and relishes a "theory of social control by violence" (Henderson & McCaslin, 2005, p. 3). Henderson (1999) eloquently states that "[t]he excessive imprisonment of Aboriginal people is well documented and prison has become for many young treaty people the contemporary equivalent of what the Indian residential school represented for their parents"(p.3) Even this impassioned declaration fails to engage debate and possible change. The embedded structural ideology inherent in the Eurocentric carceral system has created a system symbolic of iron bars and yet manifested in the prison structure itself. A review of Aboriginal justice is a stark contrast and adds further knowledge.

History of Aboriginal Justice

Most Aboriginal people today live as colonized peoples who are stereotyped, discriminated against, and impoverished by past government policies (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004). A study of the past, inclusive of the Aboriginal perspective, may offer hope and solutions for the present, particularly concerning justice (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004). Beginning with pre-contact history a foundation is laid to assist further understanding of the Aboriginal justice perspective.

Pre-Contact. Dickason (1992) states that before contact with Europeans, Canada's Aboriginal peoples, whether nomadic or settled, met social and individual needs by emphasizing group interests as well as individual interests. Dickason adds that Aboriginal peoples were egalitarian with respect to division of labor and were regulated by group consensus. Moreover, Dickason states that the Aboriginal leader's role was to represent the common will, which placed primary importance on eloquence and the ability to persuade rather than the use of force.

Dickason (1992) states that although Aboriginal people led diverse lives within distinct cultural frameworks of varying complexity, they recognized that to confront the hardships of life, such as imminent starvation, self-discipline was necessary as well as humor to deflect these harsh realities. Dickason adds that Aboriginal groups conscientiously practiced the law of hospitality, with violation being considered a criminal act. Aboriginal peoples viewed the universe as very complex, meshing great and small powers, favorable and treacherous with a balance based on reciprocity; to sustain balance, the maintenance of harmony was of utmost importance (Dickason, 1992). Maintenance of harmony was the goal of conflict resolution.

The Northwest Intertribal Court system (as cited in Nielsen & Silverman, 1996) offer

an ethnographic example of traditional justice practiced in the Northwest Coast Pre-Salish

communities:

> Community consensus about standards of behavior, various forms of indirect social
> control, rather than written regulations and sanctions, pressured individuals to control
> their behavior. Elders were the primary source for teaching proper behavior and
> attitudes. This was accomplished by example, lecture, storytelling, and recounting
> family history. The Council of Elders later referred to as the "Indian Court" during
> post-contact times, was called upon to facilitate marital separations, or deal with acts
> of infidelity, theft, and other types of bad behavior (p. 49).

Northwest Coast Pre Salish communities employed flexible methods to promote harmony

and peace wherever possible. The goal was to appeal with language that would not harm.

Traisman (as cited in Nielson & Silverman, 1996) states that across vast areas of

North America, Aboriginal tribes used varying approaches to the deterrence and punishment

of crime. Traisman adds that some tribes utilized blood vengeance for serious crimes and

satire for lesser offences, whereas other tribes often used gestures of restitution to repay the

families of crime victims while avoiding blood vengeance. Traisman states that some tribes

were police societies that assigned warrior groups to maintain law and order. These

examples show the refined abilities of Aboriginal peoples to address justice issues within a

particular context using negotiation and conflict resolution. Unfortunately, contact with

Europeans significantly altered these Aboriginal approaches to justice.

Contact with Europeans. Frideres and Gadacz (2008) mention that the first

Europeans found Aboriginal society to be rich and complex. For instance, Frideres and

Gadacz state that the Iroquois Confederacy of Five Nations had a formal constitution that was

recorded on wampum belts to preserve judicial interactions for future generations. Although

in the early decades of contact Europeans appreciated the Aboriginals, they also brought

diseases, alcohol, and subsequent demoralization (Duff, 1964). Later, the disruption due to

new settlers, the imposition of European laws, suppression of native culture, and the addition

of European missionaries all added to the continued disintegration of Aboriginal ways of life

(Duff, 1964). Due to the settlers' lack of understanding of Aboriginal language and cultural

ways and a lack of interest in Aboriginal life, the settlers' justice system predominated with

more power allocated to government representatives, such as Indian agents (Frideres &

Gadacz, 2008).

In the late 1800s, the North West Mounted Police was formed to enforce the colonial

justice paradigm through arrest, prosecution, judgment, sentencing, and imprisonment

(Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). Effectively, Aboriginal peoples lost their self-determination in

the justice arena and at the present time are struggling to regain their right to justice (Frideres

& Gadacz, 2008). The myth that Canadian society is a just society is exposed with the well-

documented fact that Aboriginal people are disproportionately overrepresented throughout all

the stages of contact with the dominant justice system, from arrest to imprisonment (Faith,

1993; Frideres & Gadacz, 2008; Mullaly, 2007; Ponting & Kiely, 1997).

The Aboriginal Justice Paradigm

Worldview differences between Aboriginal culture and the dominant culture are

extensive and often the root of problems when Aboriginal people connect with the law

(Charter, 1992; Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). Frideres and Gadacz (2008) state seven main

differences between these paradigms:

1. Aboriginal culture forms its laws through community custom and agreement whereas

    the dominant culture forms its laws through the legislature.

2. Laws in Aboriginal culture are tied to the natural environment with only some laws considered commonly condemned whereas the dominant culture ties its laws to the capitalist economy.

3. Aboriginal codes of behavior are founded on traditional Aboriginal spiritual beliefs, whereas the dominant culture bases its laws on the religious interpretation of Christianity and the Protestant ethic.

4. Aboriginal culture views personal offenses as violations against the victim and family and involves the community only when communal peace is compromised. In contrast, the dominant culture sees personal crimes as misdeeds against the country and the Queen.

5. Aboriginal culture dispenses justice through the offended party, the family and the clan, whereas the dominant culture controls laws through the state legal system and its representatives.

6. Aboriginal culture maintains harmony through negotiation and isolation, but the dominant culture controls society through the use of coercion and retribution.

7. Aboriginal culture as a communal society views lands as being protected by the community and entrusted to the individual, therefore there is no legal protection for private property. In contrast the dominant culture as an individualistic society uses the law to protect private property (p.136).

Charter (1992) supports the above statements of paradigm differences and states that these differences cause serious disparate understandings. One consequence of this lack of understanding is the stereotyping of Aboriginal peoples as inferior miscreants with a justice worldview that is considered lesser and without value (Charter, 1992).

Justice System in the North

Charter (1992) states there are many elements, which if not acknowledged and properly addressed, are harmful to Aboriginal legal clients. These elements are language, geographical location, the availability of qualified court professionals, cultural sensitivity, mistrust of non-Aboriginal court personnel, and the inherent status gained by Aboriginal people through criminal activity (Charter, 1992).

In northern, rural, remote, and isolated communities court is held at some location within the community and may be postponed due to weather conditions (Charter, 1992; Zapf, 2009). The privileges regarding the justice system that Canadians take for granted in larger southern centres are rarely extended to northern, rural, remote, and isolated communities (Charter, 1992; Littlechild, 2005). Factors such as distance, weather, travel expense and difficulties, and lack of phone service or timely mail service impact on Aboriginal persons who need the services of a defense lawyer and a court translator/interpreter (Charter, 1992; Zapf, 2009). Aboriginal legal clients may not have legal representation in court (Littlechild, 2005). As well, northern, rural, remote, and isolated legal clients may not access these services in time to adequately prepare for court proceedings (Charter, 1992; Littlechild, 2005; Zapf, 2009).

Government Policies

In an examination of Canada as a carceral state it is important to understand the influences of governmental policies and ideologies because these concepts form the basis of governmental actions in maintaining and further developing the carceral state (Wacquant, 2009). These ideologies form additional iron bars that formulate the correctional system and are foundational in all stages from investigation, arrest through to confinement.

Comack (2008) states that governmental economic policies have led to a continual increase in labor market flux. Comack adds that communities across Canada struggle with the impact of these policies while watching the loss of secure, profitable jobs and the increase in community instability. Community members have reacted with social anxiety and fear of rising crime, while the response of governments has not been to strengthen the social safety net but rather to take it apart (Comack, 2008).

Government officials have persisted in favouring imprisonment as the prominent answer to society's troubles (Comack, 2008) and jails and prisons across Canada have been holding tanks for "the disorders created by mass unemployment, the imposition of precarious wage work, and the shrinking of social protection" (Wacquant, as cited in Comack, 2008, p. 12). These penal institutions house many individuals together for long periods of time and consequently, inadvertently, society has created a community within a community (Sykes, 1958). This penal community with its unique ideologies and policies represents the addition of many other iron bars physically manifested and ideologically promulgated throughout the prison community.

Incarceration

As Canadian citizens we know very little of what transpires behind prison walls despite the fact that incarceration rates are increasing steadily (Comack, 2008; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009). The media and criminologists are primarily responsible for the dearth of knowledge on the prison community (Comack, 2008; Faith, 1993). Comack (2008) states the media focuses on crime in the community and avoids the prison community.

Ristad, Jr. (2008) supports the above statement, and adds that California has passed a law that forbids reporters from interviewing inmates and investigating prisons without

consent of the correctional system. This is, of course, a violation of the constitutional rights of the press, yet they are too intimidated to challenge this in court (Ristad, Jr., 2008). The correctional systems make it a primary goal to keep citizens out, through the use of methods such as, intimidation, bullying, and fear; further, they thwart attempts at routine public scrutiny and oversight of corrections by accusing the public of violating prison security and the safety of society (Ristad, Jr., 2008).

Additionally, the research study of life in prison is "not merely an endangered species but a virtually extinct one" (Wacquant, as cited in Comack, 2008, p.13). Nevertheless, with the limited knowledge we have, very disturbing pictures emerge. Stern (as cited in Buntman, 2009) states "prison is the magnifying mirror which reflects and enlarges the unresolved social problems of the society which it serves" (p.408). We do know that "abuse, violence, racism, isolation, overcrowding, and neglect are common to prisons…" (Reynolds, 2008, p. 89). We also know that prisons reduce spending in many ways: for instance by encouraging overcrowding, by reducing the quality of nutritious food, and by hiring staff with lower education and training (Ristad, Jr., 2008). In Canada we define what crime is and what the punishment will be; we criminalize poverty, addictions, and mental disorders that in other countries are treated as social issues (Balfour & Comack, 2007; Bonds, 2009; Faith, 1993; Ristad, Jr., 2008).

Objective and subjective experience. In a study of fathers imprisoned, it is important to understand the "pains of imprisonment" as perhaps equivalent to the physical punishments of the past (Sykes, 1958, p. 63). Sykes (1958) delineates the losses endured by incarcerated men: 1. the loss of liberty, 2. the loss of goods and services, 3. the loss of heterosexual relationships, 4. the loss of autonomy, and 5. the loss of security (p. 65-76).

While Sykes (1958) details the objective losses inflicted through incarceration, Kolber (2009) highlights the importance of the offender's subjective experience when considering punitive sanctions. However, rarely is an inmate's subjective experience viewed as a salient factor in sentencing (Kolber, 2009). This researcher (2009) states that imprisonment, as a damaging event for the human body, is a physical penalty that eventually becomes a sentence against the mind because the mind is where all retributions are felt.

Some prisoner characteristics. Inmates come to prison with many psychosocial, mental health and physical health problems, that in some cases are chronic compared to the general population (Petersilia, 2001; Rossman, 2003). The high-risk life style of many inmates contributes to their greater susceptibility to disease, mental health problems, and substance abuse issues (Rossman, 2003). Some examples are but not limited to injection drug use and tattooing; heavy use of tobacco, drugs, and alcohol; unprotected sex in or out of the prison; financial instability, homelessness and transience; as well as poor access to health care and delayed treatment (Rossman, 2003).

Regrettably, the punitive climate of the prison ignores human rights in many ways, some being by aggravating or ignoring substance abuse, mental illness, poverty, and social problems (Buntman, 2009). For instance, rarely are judges influenced to reduce a sentence due to an inmate's diagnosis of claustrophobia; rarer still is a reduction of sentence evident for those whose symptoms fall short of the clinical diagnosis, but yet still exists on the spectrum of the disorder (Kolber, 2009).

The prison health system may perhaps be the only system whereby prisoners access some form of health care (Rossman, 2003). A 1997 U. S. Correctional survey shows that 31% of male inmates had a physical disability or a mental health disorder; 25% of all inmates

reported multiple impairments (Rossman, 2003). The punishment of inmates should not include the delivery of health care services, but the correctional climate of discrimination forms barriers to inmates receiving the level of health care that free members of society receive (Hendry, 2009). Health care is the most commonly reported area of inmate complaint received by the Canadian Office of the Correctional Investigator (OCI, as cited in Public Safety Emergency Preparedness Canada, 2006).

Mental health issues. The U.S. National Commission on Correctional Health Care (NCCHC) reports that prisoners have mental health disorders at a rate of three to four times that of the general population (as cited in Rossman, 2003). Incarceration may exacerbate existing mental health disorders, and in other cases it may be a contributing factor to the development of these disorders (Rossman, 2003). The long periods of idleness, the constant threat of violence, and feelings of helplessness, despair, and guilt are some examples of precipitating factors toward mental disorders (Rossman, 2003). Among inmates, 30% of males reported physical and/or sexual abuse prior to entering the correctional institution (Ditton; and Ortiz, as cited in Rossman, 2003). Only 10% of inmates received psychotropic medications while in prison and only 12% received counseling or therapy (Beck & Maruschak; and Fabelo, as cited in Rossman, 2003). Not only do many inmates have mental health disorders, but they also struggle with addiction problems.

Substance abuse. There are disproportionate numbers of inmates with substance abuse problems, partly due to the increase in incarceration for drug offenses (Rossman, 2003). Sentences for drug offenses comprise approximately 45% of new admissions to prisons (Petersilia, 2001). From the inmate population 21% had drug offenses, but 80 % had a history of illegal drug use and 70% used drugs on a regular basis (Rossman, 2003). A U.S.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) (as cited in

Rossman, 2003) study states that almost half of prisons offer no treatment for substance

abuse problems; where offered, the treatments are minimal.

Overcrowding. In Canada, at the provincial level, BC prisons are 174% over their

capacity (Bayes, 2008). Overcrowding is so serious at the North Fraser Pre-trial Center that

offenders are sleeping on the floor in the records department (North Shore News, 2008). This

prison was originally planned to imprison 300 offenders, but now has 650 prisoners within its

walls (North Shore News, 2008). Mallea (2010) states that the federal government's proposed

"tough on crime" laws are ideologically driven and will result in more inmates attending

"con college" who will be released as angry, bitter, [men] without community supervision

(p.1). Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News (CBC) (November 4th, 2010) states that in

violation of the UN prison standards, the federal government continues to overcrowd

prisoners by double bunking them in tiny spaces. The result is that inmates—who do not have

access to treatment programs— will be more dangerous to society when released (CBC,

November 4th, 2010).

Paulus (1988) conducted research on prison overcrowding to understand what

overcrowding consists of and how it affects the prisoners. Field studies outside the prison

setting determined that overcrowding in various real world situations can have harmful

effects on humans, such as impaired abilities to perform tasks, negative impacts on social

behavior, and deterioration of health (Paulus, 1988). This researcher's (1988) study spanned

15 years and the results are compiled in a book. The following is a brief overview of some

pertinent facts concerning overcrowding from Paulus' (1988) study.

In some prisons, inmates live in units with 50 prisoners or more–each inmate having 20 square feet of space (Paulus, 1988). To understand this level of crowding, imagine a 1,000 square foot apartment with 50 persons or more living in it; this would be a violation of community safety codes, and be unbearable for the residents (Paulus, 1988). Nevertheless, this high density housing is more often than not the norm that prisoners must endure (Paulus, 1988). There is some individual variation in response to high density; some prisoners may become desensitized, whereas others may have heightened sensitivity to overcrowding (Paulus, 1988).

Overcrowding may affect emotional states in varying degrees, such as anxiety, hyperarousal, and fear to mention some; this in turn increases the likelihood of violence erupting especially among the younger population (Paulus, 1988). Another study shows that overcrowded prisons have the highest suicide and attempted suicide rates as well as psychiatric commitments (McCain, Cox, & Paulus, as cited in Liebling, 1992). Overcrowding provides a ripe environment for infectious diseases to spread, one being tuberculosis (Law, 2010; Farmer, 2002).

Tuberculosis. Social inequalities, such as poverty, and most noticeably racism, combined with unjust policies contribute to epidemics of infectious diseases that have taken the lives of scores of prisoners (Farmer, 2002). Epidemics of tuberculosis (TB) stalk prisons and have been attributed to HIV and AIDS effects on the weakened immune systems of prisoners (Farmer, 2002). This researcher (2002) states the rapid rise of incarceration is the reason behind prison epidemics.

Farmer (2002) adds the term "tuberculosis as punishment" to prison narratives for many reasons, one being that prisoners may be exposed to outbreaks of tuberculosis, which

can multiply rapidly in prison, to more than 100 times the national average (p. 240).

Multidrug resistant tuberculosis (MDRTB) is a frightening new development with mutations

of the TB bacillus increasing faster than the ability to formulate new drugs for treatment

(Farmer, 2002). The problem is magnified in overcrowded prisons with poor ventilation

because TB, an airborne pathogen, is coughed into the air as "droplet nuclei" from an

infected prisoner, and then passed on quickly to anyone who shares this air (Farmer, 2002, p.

241). Add HIV to this mix and mortality rates dramatically increase (Farmer, 2002). As long

as prison conditions remain overcrowded, and unreformed, prisoners will continue to receive

the added punishment of infectious diseases, one being tuberculosis (Farmer, 2002). It may

be difficult to imagine loneliness in an overcrowded prison, but the following research

elaborates on this problem.

Loneliness. Prison elicits two types of loneliness: Emotional loneliness stems from

being deprived of close emotional attachments, and social loneliness derives from the lack of

opportunities to socially engage (Carcedo et al., 2011). Each form of loneliness needs to be

addressed with the specific social or emotional connection (Weiss, as cited in Carcedo et al.,

2011). The following study is an example of emotional loneliness in prisoners.

Rokach and Cripps (1999) conducted research with incarcerated men in an Ontario

provincial correctional centre. Rokach and Cripps' findings included the fact that

incarcerated men were in great need of support emotionally. The men craved a relationship

where they would feel cherished, valued, and loved through the closeness of a friend, lover,

spouse or relative (Rokach & Cripps, 1999).

Incarceration and grief. Hendry (2009) states that harsh prison environments create

unique barriers for prisoners to grieve loss, and increases the possibilities of complicated and

disenfranchised grief for prisoners. Further, Hendry states that on a daily basis prisoners are faced with enduring losses, such as loss of family connection, loss of freedom and control, and loss of productivity in life years. Other significant losses compound the everyday losses of the prisoner, and these exacerbate the "pains of imprisonment" which prisoners must cope with (Johnson & Toch, as cited in Hendry, 2009, p.272).

Aspects of masculinity make it much more difficult in the male prison community to fulfill the tasks of grieving for many reasons, one being the prison community itself embodies the masculine traits of toughness, and not showing weakness (Hendry, 2009). Hegemonic masculinity is the primary form of masculinity portrayed in the prison environment, meaning ruthless competition and violence, patriarchy, heterosexism and a devaluation of feminine qualities (Sabo et al., Stohr & Hemmens, Toch, as cited in Hendry, 2009). Some of the tasks of grieving are to express emotions through crying, feeling anxious, being angry, and feeling guilty, as well as exhibiting sleep disturbances and lowered toleration for others (Hendry, 2009). However, for one, crying is strictly forbidden in the unwritten code of behaviour in prison (Hendry, 2009). For those prisoners who are granted permission to attend a funeral the experience is 'dehumanizing', 'degrading' and humiliating' because inmates are shackled, wear prison garb, and are accompanied by prison officers (Hendry, 2009, p. 273).

