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Socioeconomic characteristics of Indigenous adults reconvicted after release from provincial custody, 2016/2017

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Socioeconomic characteristics of Indigenous adults reconvicted after release from provincial custody, 2016/2017: Highlights

- Within the broader context of the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system, linked data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey and the Integrated Criminal Court Survey revealed four distinct patterns of reconviction within a cohort of Indigenous adults released from provincial custody in 2016/2017.
- Among Indigenous adults released from custody, the largest proportion (30%) had few (if any) reconvictions during the four years following their release. These individuals were included in the low reconvictions group.
- For about one in six (18%) Indigenous adults, reconvictions after release were primarily for violent crime and administration of justice offences. Reconvictions among this primarily violent group occurred at a low to medium frequency.
- Less than a quarter (22%) of Indigenous adults were included in the primarily property reconvictions group, with a medium to high volume of reconvictions for mostly property crimes and administration of justice offences after release.
- Just under three in ten (29%) Indigenous adults released from custody demonstrated a high, persistent and mixed crime type pattern of reconviction. This group was characterized by a high volume and frequency of reconvictions across all types of crime. Overall, members of this group were responsible for over two-thirds of all reconvictions recorded by Indigenous adults released from custody during the four-year study period (68%).
- Many socioeconomic patterns align with the four distinct patterns of reconvictions identified in this study. Notably, Indigenous adults in the low reconviction group were in consistently better socioeconomic and health situations both prior to their custody sentence and following release, while those in the high persistent group were in worse positions.
- For example, in the period after release and during which reconviction was possible, those in the low reconviction group were more likely to report employment income (40%) compared to those in the high persistent reconviction group (15%).
- Indigenous adults in the high persistent reconviction group had the largest proportion of members who were admitted to an emergency department five or more times during the years after their release (60%), including the highest proportions admitted with mental health concerns (53%) and drug overdose (31%).
- The places where Indigenous adults lived following their release from custody varied according to their reconviction pattern. Those with lower frequencies of reconvictions more often lived in rural, northern or Indigenous communities, compared with those with higher frequencies of reconvictions (who more often lived in urban, southern and non-Indigenous communities).

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Introduction

In Canada, Indigenous leaders and advocacy groups have long called for societal change to address the pervasive discrimination and disparity of opportunity faced by Indigenous peoples. A starkly visible result of this racism and inequality is the persistent overrepresentation of First Nations people, Métis and Inuit (Indigenous) in all stages of Canada's justice system. Indigenous people are disproportionately the victims of crime (Perreault, 2022), those coming into contact with police (Cotter, 2022; David & Mitchell, 2020), those appearing before the courts (Khorrami & Paquin-Marseille, 2025), and those serving custodial sentences in correctional institutions (Robinson et al., 2023). Additionally, recent research has shown that Indigenous people face the highest rates of reconviction after serving a correctional sentence for a previous crime (Pedneault et al., 2024; Statistics Canada, 2026a). Whereas statistics from justice system records make clear the magnitude of the problem, National Indigenous Organizations including the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples and the Assembly of First Nations continue to call for recognition of the social justice underpinnings of criminal justice outcomes (Assembly of First Nations, 2025; Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 2024).

The impacts of colonialism on Indigenous Peoples in Canada are evident in all areas of social and economic life, including the justice system. Colonialist systems of education, employment, healthcare and housing have inherent barriers to the full participation of Indigenous people, and systemic racism and discrimination exacerbate these obstacles (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). When people are systemically denied equitable access to these institutions, increased interactions with the justice system can result. The Canadian government's *Federal Framework to Reduce Recidivism*, for example, identifies housing, education, employment, health, and positive social support networks as key pathways towards reducing reoffending (Public Safety Canada, 2022). Socioeconomic statistics provide information on people's participation in these spheres, sometimes referred to as the social determinants of justice (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2018), and offer a glimpse into the disparities within.

Building on these themes, this *Juristat* article explores socioeconomic characteristics and reconviction patterns after incarceration among Indigenous people leaving provincial custody. Specifically, the analysis considers reconviction patterns among a cohort of adults released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, alongside the socioeconomic situations they were in prior to their incarceration and after their release. The analysis examines how socioeconomic factors can be linked to specific patterns of reconviction; that is, how education, employment, income, family composition, emergency healthcare usage, and geographic location relate to the type and frequency of reconvictions after release. The analysis focuses on the experiences of Indigenous people within the justice system, with information on their non-Indigenous counterparts included where appropriate.

Section 1: Indigenous over-representation in the justice system

The persistent over-representation of Indigenous people at all stages of the Canadian criminal justice system has been well-documented, and its roots in racism and colonialist systems have been formally acknowledged by the Canadian government (Department of Justice Canada, 2023). Indigenous groups have worked to draw attention to the issue and enact change, and developments including the enacting of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* are largely the result of their work.¹ Canada has seen numerous public inquiries, Supreme Court decisions, and legislative amendments in response (for a summary, see Department of Justice Canada, 2025). Despite these efforts, over-representation continues to be visible in all aspects of the justice system.

The focus of the present study is Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, and their subsequent patterns of reconviction. For these people, entry into the justice system as a person accused of crime may have taken place months or years earlier, through initial contact with police. Although quantitative data on Indigenous over-representation at the policing stage of the Canadian justice system is relatively limited, qualitative studies have made clear that Indigenous people come into contact with police at disproportionately high rates, and that Indigenous communities are often over-policed (Clark, 2019; Cotter, 2022; David & Mitchell, 2020). At the same time that racism and colonialist practices set the stage for increased police interactions, socioeconomic marginalization creates risk factors for engagement in criminal activity (Clark, 2019). This context is relevant for understanding reconvictions, since reconviction is predicated upon the commission of a crime and its detection by police.

Differences in outcomes are also evident when Indigenous people enter subsequent stages of the justice system. A recent Canadian study showed that Indigenous people were highly over-represented in adult criminal court between 2016/2017 and 2020/2021 (Khorrami & Paquin-Marseille, 2025). Although over-representation persists, the authors suggest some trends in court data show improvements for Indigenous people accused of crime. For instance, the proportion of Indigenous and White people accused who are found guilty has equalized in recent years, and the large proportion of Indigenous people accused who encounter a stay of proceedings may suggest progressive policies of diversion are in place. Others have argued, however, that disproportionate numbers of stays, withdrawals and dismissals could be indicative of initial over-policing and over-charging directed towards some groups (Wortley & Jung, 2020). Additionally, court data show that disparity persists when it came to sentencing: in 2020/2021, the relative rate² of receiving a custodial sentence after a guilty verdict was 46% higher for Indigenous individuals, compared to their White counterparts—even among those with no prior convictions (Khorrami & Paquin-Marseille, 2025).

The disparity in sentences given to Indigenous persons convicted of crime compared to other groups is reflected in data from Canadian correctional services. In 2023/2024, Indigenous adults in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia were incarcerated at a rate that was 10 times higher than non-Indigenous adults,³ with approximately 89 Indigenous adults per 10,000 population in custody on an average day in those provinces (Statistics Canada, 2026c). Additionally, 3% of all Indigenous adults in those provinces had served custody in a provincial facility between April 1, 2023 and March 31, 2024.⁴ Incarceration rates were especially high for Indigenous men aged 35 to 44 years, among whom 7% had served custody in those provinces during the two-year period.

Further, other research has shown that people sentenced to custody are more likely than those sentenced to community supervision to be reconvicted after their sentence (Pedneault et al., 2024). Additionally, reconviction rates are especially high for Indigenous persons released from custody, with 79% of those released from provincial custody in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia in 2016/2017 being reconvicted within four years (compared with 65% of non-Indigenous people) (Statistics Canada, 2026b).

In these ways, systemic inequality shaped the justice system trajectories of the Indigenous individuals in the present study, beginning with initial interactions with police, to differential outcomes in the courts, to over-representation in the corrections system, to reconvictions following release. However, Indigenous persons released from custody are not a homogenous group. In addition to the unique cultures and histories of First Nations people, Métis and Inuit, individuals have their own socioeconomic realities both before incarceration and during the time leading up to potential reconviction after release. Do these factors, including education, employment, income, family status, geography and utilization of health services, relate to whether and how they come to be reconvicted of crime after their release? Using data from tax records, hospital admissions and others, the present study seeks to answer this question.

Section 2: Study cohort

In the present study, a cohort of individuals was identified and “followed” for four years after their release from provincial custody, to determine if they were reconvicted of a crime during that time. To create the study cohort which forms the basis of the study, individuals were selected from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey (CCSS) data file if they met the following criteria:

- they had been sentenced to full-time custody in a provincial correctional facility;
- the length of their sentenced custody was greater than one day;
- the most serious offence for which they were sentenced was a *Criminal Code* or other federal statute offence;
- they were adults at the time of their release;
- their correctional supervision was carried out in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia; and
- they were released from custody during the 2016/2017 fiscal year (i.e., between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017).

Once the cohort was selected based on these criteria, court data for the four years following each individual's release were examined to see if they contained one or more records of convictions.⁵ Data from the ten years which preceded release were also examined.

In total, 21,634 individuals were selected based on these criteria (excluding people who died during the four-year follow-up period). Within this cohort, 7,499 individuals (35%) were Indigenous people, among whom 73% identified as First Nations, 17% as Métis, and 1% as Inuit (Table 1).^{6,7} These proportions reflect the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the corrections system, as Indigenous people made up 4% of the population of Canada in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

Geographically, the largest proportion of the study cohort was located in Alberta (32%), followed by Ontario (25%), Saskatchewan (22%), British Columbia (20%), and Nova Scotia (1%). Alberta and Saskatchewan were somewhat overrepresented in terms of the proportions of Indigenous adults released from custody who resided there, compared to their Indigenous populations overall. Alberta was home to 23% of the total Indigenous population of these five provinces (Statistics Canada, 2023) and to 32% of Indigenous adults in the study cohort; similarly, Saskatchewan was home to 15% of the total Indigenous population of the five provinces, along with a larger proportion (22%) of Indigenous adults in the study cohort.

Among Indigenous individuals in the study cohort, 83% were men and 17% were women. The highest proportion of women was noted among Inuit (25%). In terms of age, the largest proportion (42%) of Indigenous adults were aged between 25 and 34 years, while the smallest proportion (12%) were aged 45 years and older (Table 1). The age profile of Inuit in the cohort differed slightly from First Nations people and Métis, in that a larger proportion were aged between 25 and 34 years (53%).

Most Indigenous adults (63%) had served less than three months in custody.⁸ About one in six (18%) had served between three and six months, and 13% had served between 6 months and one year. The smallest proportion (6%) had served the longest sentenced terms possible for those within the study cohort, sentences of one year to two years less a day (Table 1). At least one-third (33%) of Indigenous adults released from custody had a post-release community supervision order, such as a probation order (data not shown).⁹

When it came to the most serious crime associated with the period of custodial supervision that preceded the release (the “index offence”), 28% of Indigenous adults were serving a sentence for a property crime, 25% for a violent crime, 25% for an administration of justice offence and 21% for a *Criminal Code* traffic violation, another *Criminal Code* violation, or a violation of a different federal statute.

Eight in ten Indigenous adults released from custody were reconvicted within four years

In the four years following their release from custody, 8 in 10 (81%) Indigenous persons in the study cohort had at least one reconviction for a crime—that is, they were found guilty of at least one criminal charge following their incarceration (Table 2).¹⁰ The majority (69%) had a reconviction for an administration of justice offence within those four years. This type of offence represents a violation of a judicial order, such as disobeying an order to follow certain conditions after release. Reconvictions for administration of justice offences could have included breaches of these kinds of orders, as well as orders that were not necessarily related to post-release monitoring (such as no-contact orders). Among those released, failure to comply with conditions (51%) and breach of probation (44%) were the most common types of administration of justice reconvictions. Notably, nearly half (49%) of Indigenous persons released from custody were convicted of an administration of justice offence within the first twelve months of their release.

Administration of justice offences play a key role in reconvictions, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people released from custody (see Text box 1). However, the ability of people released from custody to abide by conditions imposed by courts is not uniform, and systemic barriers result in Indigenous people receiving conditions which are unrealistic and excessive (Department of Justice Canada, 2021). For example, residing in a rural or remote community can make attending probation hearings difficult or impossible. If an individual does not meet their conditions and faces administration of justice charges in court, they are most often convicted, and those who are found guilty are most often sentenced to custody (Burczycka & Munch, 2015). In this way, administration of justice offences are a “revolving door” for people involved in the criminal justice system and have been identified as an area of systemic discrimination in the Canadian justice system (Department of Justice Canada, 2021).

In addition to administration of justice offences, the first four years following release saw over half (52%) of Indigenous people reconvicted of a property crime. A smaller proportion (45%) were reconvicted of a violent offence, and 43% were reconvicted of *Criminal Code* traffic offences, other *Criminal Code* offences or other federal statute offences.

Text box 1

Non-Indigenous members of the study cohort

In addition to individuals with Indigenous identity, the study cohort included 14,135 non-Indigenous persons released from custody in 2016/2017. In general, the non-Indigenous group was comparable to the Indigenous group in terms of age and gender, custody length and index offence, and overall reconviction patterns.

It should be noted that the non-Indigenous cohort is not a homogenous group. Within this broader category are Black and racialized people, and Black people especially are disproportionately represented in the justice system. Reconviction patterns and the socioeconomic factors influencing them may vary significantly across subgroups within the non-Indigenous group. For this reason, detailed analysis of socioeconomic characteristics of the non-Indigenous members of the study cohort will not be presented, and analysis of their reconviction patterns will be limited.

Like the Indigenous group, non-Indigenous adults released from custody were most often men (90%)—though the proportion of women was higher among Indigenous people (17%, versus 10% among non-Indigenous) (Table 1). This is in line with other Canadian research, which has found that Indigenous women are especially overrepresented in provincial corrections (Statistics Canada, 2026c).

With respect to age, members of the non-Indigenous group tended towards the older age groups, similar to patterns in the wider population (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Although most individuals in both population groups were between the ages of 25 and 34 years (37% among non-Indigenous, 42% among Indigenous), fewer among the non-Indigenous component were in the youngest (18 to 24 years) age group (16%, versus 22%) (Table 1). Likewise, more non-Indigenous offenders were in the oldest (45 years and older) age group (21% versus 12%).

Overall, the lengths of time that non-Indigenous people had served in custody were similar to those served by their Indigenous counterparts. The largest proportion (60%) of non-Indigenous adults had served sentences of less than three months, 19% had served between three and six months, 14% had served between six months and one year, and 7% had served one year to two years less a day (Table 1). When it came to index offences, patterns were also similar among non-Indigenous and Indigenous people in the study cohort. One-third (32%) of non-Indigenous individuals had been sentenced to custody for a property crime, whereas 22% had been sentenced for a violent crime, 21% for an administration of justice offence, and the remaining 24% for a *Criminal Code* traffic crime, another *Criminal Code* violation, or a violation of a different federal statute.

Like the Indigenous adults in the study cohort, most (70%) non-Indigenous persons released from custody were reconvicted of a crime in the four years following their release (Table 5). Reconvictions for administration of justice offences were most common among the non-Indigenous cohort (58%), followed by property crimes (49%), other *Criminal Code* (including traffic) and federal statute violations (37%), and violent crimes (31%). Overall, Indigenous adults in the cohort experienced higher rates across all reconviction types. The most significant disparity was in violent crime, where rates were 34 percentage points higher than those of non-Indigenous adults; conversely, the smallest gap was in property crime, at 17 percentage points.

Fewer non-Indigenous people in the study cohort recorded their first reconviction within one year of being released from custody (55%, versus 62% of the Indigenous group) (data not shown). First-year reconvictions for administration of justice offences were the most common among the non-Indigenous offenders (42%), as they were for the Indigenous people in the cohort (49%).

As noted, when looking at reconviction rates among Indigenous individuals alongside non-Indigenous people, it is important to consider that Indigenous people in Canada are disproportionately likely to come into contact with the police (Cotter, 2022; David & Mitchell, 2020), face charges in court (Khorrami & Paquin-Marseille, 2025) and be sentenced to custody (Statistics Canada, 2026c). Many of these disparities can be traced back to socioeconomic inequalities and administrative barriers related to language and cultural differences (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2018).

Section 3: Reconviction patterns among Indigenous adults released from custody

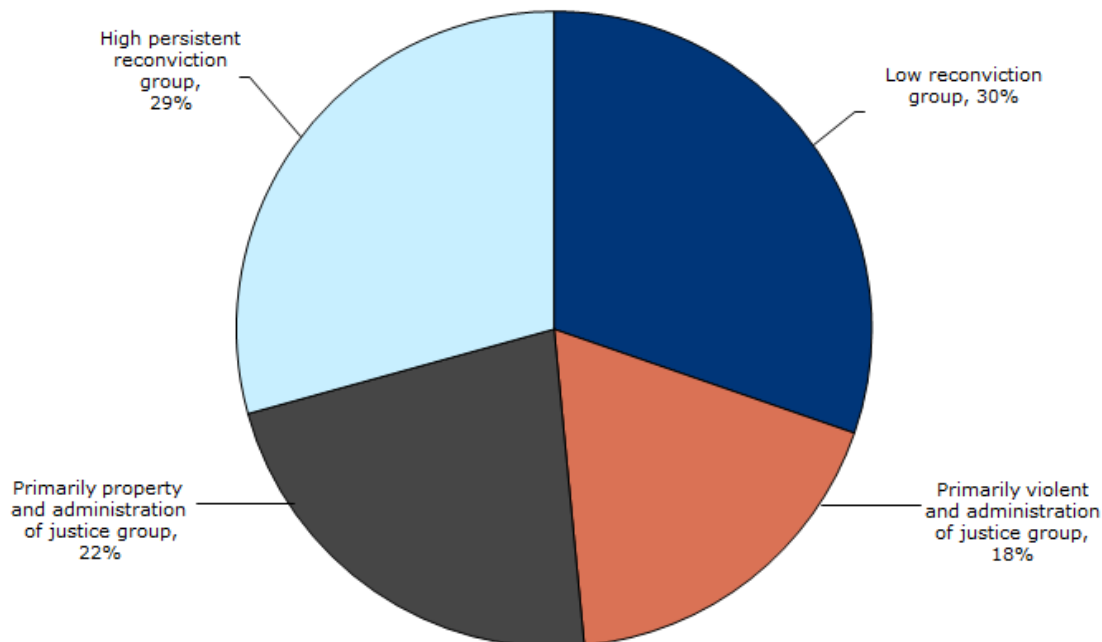
Individuals who commit crimes are not a homogenous group. Beyond the complex individual and societal factors involved in criminality, people involved in the justice system are different in terms of the types of crimes they commit and the frequency with which they reoffend over time. Specialized statistical analyses can be used to detect subtle patterns in offending within a group of individuals, and create categories based on these patterns (for a summary, see Jennings & Reingle, 2012). Looking at these patterns can help reveal underlying risk factors for reoffending and reconvictions.

In this study, latent class analysis (LCA) was used to identify distinct reconviction patterns within the cohort. LCA is a statistical method that groups individuals into “classes” based on shared observed characteristics—in this case, the frequency of reconvictions for violent, property, administration of justice, and other offence types (i.e., *Criminal Code* traffic offences, other *Criminal Code* offences and other federal statute violations). More information on this methodology is available in the Data sources and methodology section.

Four groups were identified among Indigenous members of the study cohort, based on their patterns of reconvictions (Chart 1):

- a low reconvictions group, comprised of individuals with few or no reconvictions;
- a primarily violent and administration of justice offence group, whose reconvictions tended towards those crime types with relatively low to medium frequencies of reconvictions;
- a primarily property and administration of justice offence group, whose reconvictions tended towards those crime types with relatively medium to high frequencies of reconvictions; and
- a high persistent reconviction group, characterized by individuals with many reconvictions across all types of crime.

Chart 1
Reconviction pattern groups among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, 2016/2017



Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths linked file.

Three in ten Indigenous adults released from custody have low reconvictions

The largest proportion (30%, or 2,273 individuals) of Indigenous members of the study cohort were classified as low reconviction, meaning that as a group, they had few if any reconvictions during the study period (Chart 1). Most Indigenous adults in this group (66%) had no reconvictions during the four years following their release, and 25% had a single reconviction (Table 2).

The gap in time between release from custody and reconviction was longest for the low reconviction group. Of the people in this group who were reconvicted, the majority (56%) did not record their first reconviction until their first year of release or later. In contrast, the majority of individuals in other groups were reconvicted within six months (Table 3).

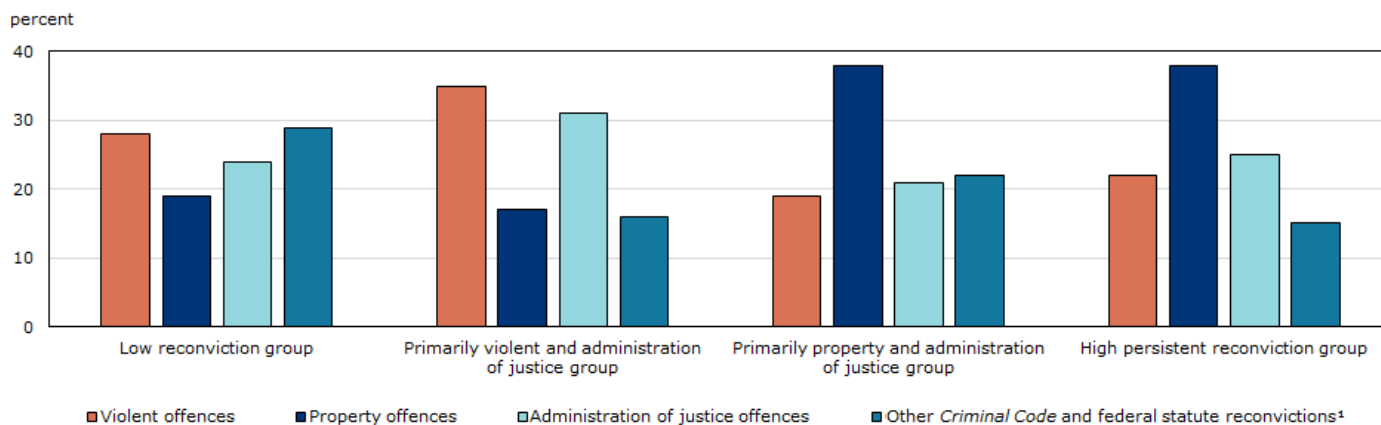
Aside from those who had no reconvictions during the four-year follow-up period, the most common outcome for people in the low reconviction group was a single reconviction for an administration of justice offence (12%) (Table 2). Smaller proportions of people in the low reconviction group had single reconvictions for violent crime (6%), property crime (4%), and other *Criminal Code* offences (including traffic) and other federal statute offences (9%).

Multiple reconvictions were very rare among the low reconviction group. Relatively few individuals in this group (8%) had more than one reconviction during the study period, and none had more than four (Table 2). The low reconviction group was the only one among the four who had any members with less than two reconvictions during the study period.

Members of the low reconviction group had substantially more convictions in the four years prior to incarceration than in the four years following release. This could be related to age: individuals in this group were generally older (see Section 4), and their involvement in criminality may have peaked in the years prior to incarceration. More than eight in ten (84%) had two or more previous convictions, with 57% recording five or more (Table 4). Although reconvictions for administration of justice offences were most common, nearly one-third (29%) of Indigenous adults in the low reconviction group had been convicted of two or more violent offences in the four years prior to incarceration. Notably, violent crime was a common index offence for this group (28%; Chart 2).

This trajectory—a significant criminal history with a notable presence of violent crime, followed by an almost complete drop-off in convictions after release—distinctly sets the low reconviction group apart from the other groups in the study.

Chart 2
Proportions of index offences among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by offence type and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017



1. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other federal statutes (for example, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*).

Note: The index offence is the most serious crime associated with the period of custodial supervision that preceded the release marking the start of the four-year follow-up period of the study. Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths linked file.

One in six Indigenous adults released from custody have a primarily violent reconviction pattern

Representing 18% of the cohort (1,383 individuals), the primarily violent reconvictions group was the smallest of the four reconviction pattern groups. This group included individuals whose reconvictions were primarily for violent crime but occurred at lower frequencies than most other groups (Table 2). Whereas almost all (93%) members of this group had at least one reconviction for a violent crime, the number of these reconvictions was relatively low, with most having either one (42%) or two to four (45%) violent reconvictions during the study period. A minority (6%) recorded five or more reconvictions for violent crime.

A large proportion (83%) of the primarily violent group had reconvictions for administration of justice crimes, though this proportion was smaller than in other groups (except the low reconvictions group). Notably, most members of the primarily violent group had no reconvictions for property offences (68%). Overall, individuals in this group had a median of 5 reconvictions during the four years following release.

Nearly four in ten (37%) Indigenous adults in the primarily violent reconviction group had their first reconviction within 3 months of their release, a lower rate than what was seen with the higher-volume reconviction groups (Table 3).

In the four years prior to their incarceration, nearly all (97%) Indigenous adults in the primarily violent group had two or more criminal convictions, with 80% recording five or more (Table 4). Eight in ten (80%) had a previous conviction for a violent crime, a lower proportion than had violent convictions after release (93%, Table 2). However, the frequency of violent convictions decreased substantially after incarceration: prior to custody, 14% of individuals in the primarily violent group had five or more violent convictions, compared to 6% after release.

Notably, 35% of the primarily violent reconvictions group had a violent crime as their index offence (Chart 2). Although this was the most common index offence type for this group, it also highlights that the majority of Indigenous adults were incarcerated for non-violent offences. This discrepancy underscores the importance of broader criminal histories and administrative violations in the justice process, suggesting that for many individuals, sentencing outcomes could be driven more by the weight of a criminal record than by the nature of the index offence. For Indigenous adults, this may reflect a pattern of cumulative disadvantage (see Franklin & Henry, 2020; Kutateladze et. al., 2014), where systemic barriers and institutional biases throughout the criminal justice system compound over time and lead to increasingly severe legal outcomes regardless of the nature of the immediate offence.

Primarily property reconviction pattern noted for almost one-quarter of Indigenous adults released from custody

Just under a quarter (22%, or 1,642 individuals) of the Indigenous members of the study cohort were classified into the primarily property reconviction group (Table 2). This group was characterized by a relatively high volume and frequency of reconvictions, which were primarily limited to property crimes and administration of justice offences. Nearly three-quarters of this group (74%) had at least one property-related reconviction, and 19% had five or more. Overall, this group had a median of 6 reconvictions over the four-year follow-up period.

Generally, individuals in the primarily property group were reconvicted soon after their release, with about four in ten (41%) recording their first reconviction within 3 months. By the two-year mark, 92% had been reconvicted (Table 3).

Reconvictions for administration of justice offences were nearly universal in this group, with 96% of members recording at least one such reconviction during the study period. Just over three-quarters (76%) of individuals had two to four reconvictions for administration of justice offences, but none had more than four (Table 2).

Conviction patterns for the primarily property reconvictions group remained stable from pre- to post-incarceration, with 76% of individuals having recorded at least one property conviction prior to custody (Table 4). Although the prevalence was similar, the frequency of convictions was somewhat smaller after incarceration, with the proportion who had five or more convictions for property crimes decreasing from 28% pre-incarceration to 19% after release. The largest proportion (38%) of primarily property reconviction group members had a property crime as their index offence (Chart 2).

Three in ten Indigenous adults released from custody show a high persistent reconviction pattern

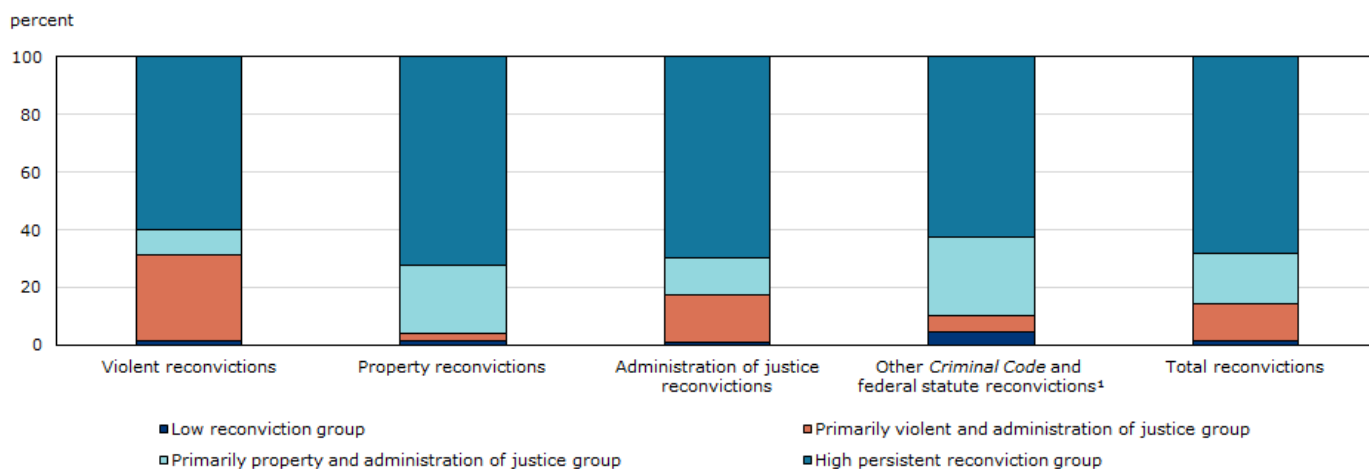
Just under three in ten (29%, or 2,201 individuals) Indigenous members of the study cohort fell into the high persistent reconviction group, making it the second largest of the four groups. Individuals in this group typically had high numbers of reconvictions across all offence types. Compared to any other group, higher proportions of individuals had 5 or more reconvictions for violent crime, and the same was noted for property crime and administration of justice reconvictions (Table 2).

The high persistent group recorded the shortest time interval between release and reconviction: almost two-thirds (65%) had their first reconviction within 3 months of release from custody, and nearly all (94%) had a reconviction within the first year (Table 3).