Custodial deaths. There are several causes of death in prisons, such as death by natural causes, death at the hands of correctional staff, death at the hands of other prisoners, and death by suicide (Morgan, 1996). Life in prison is inherently insecure, meaning for example that bullying, sexual predation, and other methods of control, backed up by violent enforcement, threaten the daily existence of inmates (Morgan, 1996; Tartaro & Lester, 2009). However, the use of custody needs to be accompanied by care and accountability, because

despite the paradox of this situation, persons in custody are vulnerable; therefore measures for reasonable safety must be established (Morgan, 1996).

Morgan (1996) cites an example in point concerning a prisoner who committed suicide. The standards of the correctional institution were lower than the standards required in a psychiatric hospital outside the correctional institution (Morgan, 1996). The judge in this case stated that the standard of care in a prison hospital was not required to conform to the standards of hospitals outside the prison; psychiatric hospitals have the mandate to work toward recovery, whereas prison hospitals operate under the mandate to detain and prevent injury (Morgan, 1996). In this climate of lamentable care for the mentally ill as well as others, there is a high propensity toward suicide; the nature of suicide in prison is very different from the nature of suicide in the community outside the prison (Morgan, 1996; Tartaro & Lester, 2009). Liebling (1992) supports this idea, and states that while depressive illness or other psychiatric disorders make up the majority of community suicides, this etiology accounts for only one third of prison suicides.

Some factors that contribute to prison suicide are the intolerability of confinement, the lack of communication with family/friends, and the inability to cope with and adapt to the prison regime; outside factors may be the loss of a relationship, and the inability to cope with bad news (Liebling, 1992). Pompili et al., (2009) conducted research that supports these ideas, and state that to properly attend to prisoner health along with mental health requirements penal institutions must build solid relationships with community agencies that offer mental health services. Pompili et al. (2009) outline several recommendations for best practices to be implemented in prisons, one being written policies that detail minimum

standards for housing high risk prisoners, provision for social support, and routine visual checks as appropriate.

Prison sub-culture. Historical accounts before the 20th century are devoid of instances of inmate power, although isolated incidents of revolt are recorded (Spierenburg, 1996). This lack of focus on inmate rights or liberation renders convict culture an intangible subject to study throughout history (Spierenburg, 1996). However, the 20th century ushers in a time of unprecedented change and with this change prisoners exert their own type of power and control– that of the prison hierarchy and its attendant sub cultural requirements (Spierenburg, 1996).

Lawmakers on the outside of the prison expound on the dangers of prison subculture in the hopes that it serves as a deterrent to prospective criminals (Spierenburg, 1996). Nevertheless, prison officials tolerate the inmate subculture, providing that it does not conflict with daily operations of the institution (O'Brien, 1996). Prisoners now have a functioning voice that influences prison culture and daily control (O'Brien, 1996). Inmates strategically utilize their own system of communication with specific terminology, hierarchy of commands, methods of exchange, and cultural identities (O'Brien, 1996). Thus, over time the subculture phenomenon migrates throughout national penal institutions (O'Brien, 1996).

Wellford (1967) states that inmates adopt sub cultural norms to cope with the prison environment. This researcher defines inmate behaviour as originating in "...an inmate code...a series of conduct norms that define proper behavior for inmates...this code prescribes behavior...contrary to behavior patterns expected by...administration" (p.198). The prisoner is expected to choose between following the penal administration regulations or the prisoner regulations; it is one or the other (Wellford, 1967). There are several factors that

help determine the extent that the inmate adopts the inmate code. Some of these factors include length of incarceration and the stage of criminal progression (Wellford, 1967). For instance, an inmate that is only imprisoned for three to six months and has almost completed the sentence will most likely stay on the periphery of the inmate code (Wellford, 1967).

These conditions within the prison, as consequences of inmate and prison ideologies are further represented by the addition of iron bars that are carried into the community. The vehicles of parole and probation with their accompanying carceral ideologies add more weight to the supervised inmate. Some inmates choose to throw off some of these heavy weighted bars through the spaces of change and spirituality as they transition.

Some Impacts of Incarceration on Communities

Considering the impact of incarceration at the surface level, it might appear that once the offenders are removed the community is free of crime and life can be lived peacefully (Zedlewski, as cited in Clear, Rose & Ryder, 2001). There is some truth to this idea because a community may be safer when some persons are incarcerated; yet, there are many significant negative consequences to incarceration for the community.

Shaw and McKay (as cited in Clear, 2007) formulated a theory called social disorganization theory to explain the intersection of crime with the local community/neighborhood/reserve. This theory is useful in accounting for some of the consequences of crime to communities. Most affected communities sustain high levels of poverty, high diversity in ethnicity, and high levels of mobility (Shaw & McKay, as cited in Clear, 2007). Tragically, because these problems cannot be solved quickly the criminal values are passed down to the next generation (Bayes, 2009). Shaw and McKay (as cited in Clear, 2007) support this notion and state that due to high mobility, people in the community

do not form long-term attachments, their sense of place is diminished, and therefore they do not invest much in their property or the community.

The impacts of incarceration are indeed greater and much more complex than cursory glance shows, one being in the area of high mobility. Clear et al.'s (2001) study supports these ideas. The researchers explore how communities with high incarceration rates experience the impact of incarceration at the personal, familial, and community level. Also, Clear et al. researched the processes of removing inmates and returning inmates to their communities, for the purpose of identifying the factors that stabilized or destabilized communities, and therefore contributed or detracted from criminal activity. Clear (2007) defines these processes as "coercive mobility" (p.73). Other researchers define this mobility as "forced migration" and relate this phenomenon to imbalances in community gender ratios (Thomas & Torrone, 2006, p. 1762). Statistics show that up to 15% of male residents who are parent-age specific may be involved (CASES, as cited in Clear, 2007).

Not only are there structural changes in communities as a result of instability, there are also serious health related outcomes. Research supports this and shows that increases in incarceration are associated with higher rates of teen pregnancies, higher rates of HIV/AIDS, hepatitis C, tuberculosis, and higher rates of sexually transmitted diseases (Day et al., 2005; Grinstead, Comfort, McCartney, Koester, & Neilands, 2008; Harmon, Smith, & Egan, 2007; Thomas & Torrone, 2006)

Incarceration itself is a significant life stressor, and therefore when inmates are released from prison they bring the cumulative effects of this stress to the community (Arditti, 2005; Day et al., 2005; Gobeil, 2008; Massoglia, 2008). In many cases the ability for

returning inmates to maintain what health they have is seriously compromised, perhaps for life (Massoglia, 2008).

Some of the problems associated with reentry are reintegration with families and other previous relationships, financial problems, and the stigma of being incarcerated (Gobeil, 2008). Clear et al.,'s (2001) research findings correspond to some of the themes mentioned. The area of stigma impacts at the individual and family level with families reacting in different ways, such as withdrawing from community activities or just relocating from the community (Clear et al., 2001). One consequence is strained community relationships exacerbated when the offender returns, because the community for the most part does not understand incarceration and its' impacts, and people are fearful and suspicious (Clear et al., 2001). This undermining of informal supports adds to the loss of indirect social control (Clear et al., 2001). The loss or reduction in local relationships impacts on returning inmates' sense of place, especially in communities where there is little support for the inmate outside the local area as in northern, rural, and remote areas (Clear et al., 2001; Pugh & Cheers, 2010).

Clear et al.'s (2001) study found that the financial drain on the families and neighborhood businesses in the community is significant. Many families support the offender throughout the whole process from arrest, to sentencing, to incarceration, and eventual release (Bernstein, 2005; Fishman, 1983). Clear et al.'s (2001) study findings support this and state that communities already struggling with poverty become burdened with the additional economic strain caused by incarceration.

Lee and Thomas's (2010) research study focuses on several concepts, one being civic community and its relationship to community instability and crime. Civic community is a

place, "where the form of local social and economic institutional organization facilitates a strong social fabric by densely interweaving citizens together through mostly locally oriented institutions and organizations" (Lee & Thomas, 2010, p.120). A robust, healthy, civic community encourages individuals and families to 'attach' to the community and become long term residents (Lee & Thomas, 2010). This residential stability has key implications for informal social control, meaning that strong social ties are formed and significant organizational attachments arise; community members may develop deep social and economic roots (Lee & Thomas, 2010). Community engagement results in benefits, such as a greater ability to address social problems such as serious crime (Lee & Thomas, 2010).

Lee and Thomas (2010) mention population change and its relationship to civic community and crime. Incarceration contributes to population mobility due to inmates transitioning in and out of penal institutions and the local community (Clear et al; Rose & Clear, as cited in Phillips et al., 2006). However, Lee and Thomas, (2010) state the social disorganization theories that relate population mobility to crime may not be applicable in some rural communities for reasons such as the high degree of geographical remoteness, the lack of social privacy, and lower population density. An axiom among rural criminologists is rural communities differ in their capacity to control crime and therefore in their capacity to sustain strong and peaceful social settlements (Lee & Thomas, 2010).

Hobley (2002) conducted community research in some northern BC communities. A theme found from interviews with returning inmates was the need for a sense of belonging to the community, but this was confounded by social and financial problems (Hobley, 2002). Nevertheless, community support was of significant importance in community retention and attendance in programs for ex-inmates (Hobley, 2002). Additionally, the ex- inmates stressed

the need for coordinated referrals, mentors, and information on community resources when

reentering the community (Hobley, 2002).

Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal communities in northern, rural, and remote

areas perhaps suffer more with forced migration issues due to the specific roles each

community member plays within the community (Charter, 1992). Statistics show that

Aboriginal peoples form 4% of the Canadian population, but over 28% are accused of crimes

(Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). In the province of BC, 21% of the inmate population is

Aboriginal (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). Unfortunately, the statistics for Aboriginal persons in

federal custody have been steadily increasing from 815 per 100,000 in 2000/01 to 983 per

100,000 in 2005/06; this is nine times the national average, with far-reaching impacts for

Aboriginal families and their communities (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009).

Forced migration issues are also greater for some Aboriginal communities, with

Aboriginal offenders returning and then reoffending (Johnson as cited in Frideres & Gadacz,

2008). Research findings in Saskatchewan found that 25% of Aboriginals released from

prison had been returned within one year (Johnson as cited in Frideres & Gadacz, 2008).

Aboriginal communities faced with forced migration issues often do not have the resources to

address the resultant instability (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008).

Parenting Programs for Fathers in Prison

Many fathers give up their role as fathers when they are incarcerated (Hairston, 1998).

The prevailing stereotype of the inferior father, combined with the restrictions imposed

during incarceration, and the struggle to survive prison life present barriers too difficult for

some fathers to surmount (Hairston, 1998). Lack of father involvement or interest in

parenting contributes to the prison's rejection of programs for fathers (Hairston, 1998).

When fathers are released from prison they may direct their efforts to reconnection with their child/ren and spouse, but the deleterious effects of prison life such as the violence, the impacts of the prison community, accompanied by weakened health effects frustrate attempts at family life (Day et al., 2005). Loper, Carlson, Levitt, and Scheffel's (2009) study shows that fathers incur high levels of stress, related to less contact with their child/ren, parenting stress, and weakened relationships with partners/spouses. Day et al., (2005) state that the relationship a father has with his family directly impacts whether he will reoffend and become imprisoned again.

Despite the knowledge of the importance of family connections there are very few transitional programs for fathers and their families (Carlson & Cervera, 1991; Day et al., 2005). An increase in family stability through increasing levels of spousal commitment and improving the health of interpersonal relationships impacts on recidivism rates both during incarceration and after release (Carlson & Cervera, 1992; Day et al., 2005; Gosnell, 2007).

There are several programs targeted for fathers in prison. One program is Long Distance Dads (LDD) (Turner & Peck, 2002). This 12-week institutional program is designed to educate fathers regarding their holistic (spiritual, psychological, emotional, and financial) responsibilities and to empower fathers to carry out these responsibilities (Turner & Peck, 2002). The success of this program is testament to the hard work of correctional officials, staff, volunteers and program directors with the hope that fathers may be integral to the confounding of intergenerational crime (Turner & Peck, 2002).

Building on the foundation of Long Distance Dads a new program entitled InsideOut Dad methodically tears apart barriers to healthy family relationships by improving cognition and offering opportunities for changes in understanding and attitudes (Gosnell, 2007).

Cognitive behavioural approaches to anger, impulsivity, disrespect in family relationships, and value and belief systems help foster healthy behaviours (Gosnell, 2007). This program begins while the inmate is still in prison well before release into the community, thereby offering the component of time for change and new learning (Gosnell, 2007).

Spiritual Programs

Dodson, Cabage and Klenowski (2011) state that, currently, many of the U.S. Correctional programs– that include the goal of reducing recidivism– are directed by religious communities. Dodson et al., add that faith-based programs offer specific interventions for particular needs. For instance, Dodson et al., offer three examples: 1.) Inmates participate in Christian meetings that focus on prayer, study of the Bible, and spiritual change with the goal of offering prisoners spiritual support thereby decreasing opportunities for reoffending; 2.) Volunteer mentors from community faith groups are linked with young offenders to assist the youth in maintaining positive life goals; 3.) Inmates with substance abuse issues participate in spiritually based, rehabilitative, substance abuse programs to become sober (Johnson et al., as cited in Dodson et al., 2011). Research with particular programs shows that faith-based programs are definitely effective in accomplishing the specific program goals, however, more research is needed (Dodson et al., 2011).

Christians from many different faith groups become involved in spiritual work under the supervision of prison chaplains (Ristad Jr., 2008). These volunteers are a needed support to the chaplains' extensive religious programs that respond to the imprisoned and ensure the fulfillment of constitutional religious freedoms (Ristad Jr., 2008). In many cases there are few trained chaplains or no chaplains at all to fill the spiritual mandate for prisoners (Ristad Jr., 2008).

Aboriginal spirituality. A study of the outcomes of Aboriginal spirituality programming with Aboriginal prisoners in the Canadian Correctional system found that these spiritual programs offer the best opportunity for Aboriginal prisoners to face the past traumas, the negative carceral experience, and plan a new direction for their lives (Waldram, as cited in Nielsen, 2003).

The Stan Daniels Healing Center in Alberta is described by its staff as a center for wellness and not a prison (Neilsen, 2003). The Stan Daniels Healing Center is an Aboriginal healing lodge, one of six lodges in operation in Canada through Canada Corrections (Nielsen, 2003). Some of the components of the lodge programs include Aboriginal teachings and ceremonies that are an incorporation of Aboriginal beliefs and traditions, as well as time with Elders and children, and time with nature (Corrections Canada, as cited in Nielsen, 2003). The lodges have been associated with low recidivism rates for Aboriginal participants and are more effective in Canada as a rehabilitative option and an alternative to incarceration (Nielsen, 2003).

Reformation and Abolition

Ristad, Jr. (2008) a U. S. prison chaplain and spiritual leader for over 45 years, offers a critical examination of prison life and prison ministry. Ristad, Jr. (2008) acknowledges the stark reality of prison stating that it is rare for citizens to contest prison autonomy over inmates, and even rarer for citizens to demand reform with a focus on compassion, care, and rehabilitation. Now US citizens including some judges are demanding change in prison policies and advocating for the abolition of incarceration (Ristad, Jr., 2008).

Ristad, Jr. (2008) states that the small percentage of prisoners– over 1% who are very dangerous and a threat to society– are the prisoners who require "constant strong external

controls and humane supervision" (p.296). The majority of the other prisoners would benefit from reform and abolition of prisons, thereby releasing society from the enormous daily costs associated with the carceral society; costs that consist of much more than financial considerations (Klapmuts, 1975; Ristad, Jr., 2008).

Summary

This literature review has included the history of fatherhood accompanied by the current ideologies of each century to the present day. The historical review of incarceration has shown that as society changed to favor the mother the father's role was less prominent and not as valued. When fathers are imprisoned the fact that they are fathers has been of little consequence. The structural ideologies, firmly entrenched, have served to place the father completely out of society's view. Yet, the prisoner's family has been left behind to silently bear the burden as well, while whole communities have grappled with the resultant instability. Institutional programs, spiritual or otherwise, have been successful at redressing some of these fatherhood incarcerated issues while advocates for prison reform in the US have been pushing for change and abolition of the current correctional system. The Canadian government has persisted in pursuing a strong carceral policy in the face of evidence that these policies have not worked in the US.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Qualitative Research

To begin with, qualitative research views a research problem through assumptions, worldviews, or theoretical lens enquiring into the meaning individuals attribute to differing experiences (Creswell, 2007). It is appropriate to use a qualitative research strategy when exploring a phenomenon or to hear the silenced voices of a particular population (Creswell, 2007), such as incarcerated fathers. Further, qualitative research is conducted because we want detailed information about a complex issue; we want to flatten power differentials through collaboration with participants during certain research phases (Creswell, 2007).

Critical Hermeneutical Phenomenology

The qualitative research strategy used in this research was critical hermeneutics, a specific phenomenological methodology. The goal of this methodology is to give voice to persons whose scope of influence is under privileged, and perhaps "discounted" (Lopez & Willis, 2004, p. 730; MacIntyre, 2001). Phenomenology is derived from two Greek words "phainomenon", which means 'appearance', and "logos", which means 'reason' (Seymour & Clark, as cited in Barnett, 2005, p. 807). Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek word "hermeneutic", which means "to interpret" (Polkinghorne, 1983). It is possible that participants, who are fathers in prison, may realize some insights through the opportunity to have their voice heard (Hultgren, as cited in Sammel, 2003; Lopez & Willis, 2004). This type of research is often explained as "emancipatory research", as it alerts us to the dominant belief systems that disregard, and belittle the realities of the marginalized [imprisoned fathers] (Thompson, as cited in Lopez & Willis, 2004, p. 731).

When research methodology uses a critical lens, such as critical hermeneutical phenomenology, the researcher must critique the historical foundations of dominant ideologies (Lopez & Willis, 2004; Smith, 1987). Smith (1987) states that "...we must [link]...our one-sided knowledge of our own existence into a larger knowledge of a historical process in which we are active and to which we are captive" (p.223). The researcher must also critically examine how these ideologies contribute to the structure and contour of the everyday lived experience of study participants (Lopez & Willis, 2004; Smith, 1987). Smith (1987) elaborates:

> We might imagine institutions as nodes or knots in the relations of the ruling apparatus to class, coordinating multiple strands of action into a functional complex. Integral to the coordinating process are ideologies systematically developed to provide categories and concepts expressing the relation of local courses of action to the institutional function (p.160).

Smith (1987) employs the use of the metaphor of knots and strands to describe institutions and ideologies. Another researcher employs the metaphor of threads used in weaving to explain concepts that overlap (Peterson, 1996). For the purposes of this research, I use the metaphor of iron bars that represent the various ideologies with their related strengths. The spaces between the iron bars that comprise the composite of bars represent space for abstract concepts such as hope, connection, and spirituality. This use of metaphor constitutes as arts-based method (Leavy, 2009). Further, this use of metaphor extends to data analysis where transcripts were analyzed for metaphorical content (Todd & Harrison, 2008).

Ethical Concerns

Confidentiality and anonymity. I address confidentiality throughout all stages of the research process as required by the Code of Ethics (BC College of Social Work, 2003) which states in article # 6 "A social worker shall protect the confidentiality of all professionally

acquired information by disclosing such information only when required or allowed by law to do so or when clients have consented to disclosure".

Before beginning the interview with a participant I verbally explained the principle of confidentiality and the limits of confidentiality. Concerning anonymity, I invited each participant to choose a pseudonym that would provide anonymity and further protect the identity of the participant. I used this pseudonym throughout the data analysis attaching it to all transcripts and pieces of thematic analysis. I then filed these items and put them in a locked drawer.

Consent. Additionally, I offered each participant a copy of the research project information letter (Marlow, 2011). See Appendix C. For the purposes of my thesis research I have included in Appendix D the shortened form of Appendix C, a two page document that outlines the participant's risks, benefits, rights, and what the participant needed to know about becoming involved in this research project (Montcalm & Royse, 2002). See Appendix E for a copy of the participant informed consent form.