All (100%) members of the high persistent reconvictions group had five or more reconvictions during the four-year study period (Table 2). Almost all (94%) had five or more reconvictions for administration of justice offences. More than 9 in 10 (94%) members of this group had a reconviction for a property offence, and 70% had a reconviction for a violent crime; for both of these crime types, the majority of the high persistent group had two or more reconvictions (81% and 51%, respectively). The high persistent group also recorded the highest median number of reconvictions (18) of all groups.

The high persistent group accounted for a disproportionate share of total reconvictions, with 68% of all reconvictions recorded during the study period while representing 29% of Indigenous adults in the study cohort. This was consistent across all offence types: they were responsible for 60% of all violent reconvictions, 72% of all property reconvictions, 70% of all administration of justice reconvictions, and 62% of all other *Criminal Code*, *Criminal Code* traffic and other federal statute reconvictions (Chart 3).

Chart 3
Reconvictions among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by type of offence and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017



1. Includes *Criminal Code* traffic offences, other *Criminal Code* offences, and other federal statute offences.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths linked file.

The pre-incarceration history of high persistent group members was also characterized by a high frequency of convictions across all offence types, with 92% recording five or more prior convictions (Table 4). Notably, a comparison of the four years before and after incarceration reveals an increase in the frequency of violent reconvictions for this group, with the proportion of individuals recording five or more such reconvictions rising from 13% pre-custody to 20% after release. Smaller proportions recorded one violent reconviction (18% after release, versus 22% before) or two to four (31% versus 35%). Although convictions for violent crimes figured prominently in their pre-incarceration history, property violations remained the most common index offence (38%) for the high persistent group, highlighting a consistent pattern of high-frequency contact driven by both violent and non-violent offences (Chart 2).

Reconviction patterns vary among First Nations people, Métis and Inuit

Whereas First Nations people comprised 73% of Indigenous people in the study cohort, they were slightly overrepresented in the low reconviction (75%) and primarily violent reconviction (78%) pattern groups and slightly underrepresented in the primarily property (69%) and high persistent groups (71%) (Table 6). In contrast, Métis showed the opposite pattern: while representing 17% of the Indigenous cohort, they were underrepresented in the low reconviction (15%) and primarily violent (13%) groups and overrepresented in the primarily property (21%) and high persistent (20%) groups. The largest proportion of Inuit were represented in the high persistent and low reconviction groups (1% for each), which is in line with their representation in the Indigenous cohort (1%).

Text box 2

Reconviction patterns among non-Indigenous adults

A latent class analysis (LCA) was applied to the non-Indigenous adults in the study cohort to identify reconviction patterns in the four years following release (see Data sources and methodology). As with the LCA for Indigenous persons, the process yielded four distinct groups within the non-Indigenous cohort, with each group representing a specific pattern of offending. However, it is critical to note that although the names of the groups and some related concepts may be similar between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous cohorts, the criteria for inclusion into these groups were different. Because each set of results is based on offending patterns unique to that specific population, the groups are not statistically equivalent. Therefore, direct comparisons between groups in the Indigenous cohort and those in the non-Indigenous cohort should be avoided.

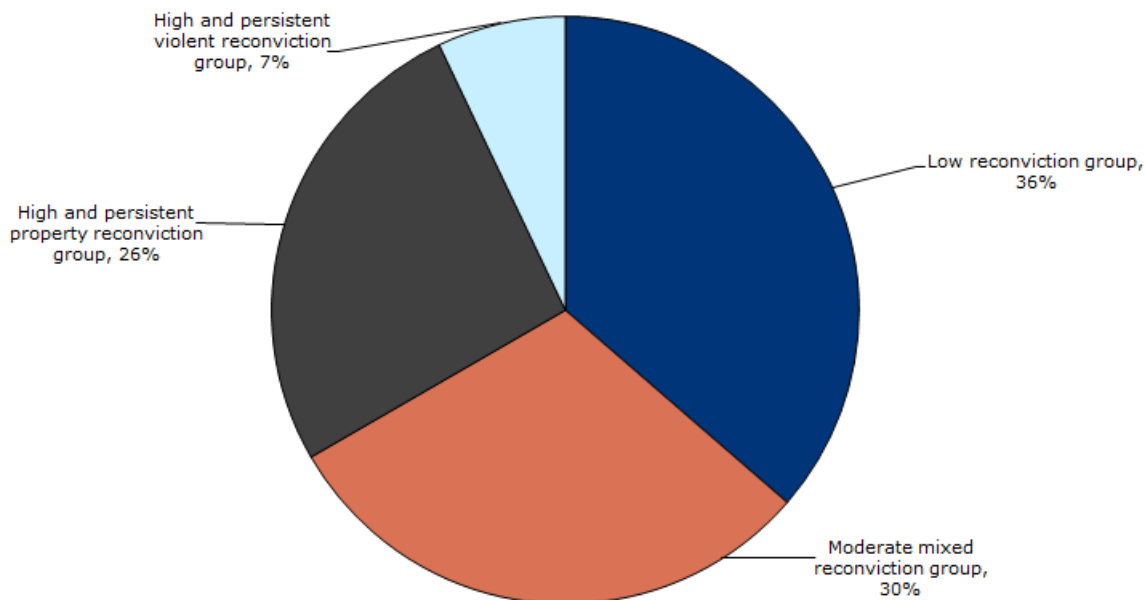
A *low reconviction* group made up the largest segment of the non-Indigenous cohort (36%, or 5,137 individuals) (Table 5, Chart 4). A large majority of individuals in this group recorded no reconvictions during the four years after their release (82%), and among those who did, multiple reconvictions were rare.

The *moderate mixed reconvictions* group was the second-largest group (30%) within the non-Indigenous cohort (4,286 individuals). Individuals in this group had reconvictions across all crime types, with the fewest and least frequent being for violent crime (27%, with 23% being single reconvictions). In contrast, individuals recorded multiple (two to four) reconvictions for property offences (29%) and administration of justice offences (46%). Notably, this group rarely reached high-frequency thresholds, as few individuals recorded five or more reconvictions for any one crime type.

Just over a quarter (26%, or 3,708 individuals) of the non-Indigenous individuals in the study cohort were classified into the *high and persistent property reconvictions* group, characterized by very high persistence in non-violent crime. Reconvictions for property crime were almost universal (97%) and many individuals (61%) had five or more reconvictions for a property offence. Reconvictions for administration of justice offences were more frequent, with 82% having more than five. Just under six in ten members of this group had a reconviction for a violent crime (57%).

The smallest segment of non-Indigenous adults released from custody fell into the *high and persistent violent reconvictions* group (7%, or 1,004 individuals). All (100%) members had at least one reconviction for a violent crime, with the majority (76%) recording two to four. Although administrative violations were also common—with 88% recording at least one administration of justice reconviction—people in this group had notably fewer reconvictions for property crimes (43%) and other *Criminal Code* (including traffic) and federal statute violations (23%).

Chart 4
Reconviction pattern groups among non-Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, 2016/2017



Note: Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths linked file.

Section 4: Socioeconomic characteristics associated with reconviction patterns

Indigenous groups have long worked to draw attention to the disparities in socioeconomic opportunities facing their communities. Meanwhile, researchers have consistently identified the socioeconomic factors that can either increase or decrease a person's risk of criminal involvement, including during the critical period following release from incarceration. Building on the post-release reconviction patterns for Indigenous adults that were identified in Section 3—the low reconviction, primarily violent, primarily property and high persistent groups—Section 4 will analyze the various socioeconomic characteristics of these groups, in order to identify any factors that may be associated with higher or lower frequencies of reconvictions and which may therefore serve as barriers against, or protective factors supporting, positive post-release outcomes.

To understand the role socioeconomic factors might have in the type and frequency of post-release convictions among Indigenous adults, data from various sources were linked to the main Canadian Correctional Services Survey (CCSS) and Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS) linked file. These data sources include income tax records, information from the National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS), the Canadian Vital Statistics Death database and postal code files. It is important to note that not all individuals in the CCSS/ICCS linked file matched to records in these supplementary data sources; therefore, coverage is not 100%. The resulting final linkages may contain inherent biases based on which individuals appear in these administrative systems. For more information, see Data sources and methodology.

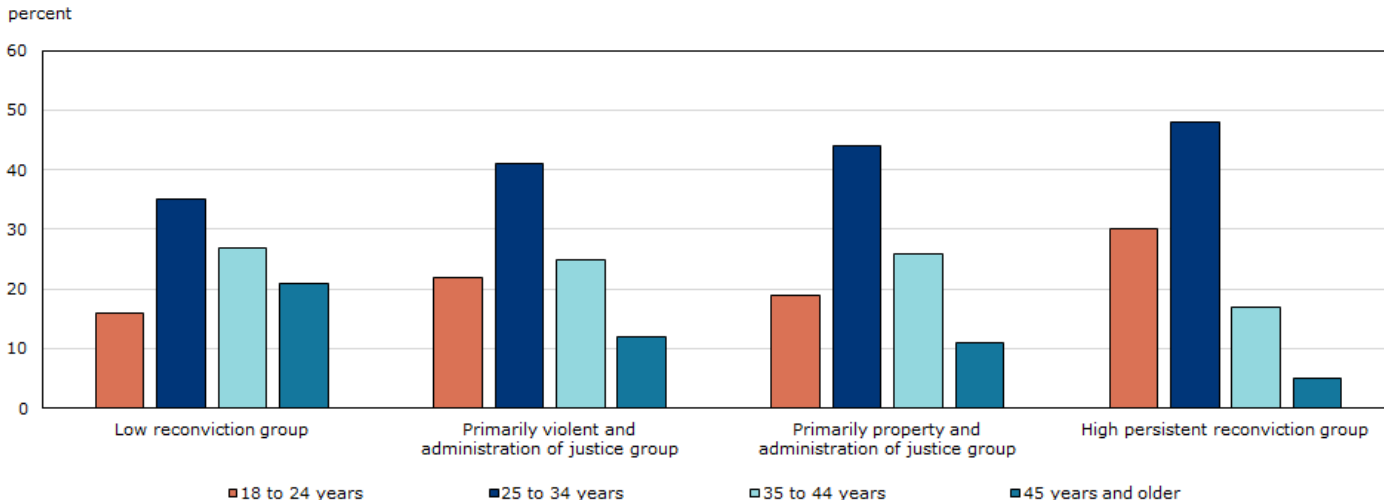
Indigenous women, older people represented in low reconviction group

Age and gender have long been considered among the main correlates of criminality, and Canadian data show that men and younger adults are consistently overrepresented as those accused of and convicted of crime (Statistics Canada, 2026d). This pattern was clearly reflected across all groups of Indigenous adults in the study cohort.

Of the four groups, the high persistent reconviction group had the lowest mean age (29 years) at the time of release (Table 6), whereas the low reconviction group had the highest (36 years). The primarily property and primarily violent groups had the same mean age (33), situated between the other two groups.

The high persistent reconviction group had the largest proportion of individuals in the 18 to 24 (30%) and 25 to 34 (48%) age groups. In contrast, the low reconviction group had the highest proportion of members in the 35 to 44 (27%) and 45 and older (21%) groups, with the percentage who were 45 and older being particularly large compared to the other reconviction pattern groups (Chart 5). These findings align with other research, showing that older age is a crucial factor in the desistance from high-frequency re-offending.

Chart 5
Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by pattern of reconviction and age group, 2016/2017



Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths linked file.

Gender remains a strong correlate of justice system involvement, and this study also reflects the long-standing trend of men being overrepresented in custodial populations. Among the four groups, the low reconviction group had the highest proportion of women (20%) (Table 6). In contrast, women were least represented in the primarily violent group (13%), reinforcing research which shows men are more frequently accused of violent crime. The high persistent group and the primarily property group each had a relatively low proportion of women (15% and 17%, respectively).

High reconviction group less likely to have a high school diploma or higher

Canadian and international research has suggested that involvement in formal education can be a protective factor against involvement in crime (Public Safety Canada, 2022). At the same time, Indigenous people in Canada continue to face barriers to participation in formal education, including financial obstacles, geographic location, a lack of culturally relevant programs, and the persistent impacts of racism and discrimination. Despite these obstacles, some recent data indicate that educational attainment among Indigenous persons in Canada is increasing (Melvin, 2023).

Across all four reconviction pattern groups, the largest proportions of individuals had an education below the level of high school, ranging between 54% among the high persistent group to 47% among the low reconviction group (Table 6).¹¹ The second-largest proportions had a high school diploma, with little variation between groups (ranging from 17% to 15%)

A relatively small proportion of Indigenous adults released from custody in 2016/2017 possessed education beyond high school, with rates ranging from 3% to 4%. This is in sharp contrast to the general population: in comparison, in 2016, 40% of all Indigenous adults aged 25 to 64 had attained some form of post-secondary education (Statistics Canada, 2017b).¹²

Lower educational attainment among justice-involved people is not unique to Indigenous adults: in 2015/2016, 46% of all adult custody admissions¹³ to provincial correctional facilities in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia had an education level lower than a high school diploma.

These findings suggest that while formal education levels among Indigenous adults released from custody are lower than those among Indigenous adults in general, they do not appear to vary greatly across specific types of reconviction patterns. One possible interpretation of these findings is that while lower educational attainment may be a risk factor for initial entry into the justice system, it can have less impact on individuals' subsequent trajectories through it.

Lower employment, income levels noted among high reconviction group

In both public policy and academic research, employment is often tagged as a protective factor from crime in general and from recidivism specifically (Public Safety Canada, 2022; Uggen & Wakefield, 2008). By providing a stable and legal source of income, it directly addresses the economic pressures that can drive certain types of offending—particularly property and subsistence-related crimes. Beyond these financial benefits, employment offers significant prosocial advantages, by giving individuals a structured routine and the opportunity to build a network of social interactions and peer support outside of the criminal sphere. These connections are vital for fostering a sense of belonging and professional identity, which are key components of desistance—the process by which individuals transition away from a life of crime.

Although employment is a proven protective factor against recidivism, discrimination against people with criminal records represents a serious barrier for formerly incarcerated persons (Babchishin et al., 2021; John Howard Society of Ontario, 2024). For Indigenous individuals released from custody, this discrimination is exacerbated by other structural barriers, including racism and prejudices in hiring practices (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2022).

Among those Indigenous adults in the study cohort who filed a tax return in the three years prior to custody, the majority did not claim any income from employment.^{14 15} Instead, most claimed government transfers as their main source of income, including social assistance, employment insurance, and transfers specific to Indigenous people, such as treaty annuity payments and payments from legal settlements with the government. Furthermore, most Indigenous adults released from custody qualified for Statistics Canada's definition of low income in the three years preceding their sentence.¹⁶

Although this was the case among all four reconviction pattern groups, the low reconviction group fared better on these indicators than the other groups, whereas the high persistent group fared worse. For instance, 44% of those in the low reconviction group claimed some income from employment during the tax year closest to the start of their custody, compared with 32% of those in the high reconviction group (Table 7). Similarly, while six in ten (62%) individuals in the low reconviction group reported that government transfers were their main income source, the proportion was 71% among the high persistent group.