Vulnerable Populations. I followed strict ethical procedures for research with vulnerable persons, not only at the beginning of the study but through process to completion (Hatch, as cited in Creswell, 2007; Thompson, 2002). The taped interviews, consent forms, receipts for honorariums, and initial transcripts with pseudonyms are stored on UNBC premises. See Appendix F for the receipt form for the honorarium.

Research Procedures

Recruitment. After consultation with other professionals and my supervisor, I contacted the Prince George John Howard Society for permission to conduct thesis research on their premises. See Appendix G for letter of request, and Appendix H for letter of

permission. After receiving Research Ethics Board approval, see appendix K, I met with the John Howard Society Executive Director and the agency staff who were very welcoming and positive toward the research project. I left two posters with staff to place at their discretion, see Appendix I. Additionally, I gave the John Howard staff some short details of the research and stated the necessary criteria.

The non-probable purposive sampling strategy was used in my research to recruit Northern John Howard Society clients. Purposive sampling consists of selecting participants who match the criteria needed for the research study (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). The criteria necessary for research purposes was that: 1. the participant must be the birth father or adoptive father of a child or children under the age of 19 years; 2. must have been an inmate of the Prince George Regional Correctional Center; 3. must still be under the supervision of BC Corrections; 4. and must have lived in the north of BC.

The sample includes participants [fathers], who are knowledgeable about their lived experience of paternal parenting in prison, and may give rich accounts of the experience (Barnett, 2004; Chambers, 1998; Guest et al., 2006). I began interviews inductively, which means as participants came forward, and ceased at seven interviews (Creswell, 1998; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Guest et al., 2006; Morse, 1991). McCracken (1988) adds that "it is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than...superficially with many..." (p. 17).

Interviewing. Before I began the interview, I informed the participants of the interview procedures. After filling out the consent forms, I offered the participants the $25.00 gift card mentioned on the posters, and asked them to sign the receipt. I then stated that if they would like to withdraw from the interview they were free to do so. I showed them the

tape recorder, and informed them that the microphone was only for the recorder to assist in transcription. I also informed them again that they could withdraw from the interview at any time.

All of the participants became somewhat emotional at various times during the interview, especially when discussing their children, so I monitored them closely, through facial expressions, and body language. Where necessary, I changed the course of the interview to ask questions that did not elicit such emotional response and checked in with the participants at various times regarding whether they would still like to continue. All of the participants completed the interview without problems and consented to a feedback interview as well. The participants firmly stated that they wanted me to know their experiences and were very willing to contribute to the research.

Data collection. At the beginning of an interview, I collected demographic information. See Appendix J for a copy of the demographic survey. Data collection consisted of one specific, in-depth, phenomenological interview (Seidman, 2006). The taped interviews were 45 to 90 minutes long with the use of semi-structured, and unstructured, open-ended questions (Seidman, 2006). I documented the silences, facial expressions, body language, and tone of voice through note taking after the interview (Munhall, 2001; Patton, 2002; Seidman, 2006; Unrau & Coleman, 1997). Initially, I planned to take notes during the interviews, but changed my mind believing that it would be distracting and detract from the flow of conversation. I successfully documented all the pertinent information immediately after each interview.

Data Analysis Method I: Critical Hermeneutical Analysis

In phenomenological research, data analysis begins during data collection, meaning that the researcher "...engage[s] in active listening, reflection, clarification and intuiting" (Chambers, 1998, p.431). The goal is for transcription to begin as soon as data is available and to be conducted concurrently as new data are collected; this continues until all data have been analyzed to the final interpretation (Benner; Leonard, as cited in Spichiger, 2009).

I completed each transcription after each interview. However, when I conducted two interviews in one day, there was a lag in transcription because it took me at least eight to ten hours to transcribe the interviews. Therefore, I used a journal to write "analytical memos" beginning from raw data collection, and continuing throughout the analysis and interpretation; this 'audit trail' may help with study transparency (Unrau & Coleman, 1997, p. 510).

Description of Phases. Diekelmann, Allen, and Tanner (1989) conducted critical hermeneutic analysis using seven stages that involved group work during the analysis. Barnett (2004) modified the group stages so they are applicable to a single researcher. In my analysis I followed Barnett's steps of analysis:

1. Read all transcriptions several times for an overall understanding.

2. Wrote interpretive summaries and coded for possible themes of all transcripts.

3. Analyzed all transcripts and identified themes.

4. Returned to the transcripts time and again for clarification.[It is important to note that Diekelmann et al., (1989) state that one purpose of stage four is to "identify relational themes. A relational theme is one that cuts across all texts" (p. 12).] I identified ten relational themes.

5. Compared and contrasted texts to note and described common practices and
   meanings.

6. Identified constitutive patterns that linked the themes.

7. Asked for responses on the final draft, from a colleague [supervisor] who is familiar
   with the methodology (p. 808).

Polkinghorne (1983) explains the interpretive analysis:

> The process of understanding is a movement from the first prejudgmental notion
> of the meaning of the whole, in which the parts are understood, to a change in the
> sense of the meaning of the whole because of the confrontation of the detailed
> parts of the text. Dilthey called this …the "hermeneutic circle" (p.226-227).

I experienced the hermeneutic circle in two ways. Firstly, during the interviews when asking

the participant a question, I often had a preconceived notion of what the answer may be. Yet

many times when I received the response from the participant the answer was quite unlike

what I had originally thought. Therefore, I was confronted with a change in meaning.

Secondly, during data analysis, when I was reading an individual transcript, I would

focus on smaller parts of the data and then I would go back to the whole transcript searching

for the meaning. This hermeneutic circle offered me the opportunity to confront the meaning

of the transcripts. Taking all the transcripts together, I was able to discern what all of them

were stating because they were the whole helping me to understand the parts. After

completing critical hermeneutical data analysis I began metaphorical data analysis.

Data Analysis Method II: Metaphorical Analysis

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state "The essence of metaphor is understanding and

experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (p.5). These researchers claim that

metaphor is not only discursive, but is largely founded on man's unconscious cognitive

processes. The reason that people speak in metaphors is because the metaphorical thought is

resident in the person's conceptual system first (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). These metaphorical thought processes are automatic and unconscious, and thus are barely noticeable; metaphors uniquely permit humans to comprehend ourselves and our surroundings in ways untouched by other cognitive processes (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

Metaphor analysis is an emerging method; therefore there are no concrete established ways of conducting a metaphorical analysis (Todd & Harrison, 2008). As in my choice of the metaphor of iron bars to link ideologies, so too analyzing data "at the macro level of overarching metaphors that provide a frame to a text and may or may not have individual instantiations... [may be used] as a tool to interrogate wider theory or ideology" (Todd & Harrison, 2008, p. 480). These researchers (2008) add that metaphor is a tool used in the comprehension of meaning and therefore there is a connection to phenomenological approaches.

Description of Phases. To begin with I followed Todd and Harrison's (2008) steps for metaphorical data analysis. Firstly, I read through each transcript carefully and identified the most obvious metaphors highlighting or underlining them. Some classic examples of metaphors are: life is a journey, time is a thief, time is a change agent, life is a fire, life has fluidity, and death is departing (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). I considered Lakoff and Turner's (1989) examples to guide me with the analysis, but soon became adept at finding metaphors on my own. Secondly, I looked at each line of the transcript for more detailed metaphors or an extension of the overall metaphor first identified and then assigned the metaphor a name or a classification (Todd & Harrison, 2008). It is possible to see patterns or connections between the metaphors if there are extensive metaphors in the text. This process is somewhat similar to finding themes in transcripts. As the lone researcher I created my own

identifying criteria from knowledgeable insights (Low, as cited in Todd & Harrison, 2008). I exercised reflexivity because of its importance given the interpretive freedom (Todd & Harrison, 2008).

Evaluation of the Research

Guba (1981) provides criteria to evaluate the trustworthiness of the qualitative or naturalistic research paradigm. Trustworthiness is assessed through four avenues: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba, 1981).

Credibility. Steps taken during this research to increase credibility include prolonged engagement of the researcher with participants (Creswell, 2007; Guba, 1981). Critical phenomenology being interpretive expects researchers to become embedded in the research environment (Heidegger, as cited in Spichiger, 2009). Guba (1981) adds that one reason researchers practice prolonged engagement is to "overcome ...distortions produced by the presence of researchers and to provide researchers the opportunity to test their own biases...as well as those of participants" (p.84).

Concerning prolonged engagement, over a period of two months, I kept a journal of the time I spent at the John Howard Society for the purpose of gaining understanding of the agency, its clients, and possible participants. My presence on various occasions facilitated ease during the interview process because although I did not previously speak with participants, they may possibly have been familiar with me. During interviews with clients I made mental notes of body language, facial expressions, tone of voice, and emotional response. Immediately after each interview I documented these observations and kept them in a journal specific to that purpose.

Another step taken to increase credibility was to periodically debrief with my supervisor concerning the data collection and data analysis process (Guba, 1981). I posed specific questions and concerns to my supervisor and more general questions to other faculty and colleagues at various times.

Triangulation is an important strategy to enhance credibility (Guba, 1981). In this thesis I include two data analysis methods: Critical Hermeneutical Phenomenology, and Metaphorical Analysis. Interpretations from each method are checked against each other for similarities and differences in interpretation (Denzin, as cited in Guba, 1981).

Member checking is a very important factor for assessing credibility (Guba, 1981; Marlow, 2011). Unfortunately, I was unable to connect with participants for the member checking facet of this research. Several of the participants informed me that they were homeless and were unsure of their future location. Also, I conducted the interviews in May and June, just at the beginning of the summer season when participants may have moved elsewhere. Additionally, participants may have chosen not to revisit the research.

Transferability. When conducting qualitative research almost all data collected are bound to specific contexts (Guba, 1981). This researcher (1981) states that three factors are important to address in furthering transferability: 1. purposive sampling, 2. rich descriptive data, and 3. extensive description of the context.

To enhance transferability I used purposive sampling with specified criteria to offer a wide range of information for data collection (Guba, 1981). I also collected rich descriptive data that other researchers may use to compare with other contexts and test the applicability of this research to other environments (Guba, 1981). Further, I have described in detail the contextual surroundings bearing on this research.

Dependability. Qualitative researchers are aware that they "must make allowance for

…instabilities [in data] arising …because different realities are being tapped or because

of….developing insights on the part of the investigator – as –instrument" (Guba, 1981, p. 86).

To increase dependability I used two methods of data analysis in the hopes that the

limitations of one method will be offset by the strengths of the other (Guba, 1981). Also I

have kept an audit trail of not only interview notes, but of the research process which my

supervisor has viewed.

Confirmability. In following the steps of my research other researchers should be

able to replicate this research by using the various forms of triangulation employed in this

research (Guba, 1981). Additionally, I used a short demographic survey to complement the

interview data.

Reflexivity. Regarding confirmability, it is of primary importance for the researcher

to practice reflexivity (Guba, 1981). Additionally, hermeneutic research places a demand on

the researcher to be self-reflexive (Finlay, 2003; Laverty, 2003). This means the researcher

may have a continual dialogue about the experience while simultaneously living in the

present moment, formulating interpretations of the experience, and questioning how the

interpretations were developed (Laverty, 2003). Throughout the thesis research process, I

kept a journal for reflexive purposes documenting my biases, thoughts, and my reactions

during interviews, and reflections after interviews. For instance, I state in reflexive response

to a participant who was glad that his prison sentence was extended: *What? I did not expect

to hear that.* Early in the research another participant made a comment that while imprisoned

he did not think too often of his child. That was also a surprise to me. The journal entry

states: *I realize I have to let go of the outcomes...I have to get out of the way—it's about them and their voice!!*

Summary

Qualitative research is the appropriate choice to explore the phenomenon of father incarceration because for one, it has the advantages of offering opportunities for rich data collection from a population previously silent (Creswell, 2007). Critical hermeneutical phenomenology enhances the qualitative approach by amplifying the goals of unearthing the silenced voices, and confirming the importance of their lived experiences. I as the novice researcher gain presence to these new discoveries. Ethical concerns are carefully followed to address confidentiality and protocols for research with vulnerable participants.

Critical hermeneutical data analysis consisted of several phases of data analysis concurrent with data collection. This process which I followed is the interpretive cycle of first analyzing the whole and then reviewing the smaller parts line by line to gain an understanding of the meaning (Polkinghorne, 1983). The second data analysis method of metaphorical analysis uncovered subtle meanings birthed in the unconscious that added, confirmed, and contributed to new knowledge about the lived experiences of participants.

Evaluation of the research involved Guba's (1981) requirements for trustworthiness including credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I practiced reflexivity throughout the research process documenting my perceptions, thoughts, and positional place in the research. From my journal I wrote *"resisting the impulse to move the interview forward away from what I consider insignificant, stilling myself and remaining silent, the response blossoms and becomes an unexpected nugget of rich data"*.

Chapter Four: Findings

...From my own experience is all I know,
Just from what I've told, my experience, that's it... (John).

The findings chapter is perhaps the most interesting chapter in a thesis for several reasons, one being that it makes public the result of careful research for others to study. I am also aware that although the final results hold a special place in research, details of the research process complete the understanding of how I arrived at my findings. To facilitate understanding of this process I include reflections from my reflective journal where applicable to assist in research transparency.

Miles and Huberman (1994) state that data analysis consists of three concurrent activities: "data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification" (p.10). Specifically, data reduction will involve the steps in the outline below; data display will be shown in Tables 1 to 3 and in Figures 1 and 2 in this chapter; conclusion drawing and verification will be discussed in the Chapter Five: Discussion of Findings and Implications (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Demographic information was derived from a short demographic survey that I gave to the participants at the beginning of the interviews. The participants had no problems reading or understanding the survey and promptly completed it. Table 1 depicts the Demographic results. The extensive findings are derived from the participant interviews. Figure 1 depicts the themes derived from the analysis. Also Table 2 details the Jail Culture Terms and the Term Meanings that emerge from the data. Table 3 depicts the Metaphorical Data derived from the metaphorical analysis. Lastly, Figure 2 depicts the Jail Hierarchy.

Table 1. Demographic Data

PSEUDONYM	A	E	R	#	AC	BC	CR	ETH	N	SA/SP	RA
GREG	30s	High School	Common Law	2	5,8	Yes	1. Birth Mother 2. Greg and Common Law	First Nations	20 + years	Yes/No	Rare
BRANDON	40s	College	Common Law	1	17	Yes	Family Member	First Nations	40+ years	Yes/Yes	Rare
CARLOS	30s	Elementary	Separated	2	13,7	Yes	1.Grandmother 2.Grandmother	Mexican	30+ years	Yes/Yes	Rare
FREDERIC	40s	High School	Single	2	13, 19	Yes	Family Member	Caucasian	< 20 years	Not Sure/ Somewhat	Rare
JOE	40s	High School	Single	3	8, 14, 16	Yes	Birth Mother	Caucasian	40+ years	Yes/ Somewhat	Rare
WEBSTER	40s	College	Separated	4	1,7,7,14	Yes	Grandmother	First Nations	20 + years	Yes/ Somewhat	Rare
JOHN	40s	Some High School	Single	2	13,14	Yes	Birth Mother	Caucasian	2 + years	Yes/ Somewhat	Rare

Table Heading Codes:

1. A -Age
2. E - Education
3. R – Relationship Status
4. # - Number of children
5. AC –Ages of Children
6. BC – Before Incarceration Father Living with Children

7. CR - Children Reside with
8. ETH - Ethnicity
9. N - Years Resided in North
10. SA - Spiritually Aware
11. SP - Spiritual Person
12. RA - Religious Activities

Demographics

An interesting outcome of my research is the fact that all but one of the participants struggle with problematic substance abuse and some with family violence issues. I did not include questions on the demographic survey regarding mental health or substance abuse problems but nevertheless all but one of the participants self-reported problematic substance abuse.

All of the men were in their 30s or 40s, and had lived with their children before being incarcerated. Greg, Frederic, and Joe completed high school while John almost completed high school. Brandon and Webster had attended college while Carlos' education stopped at elementary school. Joe, Brandon, and Carlos were born in the north of BC and lived in the north all their lives. Frederic lived in the north a little under 20 years while Webster and Greg lived over 20 years in the north of BC. John is the only participant who has lived in the north for only two years.

Greg, Brandon, and Webster identified as First Nations' fathers, and Carlos identified as a Mexican father. Frederic, Joe, and John identified as Caucasian. Greg and Brandon stated they are in common-law relationships, and Carlos and Webster stated that they are separated. Frederic, Joe, and John declared that they are now single, but were married before incarceration. John, Frederic, Carlos, and Greg each stated that they have two children while Joe stated he has three children. Webster stated he has four children. Brandon stated that he has one child. Greg stated that he has still retained custody of one child and declared that his other child lives with the child's birth mother. All the other fathers' children as of this research reside with other family members such as the birth mother or grandmother as declared by the participants.

All of the fathers with the exception of Frederic considered themselves to be spiritually aware. Brandon and Carlos considered themselves to be spiritual persons. The other men stated that they are somewhat spiritual with Greg stating that he is not a spiritual person. All of the men stated that they rarely engaged in religious activities, such as attending church. Most of the fathers' children are teenagers; Greg has two younger children, and Webster's youngest child is one year old.

Thematic Findings

There are ten main themes that emerged from the participant data. These themes may be categorized as Structural and Fluid. A conceptual representation of these themes is depicted in Figure 1 with the Structural Themes represented as boxes; the theme north is the largest box to depict the geographical structure. The Fluid themes are represented by the large oval which includes all four fluid themes. The ten themes are:

1. Father Incarcerated

2. Father in the Community

3. Prison Culture

4. Culture

5. North

6. Father on the Outs

7. Emotions

8. Transitions

9. Change

10. Spirituality

Figure 1
Map of Thematic Content
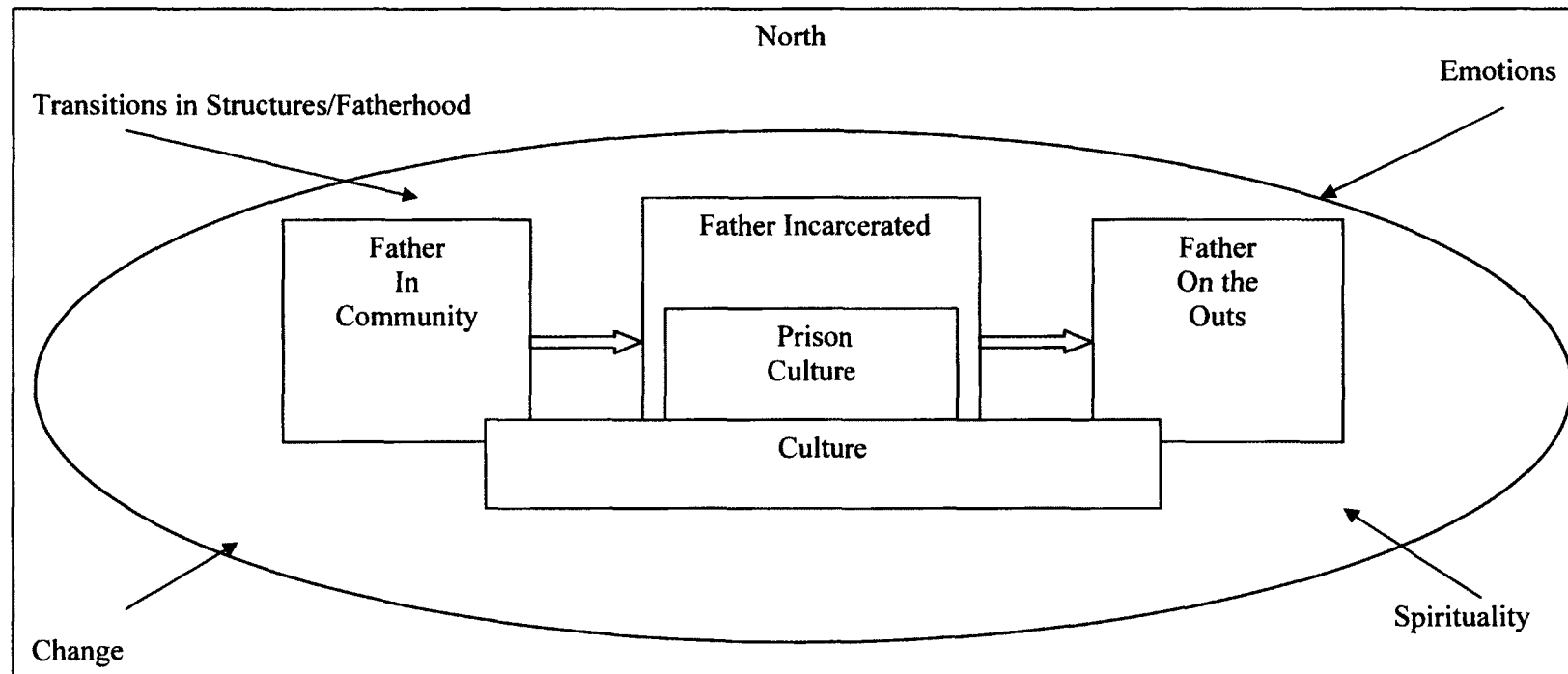
Note:
The theme transition in structures/fatherhood is also represented by the arrows from the boxes depicting the structural transitions of fathers.
Also the underlying oval represents the four themes of emotions, change, spirituality and transitions to depict the fluid, underlying and overlapping nature of these themes as they pertain to the themes represented in the boxes.