Another key difference between reconviction groups was the gap in low-income rates. Whereas 71% of those in the low reconviction group were in low-income, this figure was substantially higher (80%) for the high persistent group. This difference suggests that individuals who face the highest frequency of system recontact are often those with the fewest financial resources, likely compounding the structural barriers they face upon release.

An association between property crime and income was also reflected. Individuals in both the high persistent and primarily property groups had higher frequencies of reconvictions for property crimes, and these groups had fewer people who reported employment income and more who relied on government transfers and were in low-income (Table 7). Conversely, the low reconvictions and primarily violent groups, whose members had lower frequencies of reconvictions for property crime, more often reported income from employment, had fewer members who relied on government transfers and lower low-income rates.

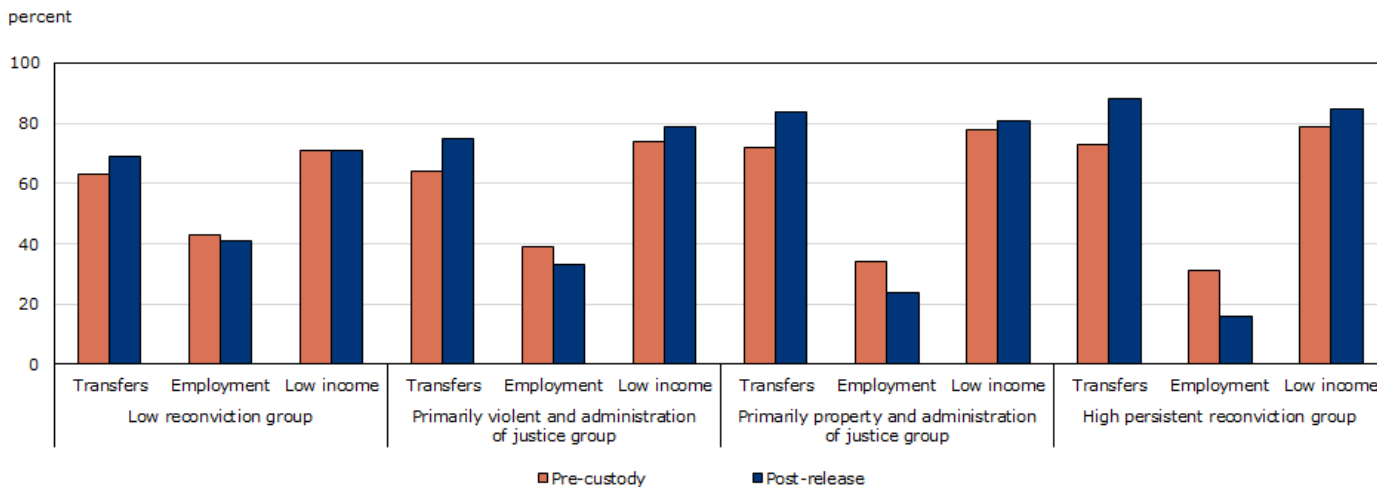
It is important to note that findings based on tax data should be interpreted with caution, as relevant differences often exist between tax-filers and non-filers within the justice-involved population. For example, a study of individuals in Saskatchewan with police contact in 2009/2010 showed that those who did not file taxes in 2008 came into contact with the justice system more frequently, and for more serious offences (Boyce et al., 2018). Therefore, the current analysis may actually understate the degree of economic hardship among individuals with the most frequent reconvictions.

In the years following release (i.e., during the time when reconvictions may have occurred), government transfers remained the most common primary source of income for the majority of Indigenous adults for whom tax data were available.^{17 18} Although economic hardship appeared prevalent across all reconviction groups, people in the low reconviction group consistently fared better than others, especially when compared to the high persistent group (Table 8). Reliance on government transfers as the primary source of income was lower for the low reconviction group (69%, versus 89% of the high persistent group), the presence of any income from employment was much higher (40% versus 15%), and fewer members were in low-income (72% versus 87%). As in the pre-custody period, economic outcomes for those in the primarily violent reconviction group closely aligned with those recorded by the low reconviction group, while the primarily property reconviction group remained similar to the high persistent group.

When examining how economic situations changed from before to after incarceration, a comparison of individuals' tax data across these periods shows consistent trends: decreases in employment, increases in reliance on government transfers and a greater movement into low-income.¹⁹ Notably, the magnitude of these changes varies between the reconviction pattern groups. For instance, the contrast in retention of income from employment is particularly pronounced. For individuals in the high persistent group, 31% had reported income from employment in the three years preceding their incarceration; however, in the three years following their release, this proportion dropped to 16%—a total decrease of 15 percentage points (Chart 6). In contrast, the low reconviction group showed more resilience, with a decrease of two percentage points in individuals reporting employment income (from 43% prior to incarceration to 41% after).

Notably, the length of time spent in custody was not a major factor behind the differences in employment outcomes seen between groups. Length of custody showed little variation among the four reconviction pattern groups in the larger Indigenous cohort. For instance, 63% of those in the low reconvictions group had served less than three months in custody, along with 64% of those in the high persistent reconvictions group; proportions who had served one year to two years less a day were also similar (6% of the low reconvictions group and 5% of the high persistent reconvictions group; Table 6).

Chart 6
Selected economic indicators reported by Indigenous adults released from provincial custody prior to custody and after release, by reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017



Note: Includes a subset of individuals who filed a tax return within three years both prior to and following their incarceration (57% of the study cohort). "Transfers" refers to the proportion of individuals who reported government transfers (social assistance, employment insurance, etc.) as their main income source. "Employment" refers to individuals who reported any income from employment. "Low income" refers to individuals who met the Census Family Low Income After-Tax Measure (CFLIM-AT). Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and T1 Family File linked file.

The contrast in the pre- and post-custody economic situations between the high persistent and the low reconvictions group was evident across the other economic indicators as well. Reliance on government transfers as a primary income source grew substantially for both of these groups, but the high persistent group saw a slightly larger increase (from 73% to 88%) compared to the low reconviction group (from 63% to 69%). Additionally, the high persistent group experienced an increase in the proportion of members who were in low-income, rising from 79% pre-custody to 85% post-release. The low reconviction group, in contrast, saw no change in this indicator from the pre- to post-custody periods (71%, respectively).

The disparate consequences that incarceration appears to have for the economic well-being of the high persistent reconviction and low reconviction groups specifically hint at broader differences in social and structural resources available to individuals in these groups. Relatedly, employment can be affected by other factors, including age, family relationships, mental health, and geographical location. These factors likely influence both job-seeking behaviour and employment opportunities as well as individuals' propensity towards reoffending and reconviction. Ultimately, whereas a clear connection exists between employment and reconviction patterns, the complexity of this relationship—and the uncertain directionality of this association— suggests that economic outcomes both impact and are impacted by an individual's trajectory through the justice system.

Spouses, children at home more common for Indigenous people with low reconvictions

Research into crime and re-offending has suggested that the presence of family networks can impact recidivism among individuals re-entering communities after incarceration (Berg & Huebner, 2011; Laub et al., 1998). Embracing a positive familial role—parenting, supporting a spouse or aging relatives—can be a protective factor for incarcerated individuals, affecting how they see themselves and imagine their lives post-release. Strong relationships with others can also facilitate access to material and informational resources for successful re-integration, such as access to housing and employment.

Family ties are central to Indigenous communities and culture, and include relational and kinship traditions that shape individual and shared responsibilities as well as broader systems of knowledge and governance (Borrows, 2010; Simpson, 2011). However, the integrity of these familial networks has been profoundly impacted by Canada's history of forced displacement of Indigenous peoples, manifested through the residential school system, the Sixties Scoop and the continuing displacement of Indigenous children away from their families and into foster care (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). The systemic and purposeful destruction of Indigenous families impacts the familial networks available to Indigenous individuals leaving custody and represents another way in which Indigenous persons are disadvantaged in their trajectories through the justice system.

While family networks are generally protective, they are not universally beneficial; for some, family can be a negative influence on well-being and abstinence from crime. There is also evidence that the impact of family and spousal relationships on individuals' recidivism is gendered: for example, while the presence of a spouse has been strongly linked to desistance from crime among men, it can act as a gateway to criminality for some women, particularly when an intimate partner is also involved in the justice system (Cobbina et al., 2012).

Tax records help provide a window into the family structures of individuals in the study cohort—specifically, the presence of married or common-law partners, children or grandchildren within the household.²⁰ It should be noted that this information is inherently limited, as it primarily captures nuclear family units and fails to account for the extended kinship networks that are paramount for many Indigenous people. Furthermore, the definitions of “family” used in tax reporting reflect a specific Western worldview that may not align with Indigenous concepts of kinship and relationality.

Among Indigenous people released from custody in 2016/2017, the low reconviction group had the highest proportion of members with married or common-law partners (25%) or children (29%) within their home prior to their incarceration.²¹ In contrast, the high persistent group had the lowest proportions of these family ties (17% with married or common-law partners and 22% with children) (Table 7).²² Proportions among the primarily violent and primarily property groups fell in-between these groups. Within the primarily violent reconviction group, 24% lived with a married or common-law partner before incarceration, and 26% had a child in the home. Within the primarily property reconviction group, 20% had a married or common-law partner in the home and 26% lived with children.

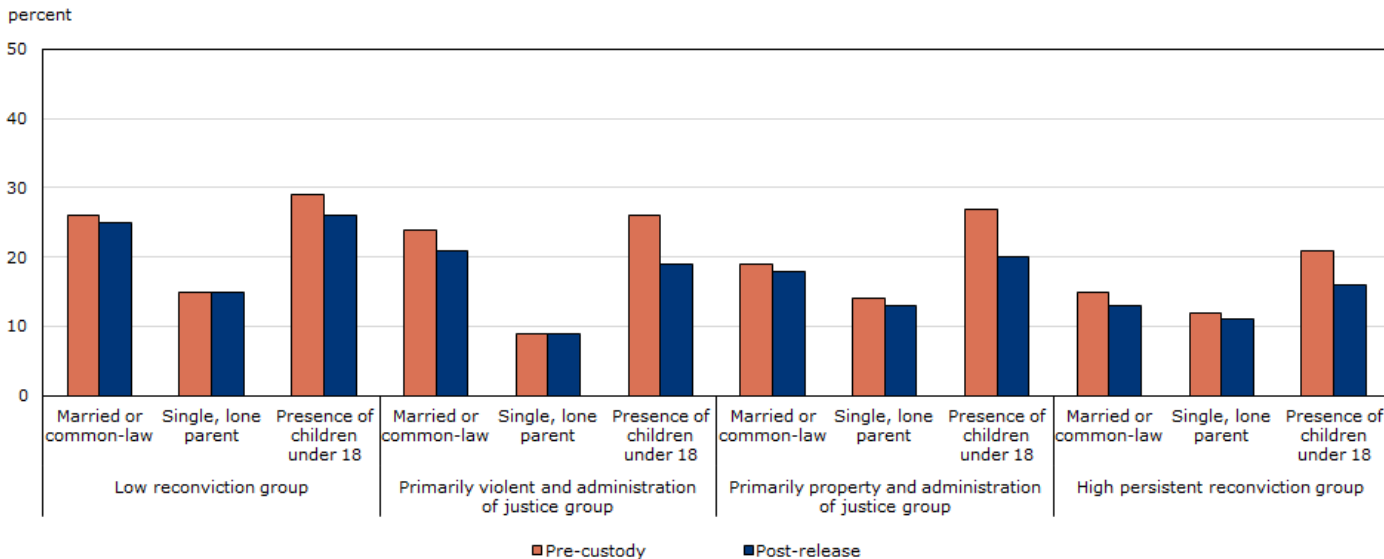
It is important to note that the presence of spouses and children in the home is closely related to individuals' age and gender. In the wider population, these family markers are more prevalent among those older than 24,²³ and the presence of children (specifically when it comes to lone parenthood) is higher among women (Statistics Canada, 2022a; Statistics

Canada, 2022b). These demographic trends help to further contextualize the differences between the study cohorts: the low reconviction group was characterized by a higher proportion of older members and women, who are more likely to have established the family ties identified in the tax data. In contrast, the high persistent group consisted of higher proportions of younger individuals and men, demographics that typically report lower rates of household stability and legal marriage or common-law partnerships.

In the years following release, the presence of spouses and children in the home remained consistent with pre-custody patterns, further solidifying the link between household composition and reconviction patterns. The low reconviction group again had the highest proportions of individuals residing with a married or common-law partner (24%) or with children (24%; Table 8).²⁴ Conversely, the high persistent reconviction group had the lowest proportions of members with a married or common-law partner (12%) or child (14%) at home. Again, proportions among the primarily violent and primarily property groups fell in-between these groups. Following their release, about one in five (20%) people in the primarily violent reconviction group had a married or common-law partner in the home, and 17% lived with a child. Smaller proportions of the primarily property reconviction group had a married or common-law partner (16%) or child (17%) in the home after their release.

Family situations for many Indigenous adults shifted significantly between the pre-custody and post-release periods, with the magnitude of these changes varying by reconviction pattern group. Based on the subset of individuals with tax data available for both periods, the most substantial decline was in the presence of children under 18 in the home (Chart 7). The primarily violent reconviction group experienced the largest change here, with a 27% decrease in members reporting children in the home post-release. Similar decreases were noted among the primarily property reconviction group (-26%) and the high persistent reconviction group (-24%). In contrast, the low reconviction group recorded the smallest post-incarceration decreases in both the presence of children (-10%) and married or common-law partners (-4%) in the home.

Chart 7
Selected family status indicators reported by Indigenous adults released from provincial custody prior to custody and after release, by reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017



Note: Includes a subset of individuals who filed a tax return within three years both prior to and following their incarceration (57% of the study cohort). Presence of children under 18 may include children not residing at the same address as the tax filer, but for whom the tax filer has financial responsibility. Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. **Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and T1 Family File linked file.

Overall, these data show that family ties—as approximated by the presence of a spouse or children in the home—were consistently more common for the low reconviction group, both before incarceration and after release. Additionally, the degree to which family status changed over the incarceration period was smallest for this group. The degree of change in an individual's family situation during and after custody can be influenced by many factors. Whereas personal choices and the strength of pre-existing bonds play a role, external factors are also significant. For instance, court-mandated changes—such as no contact orders in cases involving family violence—can impact a household's composition. These findings may suggest that the low reconviction group's trajectory is defined not only by their initial social resources but also by a reduced risk of the legal and personal disruptions that can negatively impact family units.

Highest frequency of emergency department visits noted for Indigenous people with high reconvictions

Health is one of the most important social determinants of justice, linked to an individuals' chances of entry into the justice system and their trajectory through it (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2018). Research has consistently shown that incarcerated people experience disproportionately higher rates of chronic disease, mental illness and substance use disorders, and that in Canada, these rates are especially high among Indigenous persons in custody (Wilper et al., 2009; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2016; Fazel & Seewald, 2018; Gendron et al., 2025). Additionally, the presence of psychiatric disorders specifically has been linked to a higher risk of re-offending among individuals sentenced to custody (Fazel & Yu, 2009).