Table 2
Jail Cultural Terms and Term Meanings

JAIL CULTURAL TERMS	TERM MEANINGS
Code of Silence	"You see nothing, you say nothing, you walk away"
Code of Conduct	"Certain way to behave"
The Hole	Solitary Confinement
Walk on the Range	Walking on the Unit
The House	The Individual Cell
Jailhouse Mentality	"Certain strength and head space to make it through"
Rubbernecking	An Inability to Keep your Eyes Off Other Cells
Greased	Aboriginals fraternizing with Caucasians
Bitch	Vulnerable Inmate forced to do Whatever asked to by Stronger Inmate
Bulls	Jail Guards
Jail Hierarchy	Classification according to inmate offenses
Cops	Police are listed at bottom of hierarchy
Diddlers	Pedophiles –child molesters
Skinners	Rapists
Wife Beaters	Men who violently beat their wives/partners
Respect	Inmates who have the longest sentence are given most respect
The Statute and the Status	"The bigger, the stronger, the scarier, the more respect"

Table 3: Metaphorical Data

NUMBERS	METAPHORICAL DATA
1.	Life as an Actor on a Stage "Couple months down the road" "What's this Speck talking about?" "I fit in pretty well", "Consider myself as a Street Person" "I just [role] played [as] myself"
2.	Human body and Emotions "You're just a number, you're just thrown to the back Burner" "Big lift in the Heart" "Bleeds off into your Children"
3.	Life as Circular "Human Wreck" "Caught in Snowball" "Snowball Rolling Downhill" "Jail is Shark Tank" "Cookies Crumble" "Jail is Warehouse" " My Crime Cycle"
4.	Life as steps "Land me in Jail", "Extended periods of sobriety", "Step in and try and take over"
5.	Life as Fixed in Time "Getting older… the clock was ticking", "Time to put away the toys"
6.	Throwaway Person "They just throw you in there and that's it"
7.	Life as a Journey "Lead by Example" "Follows me Everyone" "Straight down the path of dealing drugs" "Get thrown on the Pile with Crack Shack Users"

Figure 2
Prison Culture Hierarchy
Note: This information emerged from the data. There may be other additions or deletions.

Wife Beaters

Skinners-
Rapists

Diddlers -Pedophiles

Police and Bulls
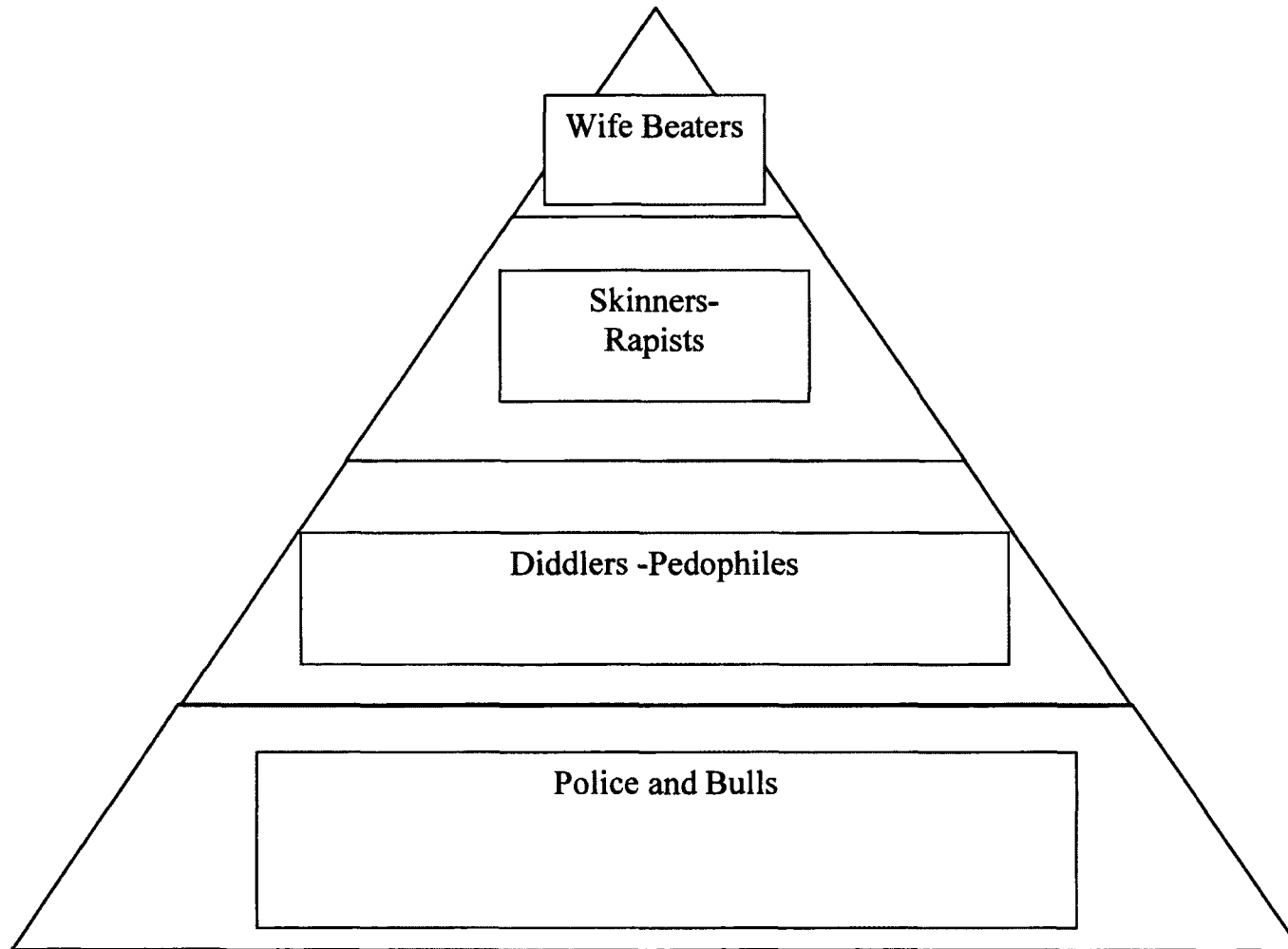
When offering the participants' experiences, I will begin with the six structural themes and then I will follow with the four fluid themes.

Structural Themes. The responses to the main research question: "I am interested in your everyday lived experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts?" were very surprising to me. As a novice researcher I expected the content to be about the children, spouse/partner, family and details surrounding those topics. Those were important details in answer to that question, but the main overriding response was about the jail environment and the jail culture, and how incarceration impacted their lives. Thus, the main theme to emerge from the data is that of "Father Incarcerated" and the theme of "Jail Culture". The other themes emerge in relation to the main theme. For instance the themes of "Father in the Community" and "Father on the Outs" are themes that describe life before the main event of incarceration and life after the main event of incarceration. Incarceration has a major effect on the life course of the participants. The theme of "Culture" emerges from the data of participants who self-report as First Nations, and Mexican, and also from the data of other participants who mention culture as important. The theme of "North" emerges in answer to the question of: "How has living in the north previously and then parenting from a northern prison impacted your parenting?"

Fluid Themes. The fluid themes: "Emotions", "Transitions", "Change", and "Spirituality" emerge from the data as themes that overlap and are underlying in all the structural themes. The theme of emotions is evident during the interviews when participants struggle to control their feelings of grief and loss, frustration and sadness when speaking about their lived experiences especially when discussing their children. The theme of change is strongly evident in all participant data as is the theme of transitions. Spirituality as a fluid

theme emerges in many responses throughout participant data overlapping with the other fluid themes and underlying the structural themes.

Metaphorical Data

Metaphorical analysis is an emergent qualitative research method. I was prepared to accept the possibility that there would not be metaphorical data; however, to the contrary there are examples of metaphors in each data item. To further protect the anonymity of participants I have chosen to leave out pseudonyms and only outline the seven metaphors in Table 3 with a number as well as discuss them in this chapter.

Participant Definition of Parenting and Fatherhood

In answer to my questions of "What does parenting mean to you?" and further "What does being a father mean to you?" the participants define parenting and being a father clearly and in some instances quite precisely. These are the participant definitions emergent from the data.

Parenting. The fathers define parenting as being there for your children, focusing on their needs and being a positive role model. Unconditional love is a facet of parenting as is correcting your children. Webster states that "teaching them culture if there's a cultural basis in the family" is a parental role. Carlos adds more detail stating that "parents should teach you how to live, how to interact with the world...like the spiritual principles, honesty, open-mindedness, willingness, how to interact with others, don't steal, how to function in society". Brandon explains that there are pitfalls to parenting. "Regret is that worst thing to have about being a parent...the only thing that can beat regret is forgiveness...One day I hope to be forgiven".

Father. The men define a father as someone who provides financial support, teaches morals, protects his children, and loves them unconditionally. Joe states that it is important for a father to grow with his children. "Mostly being a father is… it's growing and learning not only yourself, but with your children". Webster explains how to show unconditional love stating that it's "important that children get affirmations so their self-esteem and their self-worth and their self-identity isn't trampled on".

Some of Webster's affirmations are: "Daddy loves you, I'll always love you, I'm proud of you, Yes, I like that you cleaned your room without being told, you're brave, daddy thinks you're brave to learn to read out loud in school, I'm proud of your manners.."

Themes

1. Father in the Community. This theme sets the context for understanding the lived experience of fathers before they are incarcerated. This theme is structural because it focuses on the family structures before incarceration and includes the impact of substance abuse issues on that family structure. This conversation begins with information from the participants on their lives as children, the father role models if any, and their lives with their own children and their partners/spouses. The fathers struggle with the father loss in their lives and the resultant lack of knowledge about parenting that they acknowledge should have been part of their lives. Brandon was raised in foster homes and explains his lack of a paternal role model. He would like to know who his father was:

> …I really don't know. I've been in foster homes my whole life and it was always different from one home to the next. A lot of it was just strictness. Follow our rules or else. I really don't know what parenting is because I never knew my father as well…I didn't really know how to be a parent and I know that no one has a manual but I didn't have a parent so I didn't have a relationship with my father and the fathers that were in the foster home…were either gone or were just the disciplinary person for the house…the only thing that I got from them was…the belt or they weren't even there…I wish I knew who my father was.

Webster supports the notion of father loss stating that:

> I was not brought up by my Mom and Dad and I guess in some sense I wish they were there to guide me...I just wanted to be with my Mom and my Dad but as their son, but with my parents I never had that chance.

Greg and John both knew their fathers and describe them as excellent role models Greg

states:

> I had a really good father...really good person, really kind heart...I never got spanked once...ever... growing up, which is kind of rare this day and age....my father never spanked me once...I see him as a perfect father...really great role model...never wanted me to do that [drugs].

John states characteristics about his father:

> My Dad was good, he was a good Dad. In fact, I look up to my Dad for what he did. He rose the four children by himself...he had a heart condition so he wasn't able to work...he had to take odd jobs wherever he could just to raise us...My Dad was an awesome guy...he would always take us fishing...he never neglected us.

All of the fathers lived with their children for some period of time before incarceration.

Some of the fathers state their difficulties with being a parent. Carlos whose parents struggled

with addiction issues states:

> ...I'm [the child's]birth father,...but I don't think I'm a Dad because I've never taught [child] anything...I've never been there for [child]...I can't say I'm any better [than parents] cause I'm not doing anything for my[child].

Other fathers filled the fatherhood role in various ways. For instance John details how he

disciplines his children:

> I parent the way he did...if I can't afford to get things for my kids...I won't say 'Yes' or 'No' I'll just be like well we'll see...I don't make any false promises... [regarding discipline] it would be a time out...they could come out after their certain time...five or ten minutes...they'd explain to me what they did and if they knew it was wrong...no spanking, I don't like that.

Webster teaches his children aspects of his Aboriginal First Nations culture:

> I try to teach them the "Wolf Welcome Song", counting to 10 in [First Nations' language] cause they're only seven...I was teaching them but they parroted...I would say...and then they would say...I'd do that every day for a week...now they can count to 10...just know to be patient and be repetitive...and at their ages right now they're little sponges and they'll take to it quick..

While in the community, before being incarcerated, the fathers in this research interacted to some extent with their families. Greg states that: "...a lot of my family looked towards me for everything...I'd take care of them, whatever money I had I'd feed them...I let my sister stay there". Brandon relates some broken family relationships: "I got my nose broken the first time by my big brother when I was [teenager] so that tells you how I feel about my family".

From the sample of seven participants, six struggle with problematic substance abuse and it all six cases it leads to their incarceration, perhaps not once but multiple times. Frederic states that: "I did a lot of stuff for sixteen, seventeen years, drank, smoked, and partied every day almost...all it leads to is jail".

Greg, Carlos, and Brandon support Frederic's statement. Brandon adds that his lifestyle choice to abuse substances creates distance between himself and his child:

> [Child] would like "Dad, no, you can't come around when you're drinking...I chose not to be told by my [child]how I should act so I kind of put a distance between us...[child]was just trying to help me, but I didn't want that, I wanted to do whatever I wanted. I wanted to run the streets...I got into more trouble because of the fact that I was still partying and stuff so I did more time...

The participants offer details about their spousal/partner relationships. Joe reflects back on a time when he was married and enjoyed his family life:

> Been married eighteen years...my ex-wife, she's 100% native...my kids are status...I don't know a lot about that side of it...When I first met my wife I enjoyed all that stuff...trying to learn the language and all the different beliefs.

Brandon and Webster discuss the impact their substance abuse has on their spousal relationship. Webster begins:

Both of us been alcoholics...My common-law is quite resourceful...has no qualms, no shame of going to panhandle...that's how we get smokes, that's how we get booze in-between my paydays..., so it went from bad to worse...our addictive personalities ...my grandmother beat me so much when I was a kid...I believe that's why I get so anti-authority towards women...why I committed my offense.

Brandon adds: "... Me and my spouse have a very volatile relationship...that stems from drinking...I allowed myself to have issues with her...Drinking leads to using drugs, drinking leads to me abusing my wife, drinking leads to me doing crime".

Carlos and Webster are also step-parents as well as being birth parents. While in the community the fathers work, negotiate their family relationships, and fulfill various aspects of the paternal role. With the exception of John all the fathers struggle with substance abuse issues.

Reflection from My Research Journal. *I am overwhelmed with what these fathers understand. I am learning from them. They each individually understand in their own way, what fatherhood should be but they struggle with knowing how to fulfill the role and all in the face of substance abuse issues.*

2. Father Incarcerated. This theme is structural because it focuses on the prison system and institutional practices as the men experience it. The physical prison building itself is a massive structure. The internal policies and procedures represent a different kind of structure, yet impressive nevertheless. The participants respond to my question of "I am interested in your lived experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts? In response the men discuss the daily aspects of the prison, the living quarters, the meals, prison work available to them, the visiting arrangements, and the ways of communicating with the community outside the prison walls.

I include statements from all the fathers here to show the individual impacts and

perceptions of incarceration from the structural aspect. Brandon states that

> there's not really much to tell. Like I said with the day to day that goes on in there, I was mostly missing my wife, my old lady. It was rare that I thought about my [child]... I don't even think [child] knew I was in jail.

Webster adds the reality of confinement.

> ...yeah isolation and being confined, that doom and gloom, it's so tough being in and ...locked up for so long and no hobbies and nothing to do...there are single bunks and...double bunks. When I first went in I had to sleep on the floor...then I got a double room and exercise was the only outlet I had so I tried to do that as much as I can. Here in Prince George...the food sucks. ...so it's tough.

Frederic offers his experience. "Well I had no contact with my kids, no contact with my

ex...that was the court's choice...they don't care in there; it's not a nice place".

Greg states his opinion regarding the institutional food.

> It was just hard, like every morning ...I was glad that when I was working...in a shop there every morning, You get fed...have you ever heard of F grade beef? yeah it says "Feed to inmates only" ...I think it's the kind of food they put in dog food...the kind of beef that's like the lowest grade...I didn't like it one bit... [Then] we'd go to work and then visits.

Joe discusses the negation of his father role and the lack of food along with the

overcrowding.

> I didn't feel like a father in there...about a week after...once you get ...put in and you're in for a fair length of time...I mean jail is jail and any one day in jail is bad... because you're trapped...They call it trapped...You can't get up, go to the corner store...I made like $1.50 a day right? There wasn't sufficient ample food all the time, so you'd buy canteen... overcrowding doesn't help...I think it was only built for...there's like...just insane, it's like nuts, like way too crowded...what do you do right?...Do you build more jails or do you let more people get away with stuff, but that's not my decision? That's why I'm getting out.

Carlos remembers what he went through in prison as a new father.

> [Child] was born just at the beginning of ...sentence...it was the very beginning...I'd just been sentenced. I was...they handcuffed me and shackled me and took me out to see my[child]when [child]was first born for about fifteen minutes...but after that

> [child's mom]never ...brought [child] in to visit...got odd picture in the mail. I remember what I went through in there.

These comments from John who had the shortest stay at PGRCC

> ...but, my experience there, I was there for three months, I was there three months...Everyday experience, well, it wasn't very nice, but it wasn't the worst. I can't say it was a bad thing because you get treated pretty well up there...the food wasn't the greatest, but you had to deal with what you had right? I worked in the kitchen there, worked...earned some money while I was there...I did some programs while I was there. They offer a lot of programs. I was able to go outside and do some work and stuff...I was in a dorm, in a... your cell...there's two bunks, and a toilet, and a TV and a desk and there was myself and another guy...I got switched from one dorm I was in to a living unit. They call it a living unit. ...more freedom in the living unit rather than the cell.

The participants respond to my question: "I am interested in the correctional system's response to your fatherhood. What are some of your thoughts? Brandon responds with this statement:

> Those guys really couldn't care about you one way or the other, as long as you're behaving, doing your job, and not fooling around, you do alright..the only thing they offer is like school, just upgrading and stuff.

Frederic echoes Brandon's statement in a succinct manner. "They don't say too much. They don't care. They just [put] you in there and that's it. You get an hour a day out". Carlos adds his perspective. "I don't think there was anything for family period. There was programs but none really based on parenting or family". Greg concurs with Brandon and Frederic. "They...nothing...They had no response at all, like ahhh nothing. They don't really take it [fatherhood] into hand".

John supports the other men's statements and adds that nothing was ever offered to him in the way of family programming.

> No, no programs offered for dads...there was never anything offered to me. They knew I was a dad. They knew I had two children, but there was never anything offered for me or for parenting or fathers or anything up there.

Joe muses over his response and agrees with the other men's statements. "....Well there wasn't...wasn't programs for fatherhood or anything like that".

Webster amplifies the reasons why there are no programs offered.