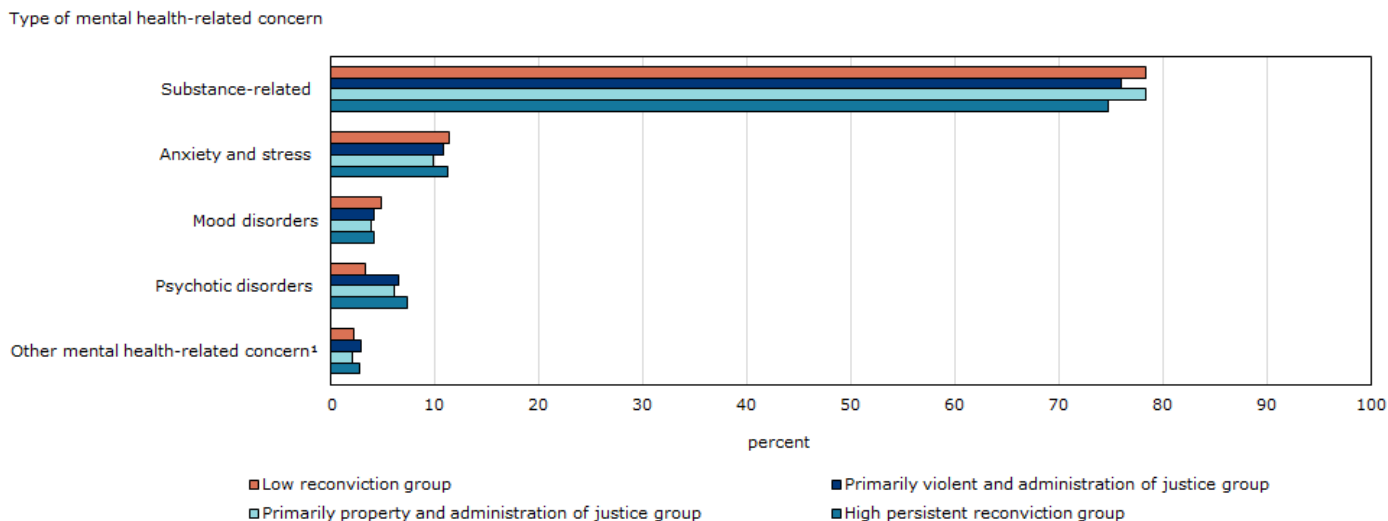
Overall, the large majority of Indigenous adults released from custody in these provinces accessed emergency departments at least once during the five years prior to their custody sentence (72%) (Table 9).²⁵ This was consistent among the four reconviction groups, with about seven in ten members of each group recording at least one visit. However, notable differences were seen with respect to the frequency of visits over the five-year period. The high persistent reconviction group demonstrated the highest utilization of emergency departments, with almost half (49%) of its members recording five or more visits, followed closely by the primarily property reconvictions group (48%). In contrast, the low reconviction group had the smallest proportion of members with five or more visits to an emergency department (41%). Among those in the primarily violent reconviction group, 45% reported five or more emergency department visits.

Mental health concerns were often present in the emergency department visits of Indigenous adults prior to their custody sentence. These were noted most often for the high persistent group (44%), and least often for the low reconvictions group (33%). Close to four in ten members of both the primarily violent (39%) and primarily property (38%) reconviction groups had an emergency department visit that included a mental health concern in the five years prior to the start of their custody sentence.

The frequency of mental health-related concerns prior to custody follows the same pattern, with 16% of the high persistent group recording five or more emergency department visits involving mental health concerns, compared to 8% of the low reconviction group. Visits where a drug overdose was among the concerns also followed this pattern, with 14% of the high persistent group and 9% of the low reconviction group recording at least one such visit. These findings appear to indicate that particularly for the high persistent cohort, justice system involvement can be intertwined with a cycle of substance misuse and chronic mental health concerns.

In the five years leading up to their incarceration, the majority of mental health-related emergency department visits among Indigenous adults involved substance use (Chart 8). The highest proportions of substance use-related concerns were noted among the low and primarily property reconvictions groups (79% respectively), followed by the primarily violent (76%) and high persistent (74%) groups.

Chart 8
Types of mental health-related concerns noted at emergency department visits during the five years prior to release among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017



1. Includes personality disorders, intellectual disabilities, developmental disorders and other disorders.
Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) captures information on emergency department (ED) registrations. During the study period, ED data submission was mandatory only in Ontario and Alberta; reporting was not mandated or only partially mandated in other provinces and territories. As a result, data are biased toward the context in Ontario and Alberta, which together account for 57% of the study cohort and are the only provinces with mandatory ED reporting. These provinces also recorded the highest frequency of ED visits. Reasons for visit were classified using the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada (ICD-10-CA). Classification was based on the main problem and other problems recorded for the visit, and on the patient’s diagnosis at the time of discharge from the emergency department when the main problem was not reported. Classifications include a small number of unconfirmed diagnoses where firm confirmatory was still pending at the time of the coders’ abstraction. A classification code was unavailable for 8% of ED visits in the five years prior to custody. Missing classification codes were more common among individuals released from custody in Nova Scotia (68%), British Columbia (36%) and Saskatchewan (11%); these provinces representing 1%, 20% and 22% of the study cohort, respectively. In contrast, the proportion of visits missing a classification code was much smaller (<2%) among those who served custody in Ontario and Alberta. Mental health-related ED visits have an ICD-10-CA code in the range F01–F99.
Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Courts Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and National Ambulatory Care Reporting System database linked file.

Utilization of emergency departments among Indigenous adults remained high in the five years following their release, with almost eight in ten (78%) recording an emergency department visit (Table 10). The patterns observed in the post-release period closely matched what was seen among reconviction groups in the pre-incarceration period. The frequency of visits was again highest among the high persistent group, with 60% of its members recording five or more visits over the five years following their release. This group also recorded the highest frequency of emergency department visits which included mental health concerns (24% with five or more such visits), and a larger overall proportion with visits that included an overdose (31%).

In contrast, the low reconviction group recorded the lowest utilization of emergency departments during the post-incarceration period. Although 44% did record five or more visits to an emergency department, this proportion was considerably smaller than among the high persistent group (60%). Furthermore, the proportion with five or more visits that included mental health concerns specifically was less than half (10%) the rate recorded by the high persistent group (24%).

As noted, emergency department visits can occur during arrest or detention, and for this reason alone may be more frequent among individuals who have more contact with the justice system. Regardless, the high levels of emergency departments utilization among Indigenous adults both before and after incarceration make clear that this population encounters frequent and serious physical and mental health concerns, with the latter being especially frequent among individuals with a high persistent reconviction pattern.

Homelessness rates highest among those with high reconvictions

In Canada, Indigenous persons are overrepresented among the homeless population, a situation rooted in the country’s history of forced displacement, colonialism and systemic discrimination (Rumboldt, 2022; Housing, Infrastructure and

Communities Canada, 2025). The concept of *Indigenous homelessness* was developed by Indigenous people across Canada and describes twelve specific ways in which Indigenous people experience homelessness—including, for example, displacement from home lands and escaping or evading dangerous situations (Thistle, 2017). In developing the twelve dimensions of Indigenous homelessness, Indigenous contributors identified that the foundation of modern housing instability lies in historical and ongoing colonialist harms.

Although homelessness itself is not criminal, it can influence an individual's interactions with the justice system. For unsheltered people, the lack of private space often leads to increased visibility in public areas, resulting in more frequent contact with police and increased potential for justice system involvement. Homelessness can be present alongside mental health concerns and substance misuse, and unsheltered individuals are themselves at increased risk of being the victims of crime (Perreault, 2022). Furthermore, the absence of secure housing often leads to “survival crimes”—such as shoplifting or break and enters—where individuals commit such offences as a means of securing basic necessities.

For the present study, information on homelessness was collected from people during their visits to a hospital emergency department and reflects the definition used by the National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (i.e., the person seeking care reported no fixed address).^{26 27} For this reason, the data underestimate the actual proportion of persons who experienced homelessness, as about three in ten individuals in the study cohort had not visited an emergency department in the five years prior to their release from custody.

Among Indigenous persons released from custody, about one in ten (11%) were homeless at the time of their visit during the five years prior to release, according to hospital records (Table 9). This indicator of well-being follows the same pattern seen in health, economic and family data: the prevalence was highest within the high persistent reconviction group, and lowest within the low reconviction group. Specifically, hospital records for one in seven (14%) members of the high persistent group show that they had been homeless at the time of their visit during the five years prior to release, which was double the rate among their low reconviction counterparts (7%). Again, proportions among the primarily violent (11%) and primarily property (12%) groups were similar and fell in-between.

In the five years after release, hospital records indicated one in ten (10%) Indigenous adults had experienced homelessness (Table 10). This was a similar proportion to what was seen prior to release. The distribution across groups remained consistent with what was noted in the pre-release period. Those in the low reconviction group again demonstrated the highest level of housing stability, with 5% experiencing homelessness post-release. In contrast, those in the high persistent group continued to face the greatest level of instability, with 14% experiencing homelessness. Rates among people in the primarily violent (9%) and primarily property (11%) groups remained in-between.

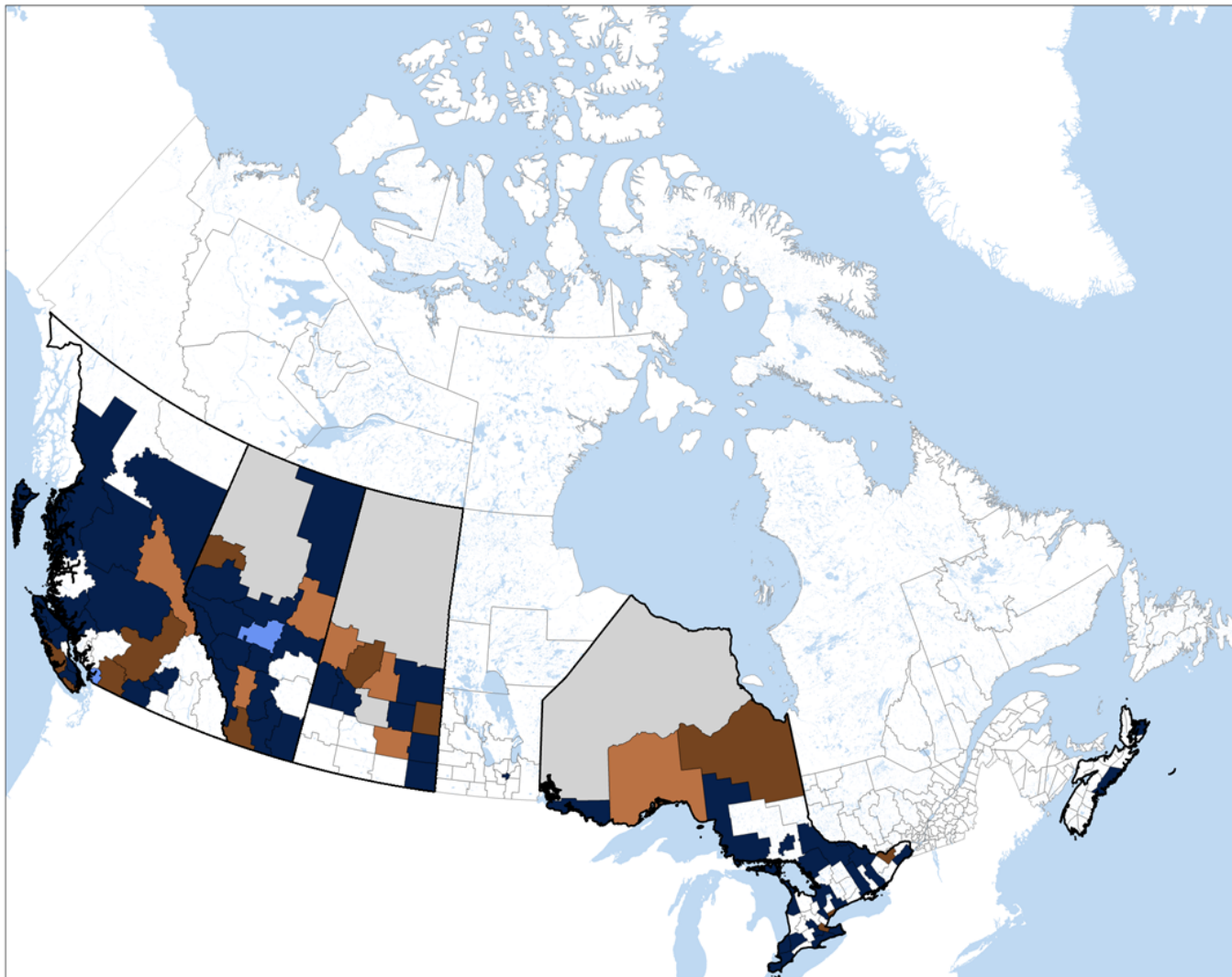
It is important to note that homelessness has been shown to correlate with economic disadvantage as well as with mental and physical illness (Richards & Kuhn, 2023), and all three of these realities—poverty, chronic health concerns, and housing instability—converge most acutely within the high persistent reconviction group. The data suggest that beyond being a pattern of criminal behaviour, the high persistent reconviction trajectory is a reflection of a population facing the highest concentration of unmet needs.

More Indigenous people with high reconvictions live in urban and southern communities

In Canada, the geographic area in which a person resides can influence what opportunities and supports are available to them, including those that are of particular importance for people leaving correctional custody. Canada is a vast country with both centralized urban cores and rural and remote locations, which differ in their residents' proximity to services (Alasia et al., 2017). Access to services and supports—for instance, legal assistance, employment opportunities and healthcare—is often related to geography, and differences in access may impact whether individuals leaving custody avoid returning to justice system involvement. Geography is also relevant in terms of patterns of crime, and many recent analyses have looked at how the volume and type of crime differs between rural and urban areas of Canada, and between communities in the North and South of the country (Savage, 2025; Perreault, 2026).

Following their release from custody in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, under half (44%) of Indigenous adults lived in a census metropolitan area (CMA). Many reported addresses within CMAs in the Prairies and western provinces, including Edmonton (21%) Vancouver (16%), Saskatoon (10%), Calgary (8%), and Regina (7%) (Map 1). These patterns were similar to patterns among the Indigenous population as a whole: according to the 2021 Census, 44% of Indigenous people lived in a CMA, and Western and Prairie CMAs were home to relatively large proportions of Indigenous residents (Statistics Canada, 2022).

Map 1
Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the two years following release, by census division, 2016/2017



Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, which collects this information based on individuals' self-identification. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Postal codes within two years following release from custody were used to identify post-release geography. Excludes census divisions with counts under 10.
Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, T1 Family File, and historical postal code file (linked file), 2021 Census Division Boundary File, Statistics Canada.

In addition to census metropolitan areas, many Indigenous adults lived in less densely populated urban areas following release from custody. Statistics Canada conceptualizes urban areas as “population centres”, a category which includes census metropolitan areas and other, less densely-populated areas (see Statistics Canada, 2016).²⁸ Using this broader categorization, the majority (58%) of Indigenous adults resided in an urban area following their release from custody (Table 11). Those in the high-volume reconviction groups more often resided in urban areas, including two-thirds of both the high persistent group (66%) and primarily property group (66%). Meanwhile, smaller proportions of the lower-volume reconviction groups lived in urban areas and were split fairly evenly between rural and urban locations.

Whereas most population centres in Canada are situated in the Southern part of the country,²⁹ many Indigenous people released from custody reported addresses in Northern areas. In particular, many resided in northern Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia after their release. Overall, one-third (33%) of individuals resided in a Northern area following their release (Table 11). Notably, larger proportions of people with fewer reconvictions reported addresses in the North: about four in ten members of both the low reconviction (38%) and primarily violent (40%) groups reported addresses in the North following their release, compared to smaller proportions of those in the high persistent (29%) and primarily property (25%) reconviction groups.

Following their release, about one-fifth (21%) of Indigenous adults reported living in an Indigenous community.³⁰ Notably, larger proportions of individuals with lower volumes of reconvictions resided in Indigenous communities after their release from custody. This was the case for about one-quarter of the low reconvictions group (25%) and primarily violent group (27%), along with smaller proportions of high persistent (16%) and primarily property (14%) group members.

Urban areas—most of which are found in Canada's South—are generally characterized by having a wide range of services and supports that are accessible to residents, including employment, transit and social and health services. In principle, living in an area where such services are accessible should benefit people leaving incarceration. Potentially, those individuals leaving custody who have higher needs (for example, related to income or health) or requirements to remain close to services of the justice system (for example, parole offices) may choose or be compelled to live in more urban areas; this could help explain the larger proportions of people with higher frequencies of reconvictions living in these areas. However, Indigenous observers have pointed out that Indigenous people face discrimination and other barriers when attempting to access services in urban and southern areas, and argue that Indigenous people leaving custody benefit most from the kinds of culturally relevant supports that Indigenous communities can offer (Department of Justice, 2023).

Summary

Among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody in 2016/2017, four distinct reconviction patterns were identified. The largest proportion of individuals fell into a low reconvictions group, meaning they had few, if any, reconvictions during the four years following their release. The second-largest group followed a high persistent pattern of reconvictions, with a high volume of reconvictions across all types of crime; individuals in this group were responsible for a large share of all the reconvictions recorded during the study period. Positioned between these two groups were the primarily property and primarily violent reconvictions groups, who gravitated towards the one particular kind of crime and at a volume that was lower than the high persistent pattern group.

Socioeconomic characteristics were found to align closely with these reconviction patterns. People with the highest and most wide-ranging reconviction patterns were found to be the most disadvantaged when it came to employment, income, family support within their household, mental and physical health and experiences of homelessness. Conversely, those with few or no reconvictions scored the best on these indicators. Questions remain as to the direction of these correlations: does a higher degree of disadvantage result from increased involvement in crime, or does an increased involvement in crime result from higher disadvantage? Most likely, causality flows in both directions and involves other factors not examined here. Foundationally, it must be noted that Indigenous people in Canada—and Indigenous people with criminal records specifically—face systemic barriers and discrimination when they seek to access employment, housing, healthcare and other social determinants of health and justice. These hurdles may impede the path to reintegration.

A look at where Indigenous people released from custody lived following their release resulted in additional questions. Many reported addresses in southern population centres—conventionally thought of as places where employment, healthcare, housing and other supports are easiest to access. However, as Indigenous persons and as persons with criminal records, many may have faced barriers when attempting to access these social goods.

In contrast, many of those with low reconvictions resided in rural and northern areas, and within Indigenous communities. This suggests that the proximity to community may provide a protective effect that mitigates further criminal involvement. It is important to note, however, that the current data cannot definitively confirm whether stronger community ties facilitate a successful return home, or if high-volume offenders face more barriers to returning to their communities.

As the present study provides an overview of important correlations between socioeconomic factors and reconvictions, it can be considered a starting point for future research. Namely, the different experiences of First Nations people, Métis and Inuit are important for future studies, along with research into how these experiences might be different for men and women. Further, forthcoming research into the justice trajectories of individuals who experienced victimization as children (Cotter & Heidinger 2026) could yield important findings into how early victimization interplays with socioeconomic factors and future involvement in crime.

Lastly, it is essential to recognize that many of the socioeconomic factors analyzed in this study overlap and reinforce each other in complex ways. For instance, geography (as proximity to services) is known to affect certain health indicators, and both have been shown here to correlate with different reconviction patterns. An analysis dedicated to this relationship would be needed to truly understand the nature of the correlation. As well, some socioeconomic characteristics have a bidirectional

relationship with reconviction, and likely with reconviction patterns; again, an analysis that is more focused than what was possible in the current study would be required to gain a full understanding of this relationship.

Data Sources and Methodology

Canadian Correctional Services Survey

The Canadian Correctional Services Survey (CCSS) is an administrative survey conducted by the Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics (CCJCSS) that collects data from correctional services across Canada, including characteristics of people being supervised and their legal hold statuses. As of 2015/2016, CCSS data included correctional service program data from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario (adult data only), Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador (youth data only). This report only includes data from adult correctional supervision programs and as such, data from Newfoundland and Labrador were excluded from this study. CCSS data collection was expanded in subsequent years, and now includes data from Prince Edward Island, Correctional Service Canada, and youth corrections data from Ontario.

Integrated Criminal Court Survey

The Integrated Criminal Courts Survey (ICCS) is an administrative survey conducted by the CCJCSS. It collects data on appearances and charges in youth courts and adult criminal courts. As of April 1, 2005, criminal courts in all ten provinces and three territories reported to the survey. However, information is not available from superior courts in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island (until 2018/2019), nor from municipal courts in Quebec. Together, these represent a very small proportion of all criminal court cases in Canada. Data for Quebec are not available beginning in 2021/2022 and later.

Criminal Code and other federal statute offences

Information on individuals' criminal history and reconvictions come from the Integrated Criminal Court Survey data file. Specific offences included in the present study include offences listed under the *Criminal Code* and under other federal statutes.

Criminal Code offences are categorized as follows: violent crime, including homicide, sexual assault, physical assault, robbery, trafficking in persons, criminal harassment, and others; property crime, including breaking and entering, possession of stolen property, theft, identity fraud, mischief and others; "other" *Criminal Code* offences, including administration of justice offences, weapons violations, disturbing the peace, and others; and *Criminal Code* traffic violations, including alcohol- and drug-impaired driving, and others.

In addition to the *Criminal Code*, other federal statutes detail different crimes of which individuals can be convicted. Federal statutes include the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, the *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*, the *Customs Act*, and others.

T1 Family File (T1FF)

The T1FF provides information on individual and family income, employment, and family composition. These data are collected primarily from income tax returns submitted to the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA). Although rare, if a person had more than one tax record in a given year, the most complete record was retained.

The T1FF is only available for individuals who filed their taxes in any given tax year. The correctional population has been found to be less likely to file their taxes than the general population in previous studies (Babchishin et al., 2021; Boyce et al., 2018). To maximize the coverage in the current study, tax records could have been up to three years prior to the start of custody (pre-custody information) or up to three years after release (post-custody information). Specifically, for pre-custody information, the relevant tax record had to be from the year immediately preceding intake or from one of the two prior tax years—up to three years before custody. For post-custody information, the tax record had to be from the year following release or one of the two subsequent tax years.

National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS)

The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) provides information on emergency department visits. Although NACRS collects information on other types of care (e.g., community-based clinics), only information on emergency department and acute care visits is consistently collected from reporting institutions across Canada.

The NACRS collects information on emergency department registrations. Over the current study period, the submission of emergency department data was mandated in Ontario and Alberta, whereas it was not mandated or only partially mandated in the other provinces and territories. This means that complete data on emergency department visits are only available for Ontario and Alberta.

Canadian Vital Statistics – Death database

The Canadian Vital Statistics – Death (CVSD) database is an administrative survey that collects information from all provincial and territorial vital statistics registries on all deaths in Canada.

Linkage

The CCSS was linked to the ICCS, CVSD, T1FF, and NACRS through the Social Data Linkage Environment (SDLE), a highly secure environment that facilitates the creation of linked population data files for social analysis. Specifically, each file is linked to a secure repository of personal identifiers in the SDLE, after which each person is assigned a unique, anonymous key that allows their data to be integrated with other files within the SDLE.

The target population for this study was drawn from the CCSS records that linked to the secure repository of personal identifiers in the SDLE (98%). Specifically, the target population consists of adults supervised by five provincial correctional programs (Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) who met the following criteria:

- They had been sentenced to full-time custody in a provincial correctional facility;
- The length of their sentenced custody was greater than one day;
- The most serious offence for which they were sentenced was a federal statute offence;
- They were adults at the time of their release;
- They were released from custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017;
- They linked to at least one prior conviction before their release from custody.³¹

Latent Class Analysis

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was used to identify distinct patterns of reconviction among individuals in the study cohort. LCA is a statistical method used to uncover unobserved subgroups within a population based on individuals' responses to observed variables, such as their reconviction history. This technique was selected due to its ability to account for heterogeneity in criminal behaviour patterns.

The study cohort consisted of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals, for whom data representing reconviction events over a four-year period was included. Key indicators used for LCA included the frequency of reconvictions for four different types of offences: violent offences, property offences, administration of justice offences, and other offences (i.e., *Criminal Code* traffic offences, other *Criminal Code* offences and other federal statute violations).

LCA was performed using R software. Initially, models with two, three, four and five classes were tested for the entire cohort. However, statistical tests revealed that Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals exhibited different patterns of reconviction, leading to separate LCA models being run for each subgroup. The optimal number of classes was determined based on statistical criteria, including the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). The final model revealed distinct reconviction patterns within both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous subgroups. The identified latent classes were interpreted and labelled based on the likelihood of reconviction and the types of offences committed.

Indigenous communities

For ease of readability, the term “Indigenous communities” is used in this article. It is important to note that this term does not necessarily represent all Indigenous communities in Canada.

The communities discussed here were identified using the 2021 Census subdivisions (CSDs) boundaries and were categorized into ‘on reserve’, ‘inside Inuit Nunangat’, and ‘other’ categories. The category ‘on reserve’ includes eight CSD types legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands, i.e., Indian reserve (IRI), Indian settlement (S-É) (except for the two Indian settlements of Champagne Landing 10 and Kloo Lake, located in Yukon), Indian government district (IGD), Terres réservées aux Cris (TC), Terres réservées aux Naskapis (TK), Nisga’a land (NL), Tsawwassen Lands (TWL) and Tla’amin Lands (TAL).

The category ‘inside Inuit Nunangat’ includes CSDs located in the four Inuit regions: Nunatsiavut (Northern coastal Labrador), Nunavik (Northern Quebec), the territory of Nunavut and the Inuvialuit region of the Northwest Territories. These regions collectively encompass the area traditionally occupied by Inuit in Canada.

The category ‘other’ includes all CSDs in Canada not defined as ‘on reserve’ or ‘inside Inuit Nunangat’. For more information on Indigenous variables, including information on their classifications, please refer to the Indigenous Peoples Reference Guide, Census of Population, 2021. Additionally, the 2021 CSD boundaries were flagged according to the percentage of the population that identified as Indigenous in the 2016 Census of Population. An Indigenous community flag is assigned to on-reserve CSDs if greater than 50% of the population identified as Indigenous or to off-reserve CSDs if greater than 70% of the population identified as Indigenous.

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Notes

1. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* supports the federal government to align Canadian laws with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). UNDRIP Article 34 recognizes the right of Indigenous Peoples to promote their own juridical systems or customs. See *About the Act*.
2. Khorrami & Paquin-Marseille (2025) use the adjusted relative rate index (ARRI) to measure the disparity in court outcomes experienced by Indigenous accused and White accused. The ARRI measures the likelihood of a selected group (Indigenous accused) encountering an outcome (e.g., guilty decision or custodial sentence) relative to a reference group (White accused) encountering the same outcome. Importantly, the ARRI also accounts for the severity of the most serious offence in the case.
3. Calculated using the Over-Representation Index, which calculates the relative difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous rates by controlling for age and sex differences between populations, as if both populations have an age/sex profile identical to the national population distribution. Data from the Census of Population, as well as the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, which collects data from five provincial correctional service programs (Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia).
4. Calculated using the Custodial Involvement Rate, which measures the proportion of a specific population experiencing incarceration over a reference period. The measure identifies the number of unique persons spending at least one day in custody during the reference period for a defined population (e.g. Indigenous adults), then calculates the percentage of the population experiencing incarceration. Data from the Census of Population, as well as the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, which collects data from five provincial correctional service programs (Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia).
5. Reconvictions represent guilty findings recorded in the Integrated Criminal Court Survey. Guilty findings include guilty of the charged offence, of an included offence, of an attempt of the charged offence or of an attempt of an included offence. This category also includes guilty pleas and cases where an absolute or conditional discharge has been imposed.
6. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, which collects this information based on individuals' self-identification. Information on Indigenous distinction was unavailable for 9% of those who identified as Indigenous. Percent calculations include the total for unknown values in the denominator.
7. Throughout this report, percentage calculations may not add to 100% due to rounding.
8. May include sentences and time spent in pre-trial detention.
9. Represents community supervision orders that went into effect immediately upon release. Individuals may have had other supervision orders, imposed for subsequent convictions, that are not included here.
10. Guilty findings include guilty of the charged offence, of an included offence, of an attempt of the charged offence or of an attempt of an included offence. This category also includes guilty pleas and cases where an absolute or conditional discharge has been imposed.
11. Data from the Correctional Services Survey. Data for the province of Saskatchewan are not available. Overall, data on education level was unknown or not reported for 29% of the Indigenous study cohort.
12. Note that education statistics for Indigenous adults released from custody include individuals aged 18 and older, while the corresponding Census data include individuals aged 25 to 64.
13. An admission is counted each time a person begins any type of custody or community supervision program. The same person may be included more than once in the admissions count where the individual moves from one type of legal status to another or re-enters the system in the same year. Total custody admissions represent the total of sentenced custody (including intermittent sentences), remand and other custodial status admissions.

14. Represents a subset (70%) of Indigenous members of the study cohort for whom pre-release tax records were available. Tax records could have been filed up to three years prior to incarceration, with the tax record closest to the start of custody being selected. Tax records for the year the custody sentence began were not included as the data would likely be biased by time in custody. Those individuals for whom pre-release tax data were available may not be the same individuals for whom post-release tax data were available. Comparisons should be limited to that subset for whom tax data for both periods were available. The high persistent mixed group had the highest proportion of non-filers (37%), followed by the primarily property (33%), primarily violent (28%) and low reconviction (24%) groups.

15. Employment income includes wages and salaries, commissions (including training allowances, tips and gratuities), self-employment income (net income from business, profession, farming, fishing and commissions), and Tax Exempted Employment Income for Status Indians (new in 1999 for wages and salaries, commissions, and in 2010 for net self-employment income). Only a small fraction of Indigenous members of the study cohort reported any self-employment income prior to or after custody (1% for both).

16. Data for low-income families are based on the Census Family Low Income After-Tax Measure (CFLIM-AT). Families are defined as having low income if their adjusted after-tax income falls below 50% of the total population median adjusted after-tax income. Adjusted after-tax income is derived by dividing census family income by the square root of the census family size and assigning this value to all persons in the census family. This adjustment distributes income among the members of the census family, and takes into account the economies of scale present in larger families, the increasing number of people living on their own and the decline in family size over time.