> ... there's not much money in the Provincial system versus the Federal so I think that's why they give an extra year or two probation is because there's not that many programs here in PGRCC...there's healthy relations and you have to be in there for a duration like six to nine months. I think you gotta be in there for 90 days before you can start doing any programs. I got probation, I get drunk, I get [put in], I do 60 to 90 days for being drunk and disorderly in public and by the time the time's up I can't get into a program...I come back out and so that doesn't help much...wishing there was more money for programming...

The participants comment on various aspects of family visitation at Prince George Regional Correctional Centre. Visits at the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre are through plexi-glass. Carlos comments on this structural aspect. "There are no more open visits. Everything's through glass, and you know I don't think I'd want to...that's not much of a visit"

In response to "Was it difficult to get visits?" Carlos states that

> ... not with family, if you have blood family they let you in or your wife if you are actually married. I really wouldn't like my kid to come like it's been seven years since I've seen[child] and if I ended up on the hill tomorrow I really wouldn't want[child] to come in and see me...I wouldn't want that to be the first time [child's] seen me in more of [child's]remembered life...but it would be different if I was living with [child] and raising [child] and I ended up there for something it would be different.

Visits are very important to fathers whose children and partners can come for a visit.

Greg states the meaning of visits for him.
> Visits, that's my thing. I'd wait for every couple of days and it'd be right after work, just right at 3:00pm. I'd be so excited, go there and see my [child]...It was something to look forward to cause if you get in trouble and stuff you lose privileges like that...made sure I was good the whole time so you know just that one hour a day was...awesome...only three hours a week, but still it was well worth it. I just did my visits. It was behind glass cause you don't get open visits at all up here ...I get to see my family behind glass.

So in response to: "When your child would come for an hour, you would see [the child]

behind glass?" Greg states:

> Just behind glass yeah...[child] got restless in there cause it's a tiny little cubicle and my[child] likes to run around...just kind of bugged [child] that [child] had to be in that little room...[child would] get all restless and tired cause[child would] be jumping around, trying to do stuff...we'd be sitting the same distance[meaning as in the interview room]...there'd be big glass in front of us and cement on the walls on the sides.

In response to: "No opening for you to speak?" "No, it'd be over a telephone".

Webster comments on the importance of visits for the parental bond.

> Visitation is...it's maximum security. It sucks. They have a plexiglass...for security and stuff...I wish I could have more visits...to have more visits as a parent...more structured. I know it's healthy for a child to go to jail, not to visit their mother or their father, but to keep that bond, cause it really feels like I'm losing my bond with my kids...I've been away from them for about eight months...and I've only talked to them twice...the more I stay away, the more apathetic I become, the less I think to myself, the less chance I have to build, to bond with them.

John in contrast does not want his children to visit him in jail due to his concern that they

would worry about him.

> Being in jail...it impacted me quite a bit cause I didn't talk to my kids while I was there...I couldn't...the reason I didn't because I didn't know want them to know where I was and why I was there cause it... too many questions, but the mom knew and she knew everything that happened and we agreed that we wouldn't cause my kids...they love to ask questions and ...if they know that dad's in trouble or something especially with the police and stuff they want to know why this and that and...they would want to come and see me. I didn't want my kids to come in a place like that to see me...I would never let ...and I told her not to and she said "That's fine" and she wrote.

Many of the participants commented on telephone privileges while incarcerated. For

those who did not have visits for whatever reason, the telephone was paramount to

maintaining contact. Greg states that "... every night I'd phone them...we had a set up time

cause in the unit there was like 30 plus people in there and there's only two phones...so I

wrote on the wall...this is my time..." In response to my question: "What about phone

...charges?" "It was insane. ...it's about a buck a night at least for a half hour call...It takes

out of your canteen money... I'd work all week and put so much on my phone card".

John supports Greg's comments stating

> It was always costing cause when you go in [to jail] they give you a phone card and
> you put money on it...and it had your picture on it, your inmate number, but you
> don't go by numbers, you go by your last name. ...they knew that phone calls were
> very important to a lot of people there, so phone privileges were never abused.

Webster adds these comments: "Security's gotten a lot more tight. They're all collect

calls ...all go through the system where it's monitored".

Reflections from my journal. *I am reflecting that many of the men changed their*

tone of voice and their body language when discussing the experience of being incarcerated.

Some became more animated and spoke with more vigor and emphasis as if they wanted me

to know these details. Of course I did want to know. I knew very little of what they were

discussing and perhaps they sensed that and expanded their stories more.

3. Prison Culture. This theme is also a primary theme because of its relationship

with incarceration. It is structural because it relates to the inmate governing structures and

rules that are quite different from those of the prison administration. These are some of the

participant responses to the main research question: I am interested in your everyday

experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts?

Joe responds with these thoughts. "It's the jail house mentality". "Can you tell me a bit about

that"?

> It's just you gotta have it...you gotta be a certain strength and head space...to make
> it through some of the jails...you can't be weak...or you'll be preyed on by guys
> meaning...you might lose some of your meals or some of your canteens...you gotta
> be able to defend yourself and stand up for yourself... I'm sure it's tough for some
> guys that are...not only smaller in stature but you know physically, physical strength
> ... it means a lot you know...there's guys that have done so much time they look for
> that right? ...cleanliness...certain things like how you carry yourself...it's just the

way the inmates run the jails…there's rules and regulations by the jailhouse guards, but amongst the times …you're out onto the unit…there's certain things that are ran by the inmates…

"Tell me about that" Joe adds "…the cleanliness…a lot of please and thankyous in most jails…if you bump into somebody or want to borrow something or ask for something…there's common courtesy…and respect too". John offers more details about how the prison is run by the inmates.

> When I got there the first day…they explained…the rules of the…dorm…There was one guy…the dorm representative…he told me "Do you know anything about jail?" and I said "NO". He explained the rules, what it is…he represented everybody so if anybody had problems we just basically go to him…he's try to fix it…he told me what to do and what not to do…like don't go up to the desk where the guards are…I can't remember the name they use to call them…You're not supposed to be up there on a regular basis…people think…what's this [person] talking about.

Webster supports the notion of the jail mentality with a different perspective. He also talks about jail mentality in another institution that is remarkably different from PGRCC.

> ….Their mentality when they walk on the range, the unit, changes the whole dynamic…the whole unit will change with one person coming in…it can change the whole group dynamic of the thirty of us there and you have to …we behave in certain ways…you have to. I think it's a Code of Conduct…provincial here sucks cause it is maximum and you're locked down lots right, it is a bit tense, but it's nothing compared to when you walk into Kent…I spent 42 days in Kent and I'm telling ya that just walking into the institute you can just feel the difference…you feel the fear…this is it man…there's two ways of leaving here: either your warrant expiry or you're leaving in a body bag…Kent will be the worst…the Code of Conduct there…it's pretty tense.

Joe comments on the issue of personal space and solitary confinement." What does that space look like"?

> It doesn't look like nothing. There's just this little bubble around you and if people invade that bubble there's an issue on how you want to deal with it…do you deal with it in violence or are you the kind of person that will say "Look buddy…You're in my bubble…just back off leave me alone"? …However you deal with it there's repercussions.

John discusses solitary confinement as termed "the hole".

You lose good time...any bad time, you lose good time. You're in there for a certain amount of time...for good time they knock off ...I think it's a third [of sentence]. So when you go in they put you down good time ...and if fighting, you do anything wrong, go in the hole, so I don't know...I never been in there I just know that when you're fighting or something...that you're not supposed to...really bad...you go...They call it the hole there.

Joe comments on the pecking order, and the tension, caused by living in close quarters with

other inmates.

Generally you know it's a pecking order...guys that have been in longer; done a lot of time...they get a lot more of the respect...than guys that come in an do thirty days compared to some guy that's done a couple of years...you show a little respect to the guy that's been in a little longer...it's just the fact that ...it's more along the lines of strength of being able to get through diversity...lets say five years compared to six months...you know the strength of that person...to endure that over that length of time...you gotta show respect...I'm in here if I'm going to keep coming here I can probably learn something from him if he can find a way to deal with whatever goes on inside the jails...am I going to be able to do that? Am I going to be that strong? Be that strong inside?

"Can you tell me what strengths might be? What qualities"?

...How you carry yourself...your attitude...you respect other humans, personal hygiene...do you workout?...if you feel confident...you'll be okay and confident around others whether you know them or not in a confined space...you're in closed spaces, even your best friend gets on your nerves.

John comments on the masculine aspect of jail culture.

I'm a small guy so I don't like to have any conflicts...I just kept to myself...I'm just a small kind of guy. I'm not a fighter. I don't fight so and in jail you look at somebody wrong, they're going to fight with you. They're going to say "What are you?" ...Well...you stick away from that stuff...They're muscular. They're big muscle guys freakin' tough guys in there...The way they talk and they present themselves you can tell they're fighters. You try to make friends with them if you can...but they're not that bad in there either. I met some really nice guys...they just try to be[tough] cause that's.... I guess when you go to jail you gotta try to be a tough guy...to get through there.

Webster comments on the inmate hierarchy system and the Code of Silence.

...listening to the inmates...it's us against the bulls and ...that mindset con versus guard...they have that hierarchy system; cops down here, then it's the pedophiles,

then it's the diddlers, then it's the wife beater...you get being categorized and then you have to behave a certain way.

"Tell me about that".

> You can't... rubber necking we call it. You can't look at someone else's cell and a simple word 'goof'...as soon as someone says that in jail well the...beef is on...then people gossiping and judging you cause I've been in prison before...it's way different [now] a lot younger and a lot more aggressive inmates...got something to prove. They're twenty-one and they want to make their bones...if you're in their way so be it...and then there's the Code of Silence.

Frederic and Webster offer their perspectives on aspects of the Code of Silence as part of the prison culture. Frederic states "You get beat up pretty good if you don't listen in there".

"Who would beat you up"? "The prisoners. You see nothing. You say nothing. You see somebody get stabbed, you don't say nothing. You walk away choong, done. I've seen lots of it in there".

Webster recalls an incident in prison.

> There's an older man I knew. He got beat up because of his crime. ...and there's nothing I can do...you have to fight for yourself no matter how old you are. You're on your own...the kid that's beating him up's like twenty-three, twenty-four...he's like a skinner, you stick up for him you may as well be one yourself...nothing I could do to stop it...Couldn't talk anybody into...couldn't use the power of persuasion to stop it...that's the Code of Silence...the guards come for interviews...I don't know nothing right? But you know...what's going on ...if you tell then you're a Rat...There's one guard and that one guard can't be everywhere.

John discusses the Code of Silence as well and adds the importance of staying away from the guards.

> ...You don't rat when you're in jail. You never rat...You hear something, you see something, you walk away...I mean so things like that I did. They're bulls [guards]. That's what they're called, bulls. That's what they call them, bulls. You don't go around them too much cause otherwise they [other inmates] think you're trying to rat on somebody.

> **Reflections from my journal.** *I must admit that the topic of jail culture was an unexpected outcome of this research. When conducting the literature review previous to the*

research, I never considered jail culture. The body language of many of the men changed to

accommodate this discussion. Frederic became more reticent and even turned his body away

in the chair. I wondered what he was not telling me. Joe softened as if this was a special

topic in some way. Webster's voice assumed authority and firmness, something you would

hear from a leader.

4. Culture. Three of the participants identify as First Nations and their comments in

response to the questions reflect their culture. I consider this theme to be structural as well

because society's ideologies impact different cultures. The prison ideology and the inmate

structures are strongly related to ethnicity. Brandon responds to the question: "I am

interested in the correctional system's response to your fatherhood. What are some of your

thoughts"? ..."The only real thing that helped any of us with anything was [name]...the

native fellow that comes to the jail. He does the talking circle, the sweat lodge up there".

Webster comments on racial discrimination.

> ...to be Aboriginal...we're born with this stigma already even before we're
> born...cause being Aboriginal...we're stereotyped as bums...all on welfare, all living
> on reserve getting handouts...I haven't been on welfare since [year] but I went to the
> welfare office...I feel the burden of carrying that stereotype that I'm a bum, that I'm
> just a drunk, that all Indians have sex with their cousins...we can't be taught. We're
> not smart.

Greg adds that "I feel like I'm being a little discriminated against by my PO".

Greg offers this response to the question:" What are some of your thoughts regarding your

family's response to your incarceration and supervision"?

> They were all devastated. My mom was hurt, my sisters, everybody...my common-
> law her family too cause it just tore everything apart cause a lot of my family looked
> toward me for everything. I'd take care of them...They're usually all over the place
> on the streets. My nieces...they were always there too. I took care of them cause they
> had no where to go and then when I got incarcerated ...it took me away from all of
> them...and I'd always joke that everybody'd fall apart if I was gone and it really did
> happen. Everybody did fall apart.

Webster elaborates on racism within the prison walls at PGRCC. In response to the question:

"I am interested in your everyday lived experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts"?

> ...being Aboriginal, there's a high number of Aboriginals incarcerated so I usually will bond with the same preferably [names Nation]...there's that racial white guy and there's that Indian on this side of the fence and ...we locked down up at PGRCC for a few weeks because of racial tensions...Indians are only allowed out to eat and they're locked up and then it's the white ...guys and it's there. Racism is pretty prevalent and strong up there...racism can be pretty strong in some joints and if you don't stand up for Aboriginals...you're kind of ostracized if you don't hang out with your kind...If I just started hanging out with the white guys the Aboriginals wouldn't talk to me much and basically they'd call me 'greased' so that's how it is...that's the Code of Conduct for some reason...Indians sit on this side and eat here. White guys eat over here, [another culture] eat over here [another culture] eat over there.

Joe who identifies as Caucasian offers this perspective.

> ... There was the Chinese, the Japanese, the East Indians, the White Guys...you gotta adapt...you gotta understand. You have to be able to accept people for who and what they are and what their beliefs are...If you can't, there's controversy...it's simple as that.

Webster discusses incarceration and the similarity to residential schools.

> ...Maybe we've been beaten to passiveness or...since residential school...a lot of the men say "I just went from residential school right to jail". It's like being in residential school so being used to that structure and then taking that back to our communities...having that jail, that residential mentality has really effected our communication and our coping mechanisms and has taught us a lot different way...taught us to be resentful...and aggressive. They can't speak properly cause they're... inside they're so mean and aggressive...they just want to let it out...and you so much as look at them, they'll try and fight you. That's taking away from our balance...the Aboriginal live balanced and one with nature.

> **Reflections from my journal.** *Webster's statements about jail being like residential school amazed me. I did not elicit this response in any way and was so surprised that this came out in the interview. When I first embarked on my thesis journey I compared incarceration for Aboriginal peoples as another form of residential school. I did find*

literature that supported these ideas and now an unsolicited response from a First Nations

father.

5. North. I consider this theme to be structural because it is contextual due to its

geographical, social, and political location. North holds different meanings for people as

shown from these findings. Participants respond to my question of "How has living in the

north previously and then parenting from a northern prison impacted your parenting"?

For Joe north made little difference to his incarceration experience.

> Jail is jail… [Geography] never made a difference. Jail is jail no matter where you're
> at. It's all run by rules and regulations. You…wake at one certain time, locked up at
> certain times…eat at certain times…gym at certain times…pretty much all the same.

Greg's family visits are impacted somewhat by the northern winter weather.

> …Sometimes my girlfriend had a hard time getting up there and there are no rides
> available so she'd just catch a cab. The weather's… well it is… was… the winter's
> pretty bad… like a lot of snow and it was cold. Did she have to miss visits? Only once
> because my [child] got sick…basically it's just the cold and the climate's different up
> here [compared to Vancouver] it's just a big difference.

Frederic states that " it wasn't too good," and did not elaborate. John reports that he was not

affected by the north. "It didn't effect me any. It doesn't bother me as long as there's work…

I can settle there…nothing can impact me".

Carlos mentions the difficulty with visits when family live at least eight hours away farther

north from Prince George.

> Well [child] lives about eight hours away in [northern community]…it's year round
> [impacts]. They [parents] sold their property and moved up there. [Regarding prison
> visitation]It [the weather] was a big part of it…the drive…and going a few hours
> [over eight hours] drive to go to a one hour visit. They [parents] had somebody.
> They had a friend here. I guess my mom had a cousin or someone here in town and
> they would spend the night with them. They would usually visit the second day too
> and then go back.

Brandon relates the north to relationship dynamics.

There's a lot of especially native children...that come from foster homes...The best I can say is there are a lot of single moms in this town. There are a lot of single moms in the north. Separation has become a common factor among the relationships in this town. I've been in Prince George for [over twenty years]. I did time in the old jail or on the old jail right up on the hill...like one thing I notice is you're either fighting with your old lady, splitting up, or you're trying to get with someone else...a lot of separation...a lot of broken homes.

Webster discusses the cultural aspects of the north in Aboriginal communities.

The small communities... they're breeding grounds for deviancy...like when I think about my reserve it's a breeding ground for deviancy. Literally lots of drugs, alcohol, especially I started watching porn when I was [child]. [Family member went hunting] so sneaking a peek...cause it's such a small community you disclose or you tell on somebody and that's so stressful to live in that little environment...everybody laughing at you...making you feel ashamed.

Reflection from my journal. *In honest reflection I was expecting fathers to comment on the problems of being in the north, but their comments were minimal in response. Why did I want more? Is this a pre-conceived notion I have that all people experience the north as culturally different from the south?*

6. Father on the Outs. This theme is the last of the structural themes and is included because it embodies the structures of the family and the community as they relate to the father after incarceration. "On the Outs" is a term that Joe uses to explain reentry to the community from the prison: "I don't know so much on the outs, but I think inside..." Regarding correctional programs Joe states that "...On the outs they [inmates] change, and may take something like that...for the fact that it helps with their probation...or some of it's mandatory..." "Anything else"? Joe states

...guys that are in and they're getting out hopefully they can stay in the straight and narrow, treat themselves...be good to yourself...rather than beating yourself up the rest of your life. It's not worth it. There's so much more out there.

John expands on the excellent community support after being released from prison.

> I found helpful the information from John Howard Society... so for the shelters, places to go for food, there's different resources here...I've never been in a place where there's so many resources...Everybody will help you no matter where you go...you're gonna be helped in this city. You'll never go hungry cause you can go and eat...you can go anywhere and eat. There's always the soup kitchens. The churches, all the churches always give lots of stuff...You'll never go hungry in Prince George, I'll guarantee that...

Greg offers insight into his life reconnecting with his child after release and working hard to support his family.

> [In jail]I made like a little box and I made a drum and some model cars and I made some money working [in jail] I just saved it up so when I got out I bought [child] a few items...I mailed it...saved enough to buy [child] that...since I've been out I've been trying my hardest...I work at [company] and it's hard work...but I stick it out...hard to find work...especially with a record...I'll tell them exactly what I'm charged with.
> Frederic's family is now gone. He is experiencing his freedom and states that "I'm

looking forward to going camping tomorrow and getting out of town". Webster states that the jail mentality is brought out of the jail into the community and this impacts his sense of safety. "Our little communities are starting exactly to be that way...to have that jailhouse mentality". "It's translated out of the jail into the community"? Webster responds. "Yes, even Prince George...There's a lot of Aboriginals, especially in the hostels, the shelters...and then getting out"... Webster comments about another person attacking him because of his criminal past "...having to stand up for yourself out of jail and act like an inmate on our free streets".

Reflections from my journal. *Just reflecting on whether there is another option here for men when they are discharged. This is their perspective. I did not ask what services they would need that they would utilize. I reflect that they may need a space that is not institutionally intimidating, a refuge center without the prison connotations. Just some thoughts...a place where beauty, art, green spaces and animals reside.*

7. Emotions. This theme is the first of the fluid themes. The participants respond to the questions with emotion. Most of the questions asked brought out an emotional response of some kind. For example some of the men lowered their voices; others changed their body language and seemed to withdraw, whereas others struggled to maintain some composure. Joe expresses these ideas.

> But when it sets in that you're going to be there for a while you...tend to feel pretty worthless...all these emotions start kicking in...What have I done? What have I left behind? Who am I hurting?

Webster expands on emotions and includes his perspective on withdrawal from substances and the emotional effects. Webster includes the fact that various drugs are available in the jail.

> The first two weeks in jail is so hard... [Emotional] mostly I still grieve my [child] but going back, I felt so scared for [child]..I wasn't there for [child]...I felt really emotional and lost...I get angry at times...really angry ...yeah I get really lonely...couldn't talk to them, couldn't tell them I was sorry...and just feeling...I'm less than the other inmates... I didn't have any fear of me fighting in jails...but as long as I didn't get in trouble, do drugs, I'd be okay...you do drugs in jail that's when you start getting in trouble so I left the crack and the crystal meth and the coke alone and the weed, it's all in there, yeah, it's all there, but I stayed away from that and what is hard about that first going to jail too is...withdrawal...the emotional effect, being depressed, and not being able to self-medicate...I mean I was able to medicate, but my drug of choice is booze...so I just thought of them, cooking and cleaning for them walking to school...I just thought ...how scared they are...one day I'll get a chance to tell them it's not their fault...

Joe responds to my question: "Do you have any suggestions that would help you in your role as an incarcerated father"?

> ...they could have ...like so many men I think not a lot...but a good percentage are so hard-headed...in jail showing your emotions can be considered a weakness...if most men could get in touch with their emotions...if they could ...dig deep and find out what by them living their lifestyle...being in jail, how much it's hurt family members...Nobody likes to see anybody in jail. No family member likes to see their father, son, daughter whatever in jail...if there's some programs ...that would help bring that out in men...without showing weakness to other inmates...some guys can't ...handle seeing their family.

Joe adds that visiting family brings out many various emotions.

> ...it's just too hard on them so there's emotion there ...a lot of it would be anger after. If they could somehow channel that to somehow ...to somewhere else ...to get them through the day... some inmates don't want to see family members...for a visit because it's too hard to watch them walk away...there's an anger response...if you haven't dealt with your emotion...frustration...your anger's like...it [spreads] out into the jail and other inmates see that...channel that anger...it's hard because you know your children. You can see the sadness in their eyes...they want to be with their dad. Why is my dad here?...it causes a lot of emotions...a lot of anger...they want to be hard...they don't want to show any emotion...it's a weakness issue...other inmates ...take advantage of...

Frederic comments on the emotions surrounding family while incarcerated. "It was hard. It's still hard for me. My mom didn't like it when I was in jail...she was kinda scared". Joe explains his children's emotions. "You could hear the lostness in their voice...like "Why did you do this to me"? A lot of emotions at times. A lot of emotions". Greg adds to this conversation. "[Child] got pretty emotional over that...he got pretty emotional over that...I seen it in [child's] eyes so it was hard for me".

Reflections from my journal. *I was struggling with Greg and Joe's comments that their children were so hurt. Why do the children need to suffer as well? Why could they not receive a community sanction that would leave them with their families? More questions to research.*

8. Change. The theme of change is a fluid theme being associated with emotions, spirituality, transition as well as the structural themes. As in the other themes the theme of change emerges from the data as the participants comment on their lived experiences. Greg states with emphasis that "...I'm glad that I was kept in for that extra nine months. It helped me change big time..." Regarding what the impetus for change really was:

It was being taken away from my family and loved ones…that's what really ultimately changed…just seeing when my [child] was upset…that's one of the things…I can't do that to him no more…I can't hurt [child's] feelings like that.

Webster reiterates the desire for change. "Funny thing is afraid to be alone, but when I'm in jail I'm all by myself…I feel that desperation …for myself that desperation for change or this is going to continue".

Joe discusses change and relates it to his family relationships.

Well the more I was in jail, the more clean time I had from drugs and alcohol…the head becomes clearer…you get to a point where…that's enough …it's bad enough that… some of the world is the way it is now. The roughness and the people out there that can be very evil to leave your kids basically, what you'd feel…you'd feel that you're not protecting them. ..They become vulnerable…they're fairly young yet…they're vulnerable to people that are…very manipulative…I always put in the back of my mind …at least there's a day…I'm getting out and I was changing…they could hear it in me. They could see, feel it in me. Not see it in me but they could feel it…project to them…I'd get out…get some work…do more things…be a family.

"When you talk about change Joe …when you were in there…tell me what that entailed".

I think most of it is just once you're in there and you've got a clear head, your thoughts are clear. You're not making snap decisions over drinking or over drugs or whatever…You're laying on your bunk…looking at the walls and all of a sudden reality kicks in…what's going on in your world right?...You have a choice right?...You either keep.. with what you're doing and stay in that… direction…or you'd want to make a change…

Joe expands and states that:

change is clearly about the family…who wants to get out of jail and take their kid downtown and start doing drugs…what kind of father would do that…you start looking at yourself…what have you done, how have you reacted? What can you do to help so they don't follow in that line?...Once you realize what's going on you tell yourself…this is what I need to do…stay positive in a head space. Don't follow…the jailhouse politics. Mind your own business …if my children can see how I carried myself and the change in me…it'd give them a brighter outlook on what they might want to do with their life.

John explains change from his perspective. "I didn't change. It didn't change me…I didn't change". Family support is important for change to go forward. Joe states that "… my ex

allowed me back. She heard things in my voice...wanting to change and she didn't want me on the streets so which I'm very thankful for".

Reflections from my journal. *I am very surprised to hear all these comments about change. I did not find change referred to in the literature that I reviewed. What did I miss? Glad that I probed further and asked what prompted them to change. It was the impacts on their family. Did I miss the connection of the process of change to recidivism?*

9. Transition. This theme is also a fluid theme because of the many transitions the men make negotiating their emotions and change as well as spirituality while they transition through the structural components of their lives. Participants respond to the main research question of "Tell me about your everyday lived experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts"? These responses concern the participants' transition from the community into the jail. Joe states his concerns...

> Not only would the aspect of money and paying bills...but the presence of being there with your family...I wake up everyday thinking about em...You have to strive to get over that and some days it's really hard.

John explains the lived experience of entering the jail at PGRCC.

> When I first got there I didn't know anything about the jails, big jails...last time I was in jail I was [teenager]...Then I come out here...I got in jail...incarcerated for the first time since[teenager]so here I am [in thirty's]going to jail. It was like a prison...It's such a big place...to me it was like a prison...so when you drove you go in this tunnel or in this garage...They shut the doors and ooohh I'm not that big of a criminal...You go in and you see how big it is...big guys in there.

Webster recalls the transition from the community to the jail.

> I remember the first few months in jail. I had a couple of fights and I had to fight. I felt I had to or else I'd be a bitch. Like it would be I want your ...canteen. There's nothing anybody can do about it and it's ...I'm taking your Saturday bacon.

Joe expounds on his transition from the prison environment into the community.

I haven't switched over yet...I know I'm out here. I know I'm still susceptible to failure...I think that's still helping me, knowing that those possibilities are still there...I've gone to a lot of places where I used to hang out here in town...shelters... some people still recognize me ...some people still give you a funny look because...they're unsure of you, of where you're at...Nobody wants to enter your space ' cause they don't know how you're going to react being that you've been in jail a fair amount of time...generally it's been really good.

John narrates his experience from the jail to the community.

Well, I got out of jail one morning...They dropped me off at the bus station with a bus ticket to go back [community]...I said...I'll stay here... It was a Monday...by the Wednesday I was pretty broke...didn't have enough for a hotel so I looked at...a card from the jail...it was a little green card with ...resources...for shelters and stuff...so I came here [John Howard Society] ...I got a job. Less than a week I was out and I got a job so there is work here if you want to work.

Webster comments on his struggle to reintegrate into society without help.

I think I'm just plopped back into society after two years I'll be thinking people, paranoia, people don't want fear...Don't get me wrong. It's beautiful to walk into a mall the first time. It's so bright. Every smell and odour...Life is so beautiful you know.

Joe elaborates on the transitions his family members make to his incarceration and offense.

...I am throughout the time in jail talking to my oldest [child] because I left [child] in a predicament...I kinda stole some of [child's]years...[child]kept telling me when I talked to [child] on the phone that [child's] going to school...doing well...because I was in jail [child was]afraid to tell me what had happened...now [child's] been kicked out of school...last couple of months...I put [child] in that predicament... and just to get back into their lives again...I can still see them look at me a little bit...they're unsure of dad...what's dad all about now?

Webster explains that is it important for him to talk to his family about his incarceration and

explain to them that:

it's not mommy's fault...daddy right now is sick I guess in a sense and I need to get better and when I do I'll be back and it won't be long...I think if I were to tell them that not just for myself but possibly for them it's ease there... ...just help their ...self-esteem...to help their transition without me being around.

Reflections from my journal. *I reflect that change and transition appear to be so similar, yet the men clearly differentiate between these concepts. This gives me further insight into their lived experiences.*

10. Spirituality. The theme of spirituality was fluidly presented throughout the data with comments about forgiveness, hope, and love. John states that:

> We used to go to a …church back where I used to live where I grew up…my wife and I we weren't too spiritual then…we met up with her brother and her sister in law and…they talked to us about the Lord…we just…give our lives to the Lord …it was part of our life.

Joe adds these comments.

> When you instill morals and values…how you carry yourself……thankfully the [children] absorbed some of that…their courteousness and kindness towards the elderly to help towards women…no vulgarity…towards the women…I think the big thing was just the loving aspect of just sitting and listening and the nurturing part…you pray that and hope that they're doing well and they don't get harmed.

Regarding family support Joe states that "they don't overbuild my ego…to set me up for failure…by the same token if I may have done something in the wrong direction constructive criticism never hurt anybody". Frederic discusses the opportunities for spiritual care in PGRCC. "There was a guy in there who used to read the Bible so we had a little Bible study…every Tuesday…that was helpful". John elaborates on Frederic's statements.

> …they have service in there, church service… there's a gentleman…he's a Christian…he's nice guy too, actually made friends with him…he came in every…usually once a week…he would read the Bible and we can ask questions …they [PGRCC] have spirituality and sometimes on Sunday …they have some guy come in there and he would play some music and read the Bible.

Brandon discusses his spiritual beliefs in response to my question: "How has spirituality and or religion been a factor in your incarceration"?

I don't really follow the native spirituality. I'm a born-again Christian so I talk to God and Jesus knows how I feel...people I've gone to church with...they've prayed for my [child]...just found myself...the realization that...I knew who I was , who I am finally...it took a lot of hours of prayer...so I committed to that and I chose to build my relationship with God...I've been a Christian since I was thirteen, but like everything else in my life, I used it when it was convenient. It wasn't 'til I was stuck in this bad spot of my doing and I thought I had all the answers but I didn't have any answers at all so...I lifted it up to the Lord and I asked him for help and guidance and He told me to humble myself so I did... He told me that I had to fix my relationship with my [child], I have to stop drinking...I'm doing it...because I know it's wrong. I have a good sense about morality...it comes from God so I take that part of my life very seriously...the one thing that really, really saved me was my relationship with Jesus.

Carlos comments on the opportunities for spirituality in jail. "There's not much.

There's a Chaplain in the prison up on the hill. He will counsel you...there is church on

Sundays but that's not really my thing...never has been".

Reflections from my journal. *I am interested in the choice of words used by the*

participants that I associate with spirituality. Words such as love, hope, forgiveness, honesty,

and open-mindedness flow through the data.

Metaphors

The following metaphors are resident throughout the data. Each participant spoke in

metaphors throughout the interview. The metaphors are as follows:

1. **Life as an actor on a stage.** For instance, this participant makes statements such as

   "...the role they gotta play...you gotta try to be a tough guy I guess just to get through

   there. I didn't play a tough guy, I just [role-played] myself...I just knew what to say,

   and what to do... [name] is a good worker. He doesn't say anything, he does his

   work...they loved me there...by the time I left they all knew me by name, and how

   polite I was...I behaved basically, because if you misbehave in there you're gonna

   miss good time...I wanted to be out as early as I can". This participant relays details

of an experience after reentry to the community as if it was a play. He sets the stage with details and then speaks in conversation for both himself and the other person. " He says, "Do you have experience?" I said "Yes I do". He said "Do you have a resumé?" I said, "No, not with me at the moment". I would watch the way I talk to them and what I say". Other comments throughout the data: "couple months down the road, cross that bridge when I come to it, what's that speck talking about? Consider myself as a street person, I fit in pretty well".

2. **Life as the human body, and emotions.** "That was a big lift in the heart…how you are and it bleeds off into your children…if you want to burn something off scream at me…[regarding incarceration] it doesn't mean just because you're in jail that you're just a number and you're just thrown to the back burner…you're not forgotten…keep flowing with what you're doing… in a head space…stay on a track…I set my head in a direction…[life outside of prison]it's part of the life that's over. I'd like to lay it to rest and leave it for say dead. I don't want to bring it up…so hard headed…it bleeds out into the jail…channel that anger…because you're trapped…you live by a set of rules…you better be man enough to live up to your issues…you've got a pile on this hand and a pile on that hand".

3. **Life as circular or cyclical.** Some examples from this participant's data are: "my crime cycle…they throw me in jail and so I feel this monkey on my shoulder…what goes up has to you know go down, what goes down has to go up and my life'll get better…the perpetual cycle…hindsight is 20/20…the snowball started rolling downhill and the momentum kept going…you just have to let the cookie crumble…they're picking on the young and they're picking on the old…it's a shark

tank...snowball started rolling down the hill...keeps me in my crime cycle...stop

behaving the way you are or you'll be in and out of jail. I love the ones I hate and I

hurt the ones I love...we're in a hole...that'll help break the cycle..."

4. **Life as a series of steps.** Some examples from this participant's data are: " I'm in a

12 step program and through working the steps I'm learning how to live...land me in

jail for extended periods of time...extended periods of sobriety behind me...gotten to

the point where I've had a job...I've been paying rent, and I'm doing things right by

society...if I ever do get back in there, not to try and just step in as dad...for

somebody to just step in and try and take over ... do it their way, step in ...they have

their own set of rules...be at the top of the world...I'm going to spend a year of my

life there one day at a time..[outdoor place in the north]the rivers kind of come up and

meet in one spot...I was pretending I was walking around with the ghosts back in the

1850s at night time...wish there was a way I could build a relationship with

[child]..brought in to visit from time to time...growing up being three, four, five,

six..."

5. **Time as describing life.** Some examples from the data are: "I learnt it like so late in

life that it steals time into my life...it was almost too late for me...time catches up

with us all right?...I was getting older. The clock was ticking...it's time to slow

down, still partying and stuff so I did more time.. time to put away your toys and get

down to the business of taking care of your family...being there instead of ...I'll talk

to you in a minute...I had a sense of just slowing down...taking accountability,... out

of sight out of mind... [child] would draw the line...lay down the law...I would

slough him off...If people aren't of use to me I throw them away...put a distance

between us... [child]was on the right track...like I said I throw them away...I just

walk away...I have to take the time and reconnect...time doesn't stand still for

anyone...sister was a train wreck...you gotta slow down. I did a lot of time [in jail]

you can never stop learning...tried to keep my house clean, get out as soon as I

could...slow process...each in their time...can't jump to number 7 when I'm still

dealing with number 2...I'm making a start...need someone who actually takes the

time with each individual... [child] would see me drunk all the time".

6. **Throwaway person.** This participant uses this metaphor quite sparsely, but it is

there. Some examples are: "They don't care. They just throw you in there...in the

yard...and an hour for gym...two hours a day you get out...the rest of the time you're

locked up...you get beat up pretty good...people in there[jail] they just sit there,

gonna sit there and do your time..."

7. **Life as a journey.** Some examples from the participant's data include: " follows me

everywhere, I pick [child] up everyday...found the way...going forward and

forward...we're moving to court today...the more you know the further you go...I

pursued it...dead end kind of thing...no where to go...no means of getting

around...tempting to go back to that lifestyle...straight down the path of dealing

drugs...wish [PO] could see it in my eyes instead of [PO's] eyes....threw me in the

same pile as people sitting in crack shacks...just a bumpy road until then...the price I

got to pay for being free...when I turned around after..3 or 4 months in there

[jail]...going down the bad path...easy money...[child] followed me

everywhere...right by my side...all week straight non-stop...you're just pacing

around thinking.

Reflections from my journal. *This is a novel experience for me. What a jumble of thoughts I have about this method. Where should I begin to make sense of this data? Do the metaphors overlap as some of the themes do?...I certainly see how these micro metaphors amplify the thematic content. All of the transcripts have a metaphor in common...how interesting is that...what a valuable contribution this method makes to my research...*

Summary

My role in this part of the research was to choose the statements that best represented the themes and the variety of perspectives within the themes. The metaphorical findings to me were like discovering a new planet. I was overwhelmed with their implications and realized that they added such rich dimension to the other thematic findings.

Chapter Five: Discussion, Implications, and Recommendations

Purpose Outcomes

The foremost purpose of this research is to give voice to incarcerated fathers regarding the main research question: What is the everyday lived experience of incarcerated fathers in northern BC? Subsidiary goals taken from the main research purpose included:

1. What are the meanings fathers ascribe to parenting in a northern setting while incarcerated?

2. What is the situated context like for incarcerated fathers in the northern prison?

3. What are the impacts of this context on the fathers' relationships with their children?

Firstly, seven, courageous fathers consented to offer their lived experiences which in turn answered the main research question and met all three of the research purpose goals. These fathers offered lived experiences that were rich, and full of description delivered with strong emotions. They chose to present the facts as their own unique perspectives shunning self-pity, and negativity. Fathers expounded on their particular definitions of parenting and fatherhood. Throughout the interview these men explained what parenting and being incarcerated meant to them.

Secondly, the experience of imprisonment as a situated context, and a life altering event was overwhelmingly paramount throughout the interviews. The men candidly commented on their experience of incarceration. They also detailed facets of the inmate subculture and its impacts on them. Thirdly, it was obvious from facial expressions, body language and tone of voice as well as detailed description that fathers were deeply impacted by the loss of their relationships with their children while they were incarcerated as well as after reentry to the community.

Discussion

Throughout this thesis I utilize metaphors to delineate various aspects of incarceration. The title "Colour Me Father" expresses three ideas. Firstly, fathers have historically, and are today relegated to a secondary position although in some quarters that is changing, albeit slowly. As Joe states: "I didn't feel like a father in there" is a strong statement declaring that his fatherhood was perhaps not recognized, and that he is now stripped of his fatherhood role while incarcerated. Incarcerated fathers need to be brought out of the shadows and coloured as fathers as well as men.

Secondly, "Colour Me Father" represents a child colouring a picture of his and her father perhaps to send to him while in prison. The main idea is that children also are impacted by the loss of their father, although they are innocent. Thirdly, prisoners are "Colour-Coded" (Backhouse, 2010, ix), as evidenced by the high rates of incarceration of Aboriginal persons in Canada. Further, Webster states: "There's that racial white guy and there's that Indian on this side of the fence...we locked down at PGRCC for a few weeks because of racial tension...it's there, racism is pretty prevalent". Discrimination is still active in communities and specifically in the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre.

In considering incarceration, and the ideologies surrounding this extensive topic, I employ the use of the metaphor of iron bars to depict the repressive, cruel ideologies, including racist ideologies that frame carceral institutions as well as construct institutions such as fatherhood. I also include the spaces between the bars to metaphorically depict room for spirituality, connection, and growth. Perhaps not surprisingly, the themes also follow this pattern with structural themes and fluid themes much like the metaphors of bars and spaces between.

The thematic findings show the powerful impact the event of incarceration has on the participants. One participant states: "They just throw you in there and that's it". What they are thrown into is a strong structural institution evidenced by an environment, encompassed by locks and bars, which reinforce the power and ideologies of the dominant culture. "Racism is a deeply embedded, archly defining characteristic of Canadian history" (Backhouse, 2010, p.17). The inmate must also negotiate the prison ideologies that provide a "shark tank" as one participant metaphorically states that pits the old against the young, and the white against the Aboriginal, or whatever culture is present. These ideologies are formidable and overwhelming to the new prisoner as the findings show.