17. Main source of income was determined using seven income categories: (a) wages, salaries, and commissions; (b) self-employment income; (c) government transfers; (d) investment income; (e) retirement income; (f) other income (e.g., spousal or child support received); and (g) no income. The main source of income was defined as the category contributing the largest amount of income for each individual. For analysis, individuals whose primary income came from wages, salaries, and commissions, self-employment, investments, retirement income, or other income were grouped together into a “market income” category.

18. Represents a subset (75%) of Indigenous members of the study cohort for whom post-release tax records were available. Tax records could have been filed up to three years after custody release, with the tax record closest to release being selected. Tax records for the year of custody release were not included as the data would likely be biased by time in custody. Those individuals for whom post-release tax data were available may not be the same individuals for whom pre-release tax data were available. Comparisons should be limited to that subset for whom tax data for both periods were available. A small subset (2%) of post-custody tax records were from the 2020 tax year, meaning that these records may have been impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. The high persistent mixed group had the highest proportion of non-filers (33%), followed by the primarily property (28%), primarily violent (23%) and low reconviction (17%) groups.

19. Comparisons of economic indicators are limited to a subset of the study cohort for whom both pre- and post-custody tax records were available (57% of the Indigenous component of the cohort). Among those who had both pre- and post-custody tax records, 53% had records in the tax years immediately before and after custody.

20. Data from Canadian income tax return data (the T1 Family File, or T1FF). It should be noted that T1FF data were not available for all individuals in the study cohort, and the analysis presented here represents a subset of the cohort for whom T1FF data were available. Further, the presence or absence of tax return data may come with inherent biases. For more information, see Data sources and methodology. Children or grandchildren under 18 who do not live with their guardian, but for whom the guardian has financial responsibility, are included.

21. Based on Statistics Canada’s Census family concept. Census families are married couples or couples living common law with or without children, or lone parents with at least one child living in the same dwelling. The residual population is called “persons not in census families” and is made up of persons living alone and of persons living in a household but who are not part of a couple family or lone-parent family. Other sources of data may use economic family or household. As part of this definition, a child can be above the age of 18 years old.

22. Represents a subset (70%) of Indigenous members of the study cohort for whom pre-custody tax records were available. Tax records could have been filed up to three years prior to incarceration, with the tax record closest to the start of custody being selected. Tax records for the year the custody sentence began were not included as the data would likely be biased by time in custody. Those individuals for whom pre-release tax data were available may not be the same individuals for whom post-release tax data were available. Comparisons should be limited to that subset for whom tax data for both periods were available

23. According to the 2021 Census of Population, the proportion of individuals who are part of a couple and have children in the home began a sharp increase between ages 25 and 29 years before reaching a peak between age 45 to 49 years. See Infographic 6 in Statistics Canada, 2022a.

24. Represents a subset (75%) of Indigenous members of the study cohort for whom post-release tax records were available. Tax records could have been filed up to three years after custody release, with the tax record closest to release being selected. Tax records for the year of custody release were not included as the data would likely be biased by time in custody. Those individuals for whom post-release tax data were available may not be the same individuals for whom pre-release tax data were available. Comparisons should be limited to that subset for whom tax data for both periods were available.

25. For the present study, selected health indicators were available from the National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS). NACRS records were restricted to emergency department visits. During the study period, submission of emergency department data to NACRS was mandated in Ontario and Alberta, and only partially mandated or not mandated in the other provinces and territories. Therefore, emergency department visit information may not be complete for all provinces and territories.

26. For the present study, selected health indicators were available from the National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS). NACRS records were restricted to emergency department visits. During the study period, submission of emergency department data to NACRS was mandated in Ontario and Alberta, and only partially mandated or not mandated in the other provinces and territories. Therefore, emergency department visit information may not be complete for all provinces and territories.

27. While the concept of Indigenous homelessness is at once more comprehensive and in line with the perspectives of Indigenous people, for the present study, the definition of homelessness reflects that of the National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS). In NACRS, an individual's status as an unhoused person is collected via the postal code field, with an "XX" entry signifying that no fixed address was provided. People residing in a shelter are not classified as homeless.

28. Urban areas include Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) and Census Agglomerations (CA), which are formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centered around a population center, also known as the "core." A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000, with 50,000 or more residing in the core. A CA, on the other hand, must have a core population of at least 10,000. To be classified as part of a CMA or CA, adjacent municipalities must demonstrate a high level of integration with the core, as measured by commuting flows derived from census data. Rural areas are defined as those located outside of a CMA or CA. It should be noted that Statistics Canada's definitions may differ from concepts used by Indigenous communities to describe their locations.

29. Based on Statistics Canada's Variant of Standard Geographical Classification (SGC) 2021 for North and South. South includes Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the southern regions of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador. North comprises the territories and the northern regions of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador. It should be noted that Statistics Canada's definitions may differ from concepts used by Indigenous communities to describe their locations.

30. For ease of readability, the term "Indigenous communities" is used in this article. It is important to note that this term does not necessarily represent all Indigenous communities in Canada. For more information on how Indigenous communities are defined in this article, see Data sources and methodology.

31. Prior convictions were identified from the ICCS. Because everyone serving a sentence in the correctional system would be expected to have at least one criminal court conviction prior to their correctional supervision, the absence of any prior convictions could indicate that not enough information was available in the ICCS to link that person to their prior convictions as well as potential reconvictions.

Detailed data tables

Table 1
Selected characteristics of individuals released from provincial custody, by Indigenous and non-Indigenous identity, 2016/2017

Selected characteristics	First Nations persons		Métis		Inuit		Total Indigenous persons ¹		Non-Indigenous persons	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Gender										
Men	4,564	83	1,103	85	43	75	6,254	83	12,714	90
Women	933	17	202	15	14	25	1,243	17	1,417	10
Unknown or not reported	1	...	1	...	0	...	2	...	4	...
Age group										
18 to 24 years	1,228	22	280	21	8	14	1,636	22	2,288	16
25 to 34 years	2,334	42	529	41	30	53	3,148	42	5,291	37
35 to 44 years	1,304	24	298	23	11	19	1,788	24	3,545	25
45 years and older	632	11	199	15	8	14	927	12	3,011	21
Length of custody										
Less than three months	3,504	64	761	58	41	72	4,720	63	8,508	60
Three months to less than six months	995	18	250	19	10	18	1,372	18	2,731	19
Six months to less than one year	669	12	x	x	x	x	961	13	1,943	14
One year to two years less a day	329	6	x	x	x	x	445	6	941	7
Unknown or not reported ²	1	...	0	...	0	...	1	...	12	...
Index offence type³										
Violent crime	1,484	27	258	20	17	30	1,908	25	3,140	22
Property crime	1,448	26	457	35	18	32	2,110	28	4,583	32
Administration of justice	1,397	25	x	x	x	x	1,882	25	3,005	21
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> and federal statutes ⁴	1,169	21	x	x	x	x	1,599	21	3,407	24
Total	5,498	100	1,306	101	57	100	7,499	100	14,135	100

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

... not applicable

x suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the *Statistics Act*.

1. Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. As information on Indigenous distinction was unavailable for 9% of people who identified as Indigenous, totals presented under Total Indigenous persons will not match the sum of the numbers presented for First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services.

2. Also includes a small number of sentences of two years or more. Sentences served in provincial correctional facilities do not exceed two years less one day. However, sentences of two years or longer may appear in the data due to overlapping sentences or other circumstances.

3. Represents the most serious crime that resulted in the conviction for which the sentence was being served prior to release in 2016/2017.

4. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other federal statutes (for example, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*).

Note: Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 2
Reconviction patterns among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the first four years after release, by type and number of reconviction offences and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type and number of reconvictions	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Violent offences										
0 reconvictions	2,140	94	95	7	1,183	72	670	30	4,088	55
1 reconviction	133	6	585	42	245	15	405	18	1,368	18
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	619	45	214	13	693	31	1,526	20
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	84	6	0	0	433	20	517	7
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Property offences										
0 reconvictions	2,118	93	937	68	422	26	143	6	3,620	48
1 reconviction	101	4	372	27	314	19	276	13	1,063	14
2 to 4 reconvictions	54	2	74	5	594	36	755	34	1,477	20
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	0	0	312	19	1,027	47	1,339	18
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Administration of justice offences										
0 reconvictions	2,002	88	237	17	73	4	10	0	2,322	31
1 reconviction	271	12	287	21	324	20	5	0	887	12
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	452	33	1,245	76	123	6	1,820	24
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	407	29	0	0	2,063	94	2,470	33
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Breach of probation										
0 reconvictions	2,161	95	691	50	840	51	461	21	4,153	55
1 reconviction	112	5	264	19	390	24	281	13	1,047	14
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	292	21	412	25	755	34	1,459	19
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	136	10	0	0	704	32	840	11
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Failure to comply with conditions										
0 reconvictions	2,170	95	590	43	661	40	241	11	3,662	49
1 reconviction	103	5	306	22	510	31	268	12	1,187	16
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	370	27	471	29	916	42	1,757	23
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	117	8	0	0	776	35	893	12
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Other Criminal Code and federal statutes¹										
0 reconvictions	1,994	88	519	24	998	72	747	45	4,258	57
1 reconviction	194	9	448	20	306	22	313	19	1,261	17
2 to 4 reconvictions	75	3	798	36	75	5	416	25	1,364	18
5 or more reconvictions	10	0	436	20	4	0	166	10	616	8
Total	2,273	100	2,201	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	7,499	100

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2
Reconviction patterns among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the first four years after release, by type and number of reconviction offences and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type and number of reconvictions	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Total offences²										
0 reconvictions	1,497	66	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,497	20
1 reconviction	575	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	575	8
2 to 4 reconvictions	191	8	544	39	530	32	0	0	1,265	17
5 or more reconvictions	10	0	839	61	1,112	68	2,201	100	4,162	56
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other federal statutes (for example, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*).

2. Individuals may be reconvicted for more than one type of offence; therefore, the sum of the percentages for the various offence categories will not equal the percentage for the 'Total offences' category.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 3
Time to reconviction after release among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by offence type and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type of reconviction and time since release	Low reconviction group	Primarily violent and administration of justice group	Primarily property and administration of justice group	High persistent reconviction group	Total
	cumulative percentage				
Violent offences					
3 months	0	15	4	14	8
6 months	1	28	8	25	14
1 year	2	46	13	39	23
2 years	4	71	19	55	35
3 years	5	85	23	65	41
4 years	6	93	28	70	45
Property offences					
3 months	1	4	19	30	14
6 months	2	7	30	45	22
1 year	3	12	45	64	32
2 years	4	21	60	82	42
3 years	6	27	70	90	49
4 years	7	32	74	94	52
Administration of justice offences					
3 months	3	27	25	50	26
6 months	4	38	39	68	37
1 year	7	53	58	85	49
2 years	9	68	78	96	61
3 years	11	78	90	99	66
4 years	12	83	96	100	69
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> and federal statute offences¹					
3 months	1	3	11	16	8
6 months	2	5	19	26	13
1 year	4	11	28	40	21
2 years	8	18	41	59	32
3 years	10	24	49	70	39
4 years	12	28	55	76	43

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 3
Time to reconviction after release among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by offence type and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type of reconviction and time since release	Low reconviction group	Primarily violent and administration of justice group	Primarily property and administration of justice group	High persistent reconviction group	Total
	cumulative percentage				
Total offences					
3 months	5	37	41	65	36
6 months	9	54	58	82	49
1 year	15	73	76	94	62
2 years	23	89	92	99	73
3 years	29	98	98	100	78
4 years	34	100	100	100	80

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other *Criminal Code* offences. Other federal statutes include (for example) the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, and other federal statutes.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 4
Criminal convictions among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the four years preceding release, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type and number of previous convictions	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Violent offences										
0 convictions	1,047	46	281	20	663	40	652	30	2,643	35
1 conviction	563	25	331	24	430	26	487	22	1,811	24
2 to 4 convictions	570	25	577	42	461	28	780	35	2,388	32
5 or more convictions	93	4	194	14	88	5	282	13	657	9
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Property offences										
0 convictions	1,224	54	607	44	398	24	337	15	2,566	34
1 conviction	455	20	307	22	277	17	348	16	1,387	19
2 to 4 convictions	400	18	340	25	504	31	698	32	1,942	26
5 or more convictions	194	9	129	9	463	28	818	37	1,604	21
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Administration of justice offences										
0 convictions	585	26	115	8	144	9	86	4	930	12
1 conviction	358	16	133	10	168	10	108	5	767	10
2 to 4 convictions	659	29	438	32	505	31	489	22	2,091	28
5 or more convictions	671	30	697	50	825	50	1,518	69	3,711	50
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Other Criminal Code and federal statute offences¹										
0 convictions	1,096	48	668	48	618	38	668	30	3,050	41
1 conviction	551	24	335	24	333	20	530	24	1,749	23
2 to 4 convictions	512	23	288	21	493	30	640	29	1,933	26
5 or more convictions	114	5	92	7	198	12	363	17	767	10
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100
Total offences²										
0 convictions	80	4	6	0	7	0	6	0	99	1
1 conviction	270	12	42	3	39	2	25	1	376	5
2 to 4 convictions	618	27	234	17	213	13	147	7	1,212	16
5 or more convictions	1,305	57	1,101	80	1,383	84	2,023	92	5,812	78
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

1. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other federal statutes (for example, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*).

2. Individuals may be reconvicted for more than one type of offence; therefore, the sum of the percentages for the various offence categories will not equal the percentage for the 'Total offences' category.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 5
Reconviction patterns among non-Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the first four years after release, by type and number of reconviction offence and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type and number of reconvictions	Low reconviction group		Moderate mixed reconviction group		High and persistent property reconviction group		High and persistent violent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Violent offences										
0 reconvictions	4,934	96	3,110	73	1,588	43	0	0	9,632	68
1 reconviction	203	4	998	23	730	20	97	10	2,028	14
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	178	4	929	25	768	76	1,875	13
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	0	0	461	12	139	14	600	4
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100
Property offences										
0 reconvictions	4,888	95	1,678	39	107	3	567	56	7,240	51
1 reconviction	249	5	880	21	341	9	324	32	1,794	13
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	1,237	29	1,008	27	113	11	2,358	17
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	491	11	2,252	61	0	0	2,743	19
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100
Administration of justice offences										
0 reconvictions	5,076	99	x	x	x	x	120	12	5,942	42
1 reconviction	0	0	x	x	x	x	125	12	1,717	12
2 to 4 reconvictions	0	0	1,955	46	676	18	472	47	3,103	22
5 or more reconvictions	61	1	0	0	3,025	82	287	29	3,373	24
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100
Breach of probation										
0 reconvictions	5,084	99	2,191	51	474	13	293	29	8,042	57
1 reconviction	5	0	1,281	30	435	12	211	21	1,932	14
2 to 4 reconvictions	20	0	814	19	1,431	39	369	37	2,634	19
5 or more reconvictions	28	1	0	0	1,368	37	131	13	1,527	11
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100
Failure to comply with conditions										
0 reconvictions	5,095	99	2,512	59	652	18	462	46	8,721	62
1 reconviction	12	0	1,174	27	692	19	251	25	2,129	15
2 to 4 reconvictions	18	0	600	14	1,566	42	240	24	2,424	17
5 or more reconvictions	12	0	0	0	798	22	51	5	861	6
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 5
Reconviction patterns among non-Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the first four years after release, by type and number of reconviction offence and reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Type and number of reconvictions	Low reconviction group		Moderate mixed reconviction group		High and persistent property reconviction group		High and persistent violent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Other Criminal Code and federal statute offences¹										
0 reconvictions	4,715	92	2,458	57	907	24	772	77	8,852	63
1 reconviction	278	5	858	20	849	23	139	14	2,124	15
2 to 4 reconvictions	144	3	812	19	1,229	33	93	9	2,278	16
5 or more reconvictions	0	0	158	4	723	19	0	0	881	6
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100
Total offences²										
0 reconvictions	4,202	82	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,202	30
1 reconviction	730	14	411	10	0	0	0	0	1,141	8
2 to 4 reconvictions	144	3	1,989	46	0	0	202	20	2,335	17
5 or more reconvictions	61	1	1,886	44	3,708	100	802	80	6,457	46
Total	5,137	100	4,286	100	3,708	100	1,004	100	14,135	100

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

x suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the *Statistics Act*.