Moreover, the fathers incarcerated must now also decide which institutional culture to embrace while in prison: that of the correctional institution, or that of the inmate subculture. Those that embrace the inmate subculture with the "Code of Silence" and the "Prison hierarchy" now have more bars placed on them that perhaps go against their own moral beliefs. As Frederic states: "You see somebody get stabbed, you don't say nothing", and Webster: "...feeling sad for that event that occurred. There's nothing I can do to stop it...I couldn't talk anybody into..I couldn't use the power of persuasion to stop it..."

This structural application of oppression does not leave inmates unscathed. All of the participants in this research were incarcerated at least twice and some many times. All but one of the participants struggle with problematic substance abuse, and state that it lead to their incarceration. This knowledge that the government of Canada does not care about them as Frederic states: "They don't care in there. It's not a nice place" and Brandon: "Those guys really couldn't care about you one way or the other..." may confirm to them that they are indeed the undeserving. Joe adds: "you tend to feel pretty worthless".

In speaking about members of a spiritual community coming to the prison and praying with them, Webster states: "They volunteer their time. They come and spend time with US". Webster emphasizes US as signifying that prisoners encompass a group of individuals who are unworthy and at the bottom of the classified 'good' Canadian society.

The findings also show that fathers in this study held out their arms and grasped for the spaces between the bars. Whether there were arms of love to connect with them or not did not matter, these men took risks to try again and again. They were emotional and recognized that emotions were a huge part of the event of incarceration. The emotions of love, anger, forgiveness, and grief were daily companions. To assist with their efforts at change these fathers reached out for spiritual help in some form or another. Family was the impetus for change in the lives of many of the men. Greg states: "It was being taken away from family and loved ones". Brandon states: "Who wants to go back to jail? Who wants to not have a relationship with their [child]"? Joe states: "You feel like you're not protecting them...they become vulnerable...just knowing I was getting out and I was changing".

Transitions were constantly forming as spaces between the bars. In the community the fathers struggled with problematic substance abuse while trying to negotiate the responsibilities of parenting with their often failing spousal relationships. They transition in their everyday lives in the community with partners/spouses, family members, and children. Brandon states: "[child] distanced...from me... [regarding spouse] you're either fighting with your old lady, splitting up, or you're trying to get with someone else".

These transitions further impress on these fathers that they are failures and perhaps should just go back to drink and jail. Webster states:

> The longer I stay away, the more apathetic I become, the less I think to myself, the less chance I have to build , to bond with them [family], and I start feeling self-pity,

self-hate. I get what I deserve, since they're not going to be in my life, why don't I stay a drunk and justify my alcoholism... I guess I belong back in jail".

Fathers also transition into the prison as the findings show and then they must transition again into the community. Fathers struggled with the transition of trying to reestablish their lives again. Frederic states:

> I just had to go to probation, and I found my own place to live, tried to get some of my personal belongings, but it didn't work. She [ex-wife] took it all, my furniture and everything, so I had to start over...it's been three weeks for me now.

The fathers state that to overcome their problematic substance abuse, it is paramount for them to find new friends, which is not an easy task when struggling with the effects of incarceration, the dissolution of their families, and the fact that they cannot go back to their communities of origin. Only one participant, Greg, had an intact relationship to come home to.

Discussion of metaphorical findings. All seven of the metaphors offer insights into the lives of the individual participants. These insights correspond in many ways with the thematic findings. Metaphors reside in the cognition and are therefore windows into the reflections of the fathers in this research (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state:

> Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. A given metaphor may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize exactly those aspects of our experience. Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide to future action... (p. 156).

There is one metaphor evident across all the data and that is the metaphor of "throw away person". For instance, one participant states: "It doesn't mean you are just thrown to the back burner" and "You've got a pile on this hand and a pile on that hand". Another states: "They throw me in jail and so I feel this monkey on my shoulder". Another father states:

"...land me in jail for extended periods of time" implying that he was thrown in and landed there. Another father expresses the throw away theme in regards to other people: "If people aren't of use to me, I throw them away", and "Like I said, I throw them away" and "I would slough him off". Another father states: "They don't care in there. They just throw you in there". Another father expresses his identity as: "I consider myself to be a street person". Unfortunately, in our society street people are not cared for very well.

These throw away metaphors amplify the statements made during the interviews regarding the lived experience of incarceration. The metaphors add subtle dimensions to their statements. These fathers bravely discussed their lived experiences with resilient attitudes, some struggling for composure at times, at other times animated about the topic being described and explained. The throw away metaphor in particular, due to its inclusion across the transcripts, represents the deep wounds these fathers have received and the belief that they are indeed worthless and of no consequence to society.

They consider themselves to be thrown away, on the pile, perhaps escaping the back burner, but nevertheless on a pile with crack shack users. The father who uses the metaphor of life as an actor on a stage must perform to be accepted. His statement of: "I behaved basically, because if you misbehave you're gonna lose good time". The metaphorical findings present a deeper subjective view of the fathers' lived experiences which assists in gaining further insights into their experiences. Thus, being interpretive as well, both methods of data analysis expand the dimensions of incarceration.

Limitations of My Research

This research is specifically contained to interviews with fathers in the northern area of British Columbia. There are no interviews with family members. There is the possibility

that my gender as a female may have impacted the responses from the male participants in some way. Additionally, despite my efforts, follow-up feedback interviews did not take place due to the inability to locate participants. Participants may have moved, or chosen not to participate in the feedback interview for other reasons. Participants did state they were pleased with the interviews so perhaps they did not wish to discuss the interview material again.

Links to the Literature Review

For the most part the findings correlate well with the literature review. The prisoner characteristics such as addiction issues and grief and loss issues are confirmed in the findings. The experience of incarceration, the sub culture, and the impacts on children discussed in the literature review are found in the comments by the participants. Some findings that were unexpected are the themes of change and transition. Henderson (1999), as mentioned in the literature review, compares Aboriginal over incarceration to the experiences of Aboriginal peoples who endured residential schools. Incarceration is residential schools revisited, but in a more insidious and often unrecognized way. When fathers are removed from their communities, their children are often taken from them and placed in non-Aboriginal homes. I was not expecting a participant to discuss the ideology behind the over incarceration of Aboriginal people, but Webster understood this well and reiterated the retraumatizing of his people:

> ...maybe we've been beaten to passiveness...but since residential school like a lot of the men say, "I just went from residential school right to jail. It's like being in residential school, so being used to that structure and then taking that back to our communities...

This statement confirms Henderson's (1999) earlier impassioned plea for change and recognition of the plight of Aboriginal peoples.

Implications for Social Work Practice

This research presents a plethora of opportunities for social work practice. To begin

with, Ife (2005) states:

> A critical social work approach starts with the simple proposition, common to most if
> not all social work, that the problems of a person, group, family or community are not
> all their own fault, but are caused largely by factors outside their control and
> sometimes beyond their knowledge or understanding (p. 4).

Critical social workers not only assist clients, but they also seek to change structural

ideologies that are repressive and marginalize (Ife, 2005). Each thematic finding suggests

opportunities for social workers to not only assist fathers, but their families and communities

as well. Incarcerated fathers in the north represent a unique population for social work

intervention.

Families and children of the incarcerated. In the late 19th century the profession of

social work was developing – although a fledgling profession–social work promoted prison

reform (Davis, 1978). Not only did social work focus on the correctional institutions, but

also the focus was on the youth and families of prisoners (Davis, 1978). Jane Addams and

the Hull House associates were instrumental in orchestrating change for the families of

prisoners as well as young offenders (Davis, 1978).

Contemporary social workers may follow in the footsteps of Addams and advocate for

acknowledgment and care of children of the incarcerated and their families. Social workers

who work for the Ministry of Children and Family Development may forge ties with BC

Corrections to foster the well-being of children of the incarcerated who come under the

mandate of child protection services.

However, the demographic information shows that in the case of the children of the

fathers in this study, family members come forward to care for the children, and due to the

extra responsibilities may not have time to advocate for the children. Children of the incarcerated and their families may fall through the cracks and remain unidentified or targeted for specific interventions such as, counseling for possible feelings of stigma, disenfranchised grief, and loss. Travelling in the north for prison visits presents a unique set of challenges, including financial, as shown in the literature review and the findings.

When working one-on-one with fathers, either in the prison setting or in the community, social workers need to be aware of several important facts. As the findings show, fathers experience significant outward transitions, and in some cases inward as well. Palkovitz and Palm (2009) state that the word transition is often associated with change. However, a physical change, such as leaving prison does not signify a transition has completely occurred. An individual's transition happens when the twin components of cognition and behaviour are adjusted to the point of stability (Palkovitz & Palm, 2009).

For instance, Joe states: "I haven't switched over yet...I know I'm out here. I know I'm still susceptible to failure..." Transitions are facets of adult development and are described as times of instability and inner conflict present before the new cognitive and behaviour components are created (Cowan, as cited in Palkovitz & Palm, 2009). In the case of fathers leaving the community for incarceration, or entering the community after incarceration, transitional state needs to be considered, because fathers also experience parenting transitions as well as family and community transitions (Palkovitz & Palm, 2009).

Incarcerated fathers have experienced significant time away from their child/ren and partners which may seriously upset their inner image of fatherhood (Palkovitz & Palm, 2009). During this delicate time, released prisoners that struggle with problematic substance abuse may find the new context unbearable and resort back to their life of problematic

substance abuse, violence and crime. Therefore social work support and intervention may be crucial to the released father's success.

Discharge planning. The term discharge planning is typically associated with the Health Care system, but it is definitely applicable to the Correctional system as well. The findings of this research show that there is minimal planning for reentry. Social workers working either within the prison or in community agencies that visit the prison may assist reentry for inmates by beginning the process of reentry well in advance. Upon release some fathers in this research stated that they were taken to a specific place such as the local bus depot, and left there with nothing more than the clothes they were incarcerated in. John states:

> Well, I got out of jail one morning and they dropped me off at the bus station, [saying] go back to [community] where I came from, and because of my charge, I wasn't allowed back for [long time frame] so…what's this [bus ticket] good to me? I just ripped it up…and looked in the newspaper [for work]…When I got out I only had just the clothes I went to jail in…

John stated that he survived through the generosity of Prince George community agency workers who fed, sheltered, and clothed him until he received his first paycheque.

Paternal programs. For the most part community based paternal parenting programs have not been specifically created for incarcerated fathers (Jeffries, Menghraj, & Hairston, 2001). As the findings and the literature review reveal incarcerated fathers have complex issues, and often community agencies have not received the training necessary to intervene (Jeffries et al., 2001). Therefore it is incumbent on the social worker to become educated regarding these unique needs.

For instance, it is difficult for fathers to attend group treatment and other structured interventions when under the supervision of BC Corrections; demands in the form of court

hearings, probation appointments, parole hearings, and other legal appointments intrude on

time for training, and fatherhood programs (Jeffries et al., 2001). An example is Greg's

statement:

> They don't really take it into hand...my PO officer...I do all these things...I have all
> these conditions....I think [the PO] does look past the point that I'm a father...I have
> to take care of [child]...I have a lot of things I have to do on my conditions, like
> appointments and stuff...

Furthermore, program facilitators need to assist a potential father member in a

comprehensive self-assessment of their placement of the role of father; this is especially

important for fathers who have been incarcerated (Rane & McBride, 2000).

Social work and corrections. Social workers that plan to work for BC Corrections

need to be aware that social work principles and goals differ significantly from the goals of

BC Corrections (Severson, 1994). This researcher states that "[t]here are few areas where

ideologies are as varied and controversial as in the field of corrections" (p.452). Social

workers need to adapt accordingly and carefully self-reflect on their practice (Severson,

1994).

Classification. Social workers need to be aware of the extensive classification process

that fathers undergo in the criminal justice system. These fathers have been classified by the

prison system through various risk assessments that place them in low, medium, or high risk

categories. Entry and appropriation of the prison sub-culture brings with it more

classification for the father. The father is now placed on the inmate hierarchy scale according

to his offense. If he is a father of colour he is further categorized according to his ethnic

background. Social workers may advocate against further degradation and dehumanization

of prisoners within the prison system. Upon the father's reentry social workers may assist in

restoring the father to holistic health through a focus on the whole person who is accepted,

not judged, and granted the self-determination to make choices (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2005).

Spiritual and grief and loss interventions. Fathers in this study state that spirituality assists them in the prison setting and in some cases after release. Social workers, trained in spiritual intervention, may assist ex-offender fathers to reintegrate into the community by conducting spiritual assessments (Hodge, 2003). Spiritual assessments are important for several reasons, including the fact that ethically, it is important to follow professional standards and also because assessments offer an understanding of the spiritual perspective of the individual (Hodge, 2003). The social worker may intervene with the prisoner in areas such as forgiveness, and hope focusing on strengths such as resilience, love, and persistence. All of the fathers in this research experience strong emotions that are linked to their losses.

Incarcerated fathers represent men who have experienced significant losses over their life span. The findings show that men experience loss as children; for example the loss of their father or mother, or the loss of family by being placed in foster homes. The metaphors offer suggestions of loss; for example, "I learnt it so late in life...it steals time into my life" and "hindsight is 20/20". These fathers need social work counseling that recognizes the extent and depth of their losses over the life span. Some fathers lose their former identity and struggle to belong somewhere in society. The pain of loss needs to be ameliorated so fathers are assisted in overcoming their issues such as problematic substance abuse.

Treatment for problematic substance abuse. All six of the men who experience problematic substance abuse state that their main desire is to change. Webster states: "the [person] has to want to change...I want to change..." Social workers in the community may

advocate for more resources to treat problematic substance abuse through proper local treatment centers, and through interventions that focus on specific ex-offender issues. Treatment for problematic substance abuse needs to include family support wherever possible. For instance, Greg states:

> My mom is supporting me big time to keep me out of trouble… It is tempting to go back to that lifestyle, then it's not so much tempting when you think about leaving your loved ones, but it's not worth it, no amount of [drug] money is worth it.

Brandon adds: "If you're trying to get people to stop drinking [referring to treatment centers] you gotta give them employment. You gotta give them something to do other than sit around and wait…"

Each father struggling with problematic substance abuse mentioned their own particular pattern or trigger that pulled them back into that lifestyle. Treatment centers may focus on a one size fits all type of intervention, but this may be ineffective for the long term especially with ex-offenders that are not only struggling with difficult patterns of substance abuse, but also are deeply entrenched in the jailhouse mentality while in the community. For instance, some patterns include partying with friends, as Frederic states: "It's still hard around here cause…all my friends…want me to drink…smoke marijuana…" Other patterns include isolation as Webster states: "…to isolate myself from everybody so I could continue to drink, do drugs, and not be called on my shit".

Recommendations

The fathers in this research clearly offered recommendations for change. Webster states: "…you're just warehoused, and all you are is locked up and you're not getting… any rehabilitation…there's…nothing there". Joe states:

> I think most [important] is the rehabilitation in the jails for guys. I think mostly every guy really wants change…wants to change…I just don't know if they know how by

> themselves ...to take that first step...generally 100% of anybody that's in jail wants change...it's how you change or how you go about the changes...they don't have the tools....on even how to begin...it's the lifestyle they've known all their life and until you get other tools you don't know any different.

Currently, rehabilitation is not a visible part of Canadian corrections, but this creates an opportunity for the social work profession to advocate for the reinstatement of rehabilitation without the punitive adjuncts; one goal being the strengthening of the paternal role.

Schools of Social Work need to include correctional education in the curriculum for social work students especially now that Canada is moving toward a mass incarceration model similar to that in the United States. Furthermore, the profession of social work may begin to study and develop alternate forms of social control that do not have the serious deleterious effects of incarceration.

Summary

The foremost purpose of my research was to give voice to incarcerated fathers regarding their lived experiences. This goal has been met through my research. The discussion highlights the voice of the participants regarding change, transition, and the need for recognition of fathers in the prison setting. Metaphors are used throughout my research with metaphorical analysis contributing to the expanding of the findings.

There are many implications for the profession of Social Work. Several implications include specific interventions for discharge planning, programs for ex-offender fathers, treatment programs designed specifically with ex-offender needs, and social work with children and families of the incarcerated. The participants themselves offer recommendations, such as a focus on rehabilitation and assistance with change from the offender lifestyle to productive citizen lifestyle. My recommendation is that schools of social

work include curriculum content in course material on the justice system as it pertains to the

Canadian carceral system.

Conclusion

As a novice researcher I value tremendously the experience I have gained in completing my thesis. I realized very soon into this project that the learning was gained through reflecting and moving carefully through each phase of my research. In the beginning I was unsure of my topic and eventually narrowed my research to a very specific participant group within a very specific context. I intently researched incarceration and crime and punishment along with the impacts on families and communities. Still I would find other avenues to explore that related to incarcerated fathers. Eventually, I understood that researching the literature may continue far longer then necessary.

I chose the methodology of critical hermeneutical phenomenology with open-ended questions for the interviews because I wanted to create space for the participants to speak what came to their minds unhindered by my insertions. This I realized is a delicate art–I was a researcher collaborating with them in the search for the meaning held in their experiences.

Critical hermeneutics offered the participants an opportunity to verbalize their memories of incarceration and the surrounding events and emotions. I was the novice interpreter of these events being an outsider to begin with and carrying all the assumptions associated with knowing and not knowing. Data analysis began the moment they spoke. I carried my thoughts about their experiences through the process of transcribing and applying thematic analysis, while still conducting new interviews. My interview tactics changed as the data came in and I found myself probing in areas I did not probe before, looking for that unique piece of information.

I considered seven participants sufficient to fulfill my research requirements and proceeded to sift through the data for deeper meanings. I struggled with the data considering

it unwieldy and challenging to interpret. Ultimately, I let go of the control and found that the patterns emerged into two categories with ten themes. What was the meaning of the findings and how do they contribute to research and knowledge? I consider this research to be very significant because it has provided an avenue for incarcerated fathers to speak out about their feelings, their desire for change, and their lives in ever changing contexts. This research was conducted in the north of BC where, to the best of my knowledge, no other research of this kind has been undertaken.

More research is necessary to gain a greater understanding of the needs of incarcerated fathers, their families and the capacity of communities to address these concerns. Research with community agencies that work with incarcerated fathers will add other perspectives as will research with individuals that work in the prison system.

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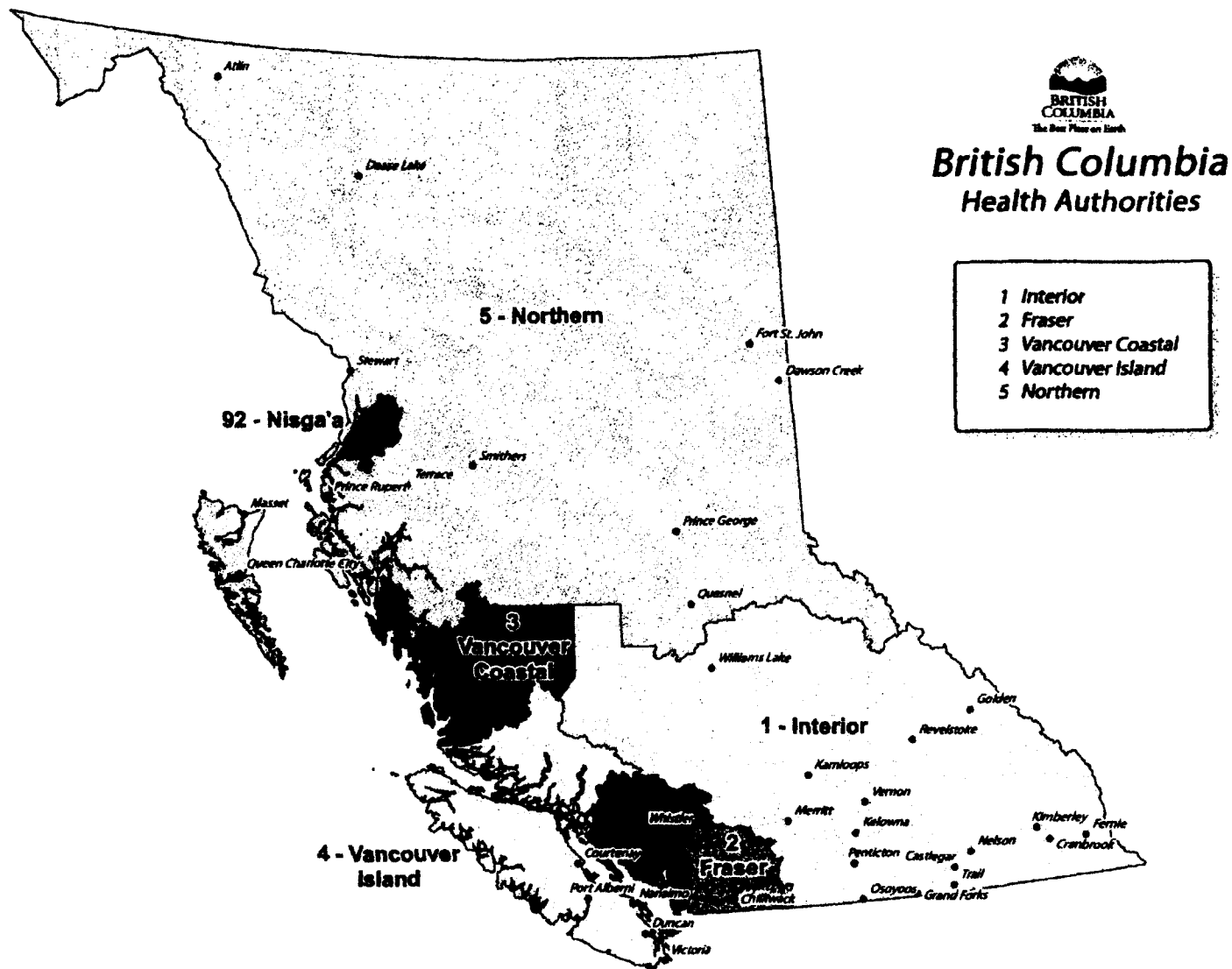
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British Columbia
Health Authorities

1 Interior
2 Fraser
3 Vancouver Coastal
4 Vancouver Island
5 Northern

* Note: The Nisga'a Health Council is an independant health authority

Appendix B

POSSIBLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What does parenting mean to you?

2. What does being a father mean to you?

3. I am interested in your everyday lived experience as a father in a northern prison. What are some of your thoughts?

4. How has living in the north previously and then parenting from a northern prison impacted your parenting?

5. I am interested in the correctional system's response to your fatherhood. What are some of your thoughts?

6. What are some of your thoughts regarding your family's response to your incarceration and supervision?

7. I am interested in the community's response to your fatherhood. What are some of your thoughts?

8. Do you have any suggestions that would help your role as an incarcerated father in the north?

9. How has spirituality and or religion been a factor during your incarceration and supervision?

10. Do you have anything you would like to add?

Appendix C

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMATION LETTER

Graduate Student Thesis Researcher: Cassandra J. McCroy
% University of Northern British Columbia, School of Social Work,
3333 University Way, Prince George, BC, V2N 4Z9
E-mail: mccroy@unbc.ca
Thesis Title: COLOUR ME FATHER: The Lived Experiences of Incarcerated Fathers in Northern BC

Thesis Supervisor: Joanna Pierce, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, UNBC

Dear Prospective Participant,

I am conducting a thesis research study in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the University of Northern British Columbia Master of Social Work degree. The title of the research project is: "COLOUR ME FATHER: The Lived Experiences of Incarcerated Fathers in Northern British Columbia".

I invite you to contribute to the research as a research participant. The following information will provide further details regarding this research and your role should you choose to participate.

a) Purpose and Goals of the Research

- The purpose of the thesis research is to explore, thereby increase understanding of the everyday lived experiences of incarcerated fathers who were associated with the only northern correctional centre for BC.
- I hope that the information gleaned from this study, through the insights and narratives of the fathers, will spur other efforts to research incarcerated fathers in the north of Canada. I also hope the fathers will grow in their understanding of themselves as fathers, and in their understanding of what parenting from a correctional institution involves.

b) How You Were Chosen to be a Research Participant

- You have been chosen as a potential research participant because you declared your interest in participation in this research study and you met the study's research criteria.
- The criteria are that you have a child or children under the legal age of 19 years, you are a birth or adoptive father, and you are interested in continuing a relationship with your child/ren. Additionally, you lived in the north of BC before your incarceration and your child/ren dwell in the north of BC as well.

c) What You as a Respondent will be Asked to Do

As a research participant you will be asked to:
- Commit one and one half hours each to two research interviews in a room specified by the John Howard Society.
- Complete the researcher's demographic survey.
- Answer the interview questions about what your everyday lived experience is of being a father, how incarceration has impacted that experience, and what you as a father might find helpful to maintain your role and your relationship with your child/ren.
- Give consent in writing to being interviewed through the use of a small microphone attached to a tape recorder. The researcher will also take notes to add to the research interview and will offer the notes to you for read.
- Review the written content from your interview with the researcher at a later time in order to confirm that the researcher correctly understood the meanings of your insights and stories.
- Give consent for the researcher to use quotes from the tape recordings as well as demographic information in the final research thesis. This information is anonymous and will not identify you personally.

d) Who Will Have Access to the Respondents' Responses

The concern regarding access to personal information will be addressed as follows:
- With the permission of the research participants, interviews will be conducted using written notes from the researcher throughout the interview as well as the use of a small microphone and tape recorder to record the narratives.
- The researcher, the researcher's UNBC supervisor and two other UNBC supervisory committee members will have access to the written and taped interviews. There is a possibility that a research transcriber will be involved to help with data analysis. This person will most likely be a social work graduate student and will sign a confidentiality agreement. All persons involved are required to respect confidentiality regarding the interview materials.
- No identifying information will be included in the final research, but others reading the research may associate some of the information with you despite the absence of personal identifying information.
- The final research may be distributed through journals and conferences. No information that could identify research participants will be used in these or any projects.

e) The Voluntary Nature of Participation in the Research

- As a voluntary participant in this research study you have the right to withdraw at any time throughout the research process without repercussions of any sort.

f) Potential Benefits From the Study

There may be many benefits to participation in this research study.

- The research participant will have the opportunity to give voice to the experience of fathering in a northern prison.
- The opportunity offered through the research may create room for the participant to think about fatherhood, the meanings associated with being a father, and the implications of incarceration and living in the north on fathering.
- The participant may have a better understanding of his own needs as a father. The interview process may help the participant express those needs.
- The research study findings will inform the John Howard Society, BC Corrections, and other community agencies of the experiences of incarcerated fathers in northern BC.
- The research findings may benefit other incarcerated fathers in northern prisons through researcher recommendations.

g) Potential Risks From the Study
There may be some risks to participants in this research study.
- One risk is that research participants may become emotionally upset because of the subject material.
- Another risk may be the concern that confidentiality will be broken through the use of personal information and through the use of a particular location in the John Howard Society.
- Additionally, there is the risk of a research participant disclosing information about neglect and abuse of a child which would necessitate a report to the Ministry of Families and Children.

The concern regarding disclosure of harm to a child or intent to harm a child will be addressed as follows:
- Before an interview begins the researcher will explain that confidentiality will extend to all information given with the exception of any statements that disclose the neglect or abuse of a child or the intent to harm a child. The researcher will explain that MCFD must be notified because this is the legal requirement.
- The researcher will contact MCFD in the event of a disclosure of neglect or harm to a child.

The concerns regarding emotional upset will be addressed as follows:
- Research participants will be offered the opportunity to decline to answer any questions, to decline to continue with the interview, and to ask that any information they have provided be removed from the research study.
- Additionally, in collaboration with the John Howard Society a counseling or support person may be provided.

Support Agencies in Prince George, BC

Brazzoni & Associates, 301-1705 third Avenue, 250.614.2261

Native Healing Centre, 3rd Floor, 1600 Third Avenue, 250.564.4324

UNBC Counselling Centre, 3333 University Way, 250.960.6364

Walmsley & Associates, 1512 Queensway, 250.564.1000

h) Addressing Anonymity

- The research participant and the researcher will agree on a specifically assigned pseudonym for all research communications between the researcher and the participant. This pseudonym will be placed on the demographic survey as well.

i) Addressing Confidentiality

The concerns regarding confidentiality of location will be addressed as follows:
- The John Howard Society will be asked to provide an interview room. Also, interviews will be scheduled in such a way that confidentiality will be protected.
- As a professional social worker I am required to adhere to the British Columbia College of Social Work Code of Ethics. This Code states "A social worker shall protect the confidentiality of all professionally acquired information. She or he shall disclose such information only when required or allowed by law to do so..." (British Columbia Association of Social Workers, Code of Ethics, 2003).

j) Storage of Information and Subsequent Shredding
- The taped interviews will be kept in a locked file in my supervisor, Joanna Pierce's office, at UNBC. The interviews will be transcribed (placed in written form) after the interviews and kept locked at UNBC.
- The taped interviews and written transcriptions will be destroyed after the researcher has successfully defended the thesis research.

k) Contact Person Information

- If research participants require any information at any time before, during, or after this research study, they may contact me through my e-mail address at UNBC.

l) Copy of Research Results

- Each participant will receive a copy of the research results approximately 7 months after the successful completion of thesis defense of the research study.

m) Project Complaints

- If the John Howard Society or a research participant has any complaints concerning the research study they may contact the Office of Research, University of British Columbia, 250. 960. 5610, or by e-mail at: reb@unbc.ca.
- Each participant will be given an honorarium in the form of a $ 25.00 gift card at the beginning of the research interview.

Appendix D
SHORTENED VERSION OF PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

% University of Northern British Columbia, School of Social Work,
3333 University Way, Prince George, BC, V2N 4Z9
E-mail: mccroy@unbc.ca **Cell Phone:** 250.462.5358
Thesis Title: Colour Me Father: The Lived Experiences of Incarcerated Fathers in Northern BC
Thesis Supervisor: Joanna Pierce, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, UNBC

Dear Prospective Participant,
     I am conducting a thesis research study in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the University of Northern British Columbia Master of Social Work degree. The title of the research project is: "Colour Me Father: The Lived Experiences of Incarcerated Fathers in Northern British Columbia.

     I invite you to contribute to the research as a research participant. The following information will provide further details regarding this research.
Purpose of this Research
- To increase understanding of what you as a father experience everyday while you are under the supervision of BC Corrections.

How you were chosen
- You were chosen because you mentioned you were interested in this research
- You met the requirements for this research which is that:
- You are a birth or adoptive father of a child or children under the ages of 19 years;
- You lived in the north before your incarceration and your child or children live in the north of BC as well.

What You will be Asked to Do
- Commit to one and one half hours each to two research interviews in a room specified by the John Howard Society.
- Complete the statements about your age and number of children etc.
- Answer the interview questions to the best of your ability about what it is like for you everyday to be a father while under the supervision of BC Corrections, how being in jail has affected your parenting, and what might be helpful for you to continue to be a father to your child or children.
- Give consent in writing to being interviewed by the graduate student. A small microphone will be used only for the tape recording to make the recording clearer.
- In another interview, go over the first interview material with the graduate student researcher to make sure that the researcher understood your stories and insights.
- Give consent for the researcher to use quotes from the tape recordings as well as the other statements about you, in the final research book or thesis.

Who will have Access to your Responses
- The student researcher, the researcher's UNBC supervisor, and two other UNBC supervisory committee members will have access to the written and taped interviews.
- There is a possibility that a research transcriber will be involved to help with data analysis. This person will most likely be a social work graduate student and will sign

a confidentiality agreement. All persons involved are expected to respect confidentiality regarding the interview materials.

- No information that will identify you will be included in the final research, but others reading the research may associate some of the information with you despite the absence of personal identifying information.

Participating in this Research is Completely Voluntary

- You may withdraw from this research at any time without any repercussions. Any information collected from you will be destroyed.

Benefits from the Research Project

- You will have an opportunity to speak about your experiences as a father in a jail.
- The research will be distributed to agencies and this may possibly help them in their work.

Potential Risks from the Research Project

- You may become emotionally upset because of the topic discussed in the interview.
- You may mention information about the abuse of a child which the researcher must then report to MCFD.

If you become emotionally upset a list of support agencies will be given to you.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

- You and the researcher will choose a name that is not your real name and this name will be put on all your information.
- All professional persons who will have access to your information must respect confidentiality.

Storage of Information and Disposal

- Taped interviews will be kept at UNBC in a locked file in my supervisor, Joanna Pierce's office.
- All information will be destroyed after the researcher has successfully defended the research project.

Contact Person Information

- If you require any information at any time before, during or after this research study you may contact me at: 250.462.5358, and/or mccroy@unbc.ca

Copy of Completed Research

- You will receive a copy of the research thesis (book) approximately 7 months after the successful completion of the research.

Project Complaints

- If you have any complaints concerning the research study you may contact the Office of Research, University of Northern British Columbia, 250.960.6735, or by
- e-mail at: reb@unbc.ca

Graduate Student Thesis Researcher: Cassandra J. McCroy

Appendix E

INFORMED CONSENT

I understand I am agreeing to participate in a research study	☐Yes	☐No
I have read or the researcher has read to me the attached information sheet and I have received a copy of this information.	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that the researcher will gather some demographic information	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded using a small microphone. The researcher will take notes during the interview as well.	☐Yes	☐No
I understand the risks involved in participation in the research study	☐Yes	☐No
I understand the benefits involved in participation in the research study	☐Yes	☐No
I have had the opportunity to discuss the research study with the researcher before the scheduled interviews	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary	☐Yes	☐No
I may withdraw from this study at any time	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that the researcher will maintain confidentiality during all phases of the research	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that no personal information that may identify me will be used in the final research thesis	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that only the research student, the supervisor, and the supervisory committee –consisting of three members-will have access to my personal information	☐Yes	☐No
I understand that if I disclose information about the safety of a child, the researcher must report the concern to MCFD	☐Yes	☐No

This study was explained to me by: Cassandra McCroy, Master of Social Work student

I agree to participate in this study   Date: _____

_____   _____
Signature of Research Participant   **Printed Name of Research Participant**
I have confidence that the participant signing this form understands what is involved in the research and that the participant voluntarily agrees to participate.

                                                  Date: _____
_____
Signature of Student Researcher

Appendix F

RECEIPT FOR HONORARIUM

University of Northern British Columbia

I_____have received an honorarium, a **$25.00 gift card,**

from University of British Columbia graduate student **Cassandra McCroy** on this day

_____ for my participation in graduate student research.

(Month/day/year)

_____   _____
Signature of research participant   **Signature of graduate student researcher**

_____
Date (month/day/year)

Appendix G

LETTER OF REQUEST

Cassandra J. McCroy UNBC, MSW Student researcher
3333 University Way, Prince George, B.C., V2N 4Z9
Phone: E-mail: mccroy@unbc.ca
Date
The John Howard Society,
Prince George, B.C.,

Attention: __Ursula Morris__
Dear_____

      As a University of Northern British Columbia graduate Social Work student I am required to conduct research and present the research process and findings in a final thesis. I am requesting that you grant permission for clients, who are fathers, and under the supervision of Corrections Service Canada to participate in my research study.

      The purpose of the research study is to ascertain the lived experiences of incarcerated fathers in a northern context. This study is qualitative because there is at present limited research on the impact of the northern context on incarcerated fathers.

      Further, this research is intended to give fathers voice to the problems that present barriers to effective parenting behind bars. It is hoped that through research fathers may realize the importance of their role as a parent and seek to build and then maintain their parenting role throughout and after their incarceration.

      This research study is completely voluntary for the participants, and they may withdraw at any time from participation. A copy of the consent form and the research information sheet that would be presented to each participant is enclosed. Confidentiality and anonymity will be respected and adhered to. Additionally, a small honorarium, a twenty-five dollar gift card, will be given to each participant, regardless of whether they withdraw from the research or continue to participate.

      I request that if the John Howard Society is in agreement with this research, then a letter of consent be sent to UNBC. The UNBC Research Ethics Board requires this letter of consent before I am permitted to continue with my research.

      If you have any additional questions or concerns feel free to contact me at the above contact information.   I will follow up on this letter within two weeks.

Your support is sincerely appreciated,

Cassandra McCroy, RSW, MSW Candidate

Appendix H

LETTER OF PERMISSION

Cassandra, we at Northern John Howard Society are very happy to play a part in
your Research Project.

Please let us know when you are ready to get going.

The staff here are eager to help you find men to participate.

Ursula Morris

Administrator

Northern John Howard Society of BC

154 Quebec Street

Prince George, BC V2L 1W2

Ph: (250) 561-7343

Fx: (250) 561-0510

Appendix I

RESEARCH POSTER

UNBC Graduate Student is Interested in Interviewing Fathers who are Residents of Northern BC.

The graduate student researcher is interested in the experiences of fathers who have recently been incarcerated in the Prince George Regional Correctional Centre. The researcher would like to interview fathers who have lived in the north of BC and who are under the supervision of BC Corrections.
Fathers must have a child or children under the age of 19 years.

What to do Next?
If you would like to contribute to this research as a participant, phone 250.462.5358 or e-mail the researcher at the address below.

How much Time is Required?
One interview about one and one-half hour long, and then a shorter interview within a month later.

Where will the Interviews Take Place?
The interviews will take place in a room in the John Howard Society building in Prince George, BC.

Note: A $25.00 gift card will be given to each participant as an honorarium.
All information gathered in this research study is confidential.
E-mail: mccroy@unbc.ca Cell Phone: 250.462.

Appendix J

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW STATEMENTS

Please fill in this form to the best of your ability. If you do not wish to complete a statement please indicate so beside the statement.

1. My age is: _____

2. I have completed this level of education:
   □ Elementary school
   □ Middle School/ Junior High school
   □ Some High School
   □ Graduated from High School
   □ Some college or university
   □ Graduated from college –two years
   □ Graduated from university –four years
   □ Technical or vocational school

3. My significant relationship status is:
   □ Single
   □ Common law
   □ Married
   □ Divorced
   □ Widowed
   □ Other_____

4. I have this many children:
   □ One   □ Five
   □ Two   □ Six
   □ Three   □ Seven
   □ Four   □ Eight or more_____

5. The ages of each child are:
   □_____   □_____
   □_____   □_____
   □_____   □_____
   □_____   □_____

6. Before my incarceration, I was living with a child/ren who is/are under the age of 19 years: □Yes   □ No

7..At present, my child/ren is/are residing with... Answer as many boxes as apply:
- ☐ With their birth mother
- ☐ With another family member
- ☐ With friends
- ☐ With foster care –Ministry of Children and Families
- ☐ With kinship care –Ministry of Children and Families
- ☐ Other, please specify_____

8..My ethnic/cultural background is...Answer as many boxes as apply:
- ☐ White/Caucasian
- ☐ First Nations
- ☐ Inuit
- ☐ Métis
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ East Indian
- ☐ African
- ☐ Other, please specify_____

9.I have resided in northern BC for as long as_____.

Spirituality may be defined as:
>   The wholeness of what it is to be human. It involves a person's search for meaning and morally fulfilling relationships between oneself and other persons, the universe, and whether a person understands spirituality regarding a higher power such as God, no belief in God, or a combination of these beliefs (Canada & Furman, 2010, p.66).

Religion is defined as:
>   An organized method of beliefs, values, symbols, and experiences that involves spirituality, community, transmission of traditions across time, and support tasks that may or may not be indirectly or directly considered spiritual (Canda & Furman, 2010, p. 76).

10. I am aware of spirituality: ☐ Yes_____ ☐ No_____☐ Not Sure____

11. I consider myself to be a spiritual person ☐ Yes_____☐ No____ ☐ Somewhat __

12. I engage in religious activities:
- ☐ rarely-never or a few times a year
- ☐ sometimes –several times a month
- ☐ often –several times a week
- ☐ once or more a day

Reference
Canda, E. R., & Furman, L., D. (2010). Spiritual diversity in social work practice: The heart of helping (2nd ed.). Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.