1. Includes drug offences, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and other federal statutes (for example, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, *Customs Act*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*).

2. Individuals may be reconvicted for more than one type of offence; therefore, the sum of the percentages for the various offence categories will not equal the percentage for the 'Total offences' category.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 6
Select socioeconomic characteristics among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody at time of release, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Socioeconomic characteristics	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Mean age	36	...	33	...	33	...	29	...	33	...
Gender										
Men	1,820	80	1,206	87	1,357	83	1,871	85	6,254	83
Women	453	20	177	13	285	17	328	15	1,243	17
Unknown or not reported	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Indigenous distinction										
First Nations person	1,714	75	1,082	78	1,133	69	1,569	71	5,498	73
Métis	345	15	175	13	347	21	439	20	1,306	17
Inuit	14	1	6	0	7	0	30	1	57	1
Unknown or not reported	200	9	120	9	155	10	163	7	638	9
Education¹										
Less than high school	1,073	47	739	53	873	53	1,191	54	3,876	52
High school	349	15	204	15	275	17	331	15	1,159	15
More than high school	87	4	38	3	58	4	62	3	245	3
Unknown or not reported	764	33	402	29	436	26	617	28	2,219	29
Length of custody										
Less than three months	1,438	63	889	64	993	60	1,400	64	4,720	63
Three months to less than six months	397	17	253	18	309	19	413	19	1,372	18
Six months to less than one year	295	13	164	12	234	14	268	12	961	13
One year to two years less a day	142	6	77	6	106	6	120	5	445	6
Unknown or not reported ²	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	2,273	100	1,383	100	1,642	100	2,201	100	7,499	100

0 true zero or a value rounded to zero

... not applicable

1. Education data are unavailable for the province of Saskatchewan and is shown as unknown or not reported.

2. Also includes a small number of sentences of two years or more. Sentences served in provincial correctional facilities do not exceed two years less one day. However, sentences of two years or longer may appear in the data due to overlapping sentences or other circumstances.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey and Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths (linked file).

Table 7
Pre-release socioeconomic characteristics among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Socioeconomic characteristics	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Main source of income¹										
Government transfers ²	1,076	62	624	63	779	71	990	71	3,469	66
Market income ³	602	35	323	32	285	26	339	24	1,549	30
No income	60	3	49	5	38	3	61	4	208	4
Any income from employment										
Yes	758	44	395	40	384	35	448	32	1,985	38
No	980	56	601	60	718	65	942	68	3,241	62
Low income measure⁴										
Yes	1,230	71	738	74	858	78	1,110	80	3,936	75
No	508	29	258	26	244	22	280	20	1,290	25
Family composition										
Married or common-law	441	25	237	24	215	20	236	17	1,129	22
Single person not in a Census family ⁵	709	41	436	44	542	49	664	48	2,351	45
Single, child ⁶	337	19	231	23	203	18	335	24	1,106	21
Single, lone parent	251	14	92	9	142	13	155	11	640	12
Presence of children under 18⁷										
Yes	497	29	258	26	282	26	304	22	1,341	26
No	1,241	71	738	74	820	74	1,086	78	3,885	74

1. Main source of income was determined using seven income categories: (a) wages, salaries, and commissions; (b) self employment income; (c) government transfers; (d) investment income; (e) retirement income; (f) other income (e.g., spousal or child support received); and (g) no income. The main source of income was defined as the category contributing the largest amount of income for each individual. For analysis, individuals whose primary income came from wages, salaries, and commissions, self employment, investments, retirement income, or other income were grouped together into a "market income" category.

2. Includes individual social assistance, employment insurance, and other government transfers.

3. Includes wages, salaries, and commissions, self-employment income, investment income, retirement income, and other income (e.g., spousal or child support received). Investment income refers to the sum of net partnership income, dividends, net rental income, and interests and other investment income. Retirement income includes registered retirement savings plan income for persons aged 65 and over, as well as pension and superannuation income (e.g., Pooled Registered Pension Plan, Registered Retirement Income Fund; Specified Pension Plan).

4. Identifies low-income individuals and families according to the Census Family after-tax Low-Income Measure.

5. Census family is defined as a married couple and the children, if any, of either and/or both spouses; a couple living common law and the children, if any, of either and/or both partners; or a parent of any marital status in a one-parent family with at least one child living in the same dwelling and that child or those children. All members of a particular census family live in the same dwelling. Children may be biological or adopted children regardless of their age or marital status as long as they live in the dwelling and do not have their own married spouse, common-law partner or child living in the dwelling. Grandchildren living with their grandparent(s) but with no parents present also constitute a census family. Individuals not in a census family include individuals not living in one of these arrangements.

6. May include a tax filer's adult children or grandchildren (biological or adopted) who live with them as long as they do not have their own married or common-law spouse or child living in the same dwelling. May also include children under 18 who do not live with the tax filer but for whom the tax filer has financial responsibility.

7. Includes children aged 17 or less who are fiscally dependent on their parent(s) or share a mailing address.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Socioeconomic data are derived from the T1 Family File (Canada Revenue Agency) and are based on tax data reported by individuals to Revenue Canada up to three years prior to the start of their custodial sentence. In this study, 70% of the Indigenous study cohort had a pre-custody record in the T1 Family File that was available for analysis. The high persistent mixed group had the highest proportion of non-filers (37%), followed by the primarily property (33%), primarily violent (28%) and low reconviction (24%) groups.

Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and T1 Family File, Statistics Canada (linked file).

Table 8
Post-release socioeconomic characteristics among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Socioeconomic characteristics	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Main source of income¹										
Government transfers ²	1,299	69	801	75	1,003	84	1,322	89	4,425	79
Market income ³	539	29	242	23	164	14	127	9	1,072	19
No income	41	2	19	2	20	2	36	2	116	2
Any income from employment										
Yes	746	40	338	32	268	23	221	15	1,573	28
No	1,133	60	724	68	919	77	1,264	85	4,040	72
Low income measure⁴										
Yes	1,351	72	853	80	992	84	1,285	87	4,481	80
No	528	28	209	20	195	16	200	13	1,132	20
Family composition										
Married or common-law	451	24	211	20	195	16	185	12	1,042	19
Single person not in a Census family ⁵	871	46	563	53	688	58	898	60	3,020	54
Single, child ⁶	289	15	212	20	184	16	271	18	956	17
Single, lone parent	268	14	76	7	120	10	131	9	595	11
Presence of children under 18⁷										
Yes	458	24	185	17	199	17	207	14	1,049	19
No	1,421	76	877	83	988	83	1,278	86	4,564	81

1. Main source of income was determined using seven income categories: (a) wages, salaries, and commissions; (b) self employment income; (c) government transfers; (d) investment income; (e) retirement income; (f) other income (e.g., spousal or child support received); and (g) no income. The main source of income was defined as the category contributing the largest amount of income for each individual. For analysis, individuals whose primary income came from wages, salaries, and commissions, self employment, investments, retirement income, or other income were grouped together into a "market income" category.

2. Includes individual social assistance, employment insurance, and other government transfers.

3. Includes wages, salaries, and commissions, self-employment income, investment income, retirement income, and other income (e.g., spousal or child support received). Investment income refers to the sum of net partnership income, dividends, net rental income, and interests and other investment income. Retirement income includes registered retirement savings plan income for persons aged 65 and over, as well as pension and superannuation income (e.g., Pooled Registered Pension Plan, Registered Retirement Income Fund; Specified Pension Plan).

4. Identifies low-income individuals and families according to the Census Family after-tax Low-Income Measure.

5. Census family is defined as a married couple and the children, if any, of either and/or both spouses; a couple living common law and the children, if any, of either and/or both partners; or a parent of any marital status in a one-parent family with at least one child living in the same dwelling and that child or those children. All members of a particular census family live in the same dwelling. Children may be biological or adopted children regardless of their age or marital status as long as they live in the dwelling and do not have their own married spouse, common-law partner or child living in the dwelling. Grandchildren living with their grandparent(s) but with no parents present also constitute a census family. Individuals not in a census family include individuals not living in one of these arrangements.

6. May include a tax filer's adult children or grandchildren (biological or adopted) who live with them as long as they do not have their own married or common-law spouse or child living in the same dwelling. May also include children under 18 who do not live with the tax filer but for whom the tax filer has financial responsibility.

7. Includes children aged 17 or less who are fiscally dependent on their parent(s) or share a mailing address.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Socioeconomic data are derived from the T1 Family File (Canada Revenue Agency) and are based on tax data reported by individuals to Revenue Canada up to three years after their release from custody. In this study, 75% of the Indigenous study cohort had a post-release record in the T1 Family File that was available for analysis. The high persistent mixed group had the highest proportion of non-filers (33%), followed by the primarily property (28%), primarily violent (23%) and low reconviction (17%) groups.

Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and T1 Family File, Statistics Canada (linked file).

Table 9
Select health indicators during the five years prior to release among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Health indicator	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Frequency of emergency department visits										
0 visits	667	29	401	29	448	27	620	28	2,136	28
1 visit	240	11	128	9	128	8	145	7	641	9
2 to 4 visits	440	19	228	16	285	17	354	16	1,307	17
5 or more visits	926	41	626	45	781	48	1,082	49	3,415	46
Frequency of emergency department visits (mental health)^{1,2}										
0 visits	1,509	66	844	61	1,021	62	1,231	56	4,605	61
1 visit	277	12	182	13	233	14	289	13	981	13
2 to 4 visits	296	13	189	14	208	13	322	15	1,015	14
5 or more visits	191	8	168	12	180	11	359	16	898	12
Frequency of emergency department visits (drug overdose)^{1,3}										
0 visits	2,066	91	1,251	90	1,421	87	1,883	86	6,621	88
1 visit	144	6	90	7	156	10	197	9	587	8
2 or more visits	63	3	42	3	65	4	121	5	291	4
Homeless at the time of emergency department visit⁴										
Yes	162	7	150	11	190	12	313	14	815	11
No	2,111	93	1,233	89	1,452	88	1,888	86	6,684	89

1. Reasons for visits were classified using the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada (ICD 10 CA). Classification was based on the main problem and other problems recorded for the visit, and on the patient's diagnosis at the time of discharge from the emergency department when the main problem was not reported. Classifications include a small number of unconfirmed diagnoses where firm confirmation was still pending at the time of the coders' abstraction. A classification code was unavailable for 8% of ED visits in the five years prior to custody. Missing classification codes were more common among individuals released from custody in Nova Scotia (68%), British Columbia (36%), and Saskatchewan (11%); these provinces representing 1%, 20%, and 22% of the study cohort, respectively. In contrast, the proportion of visits missing a classification code was much smaller (<2%) among those who served custody in Ontario and Alberta.

2. Mental health-related emergency department visits have an International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada code in the range F01–F99.

3. Drug overdose-related emergency department visits have an International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada code in the range T36–T50.

4. The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) captures information on homelessness via the postal code field on emergency department registrations, with an "XX" entry signifying that no fixed address was provided. People residing in a shelter are not classified as homeless.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) captures information on emergency department (ED) registrations. For the period under study, submission of ED data to NACRS was mandated in Ontario and Alberta, and only partially mandated or not mandated in the other provinces and territories. Therefore, ED visit information may not be complete for all provinces and territories. Specifically, data may be biased toward the context in Ontario and Alberta as they account for the largest proportion of the study cohort (57%) and are the only provinces with mandatory ED reporting (including reporting of diagnoses). These provinces recorded the highest frequency of ED visits.

Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (linked file), Statistics Canada.

Table 10
Select health indicators during the five years after release among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Health indicator	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Frequency of emergency department visits										
0 visits	538	24	310	22	348	21	489	22	1,685	22
1 visit	233	10	86	6	106	6	105	5	530	7
2 to 4 visits	506	22	271	20	262	16	279	13	1,318	18
5 or more visits	996	44	716	52	926	56	1,328	60	3,966	53
Frequency of emergency department visits (mental health)^{1,2}										
0 visits	1,453	64	722	52	868	53	1,033	47	4,076	54
1 visit	288	13	177	13	264	16	264	12	993	13
2 to 4 visits	304	13	253	18	263	16	372	17	1,192	16
5 or more visits	228	10	231	17	247	15	532	24	1,238	17
Frequency of emergency department visits (drug overdose)^{1,3}										
0 visits	1,993	88	1,127	81	1,225	75	1,508	69	5,853	78
1 visit	179	8	148	11	228	14	312	14	867	12
2 or more visits	101	4	108	8	189	12	381	17	779	10
Homeless at the time of emergency department visit⁴										
Yes	112	5	130	9	188	11	318	14	748	10
No	2,161	95	1,253	91	1,454	89	1,883	86	6,751	90

1. Reasons for visits were classified using the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada (ICD 10 CA). Classification was based on the main problem and other problems recorded for the visit, and on the patient's diagnosis at the time of discharge from the emergency department when the main problem was not reported. Classifications include a small number of unconfirmed diagnoses where firm confirmation was still pending at the time of the coders' abstraction. A classification code was unavailable for 7% of ED visits in the five years after custody release. Missing classification codes were more common among individuals released from custody in Nova Scotia (83%) and British Columbia (31%). In contrast, the proportion of visits missing a classification code was much smaller (<2%) among those who served custody in Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

2. Mental health-related emergency department visits have an International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada code in the range F01–F99.

3. Drug overdose-related emergency department visits have an International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Canada code in the range T36–T50.

4. The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) captures information on homelessness via the postal code field on emergency department registrations, with an "XX" entry signifying that no fixed address was provided. People residing in a shelter are not classified as homeless.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. The National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (NACRS) captures information on emergency department (ED) registrations. For the period under study, submission of ED data to NACRS was mandated in Ontario and Alberta, and only partially mandated or not mandated in the other provinces and territories. Therefore, ED visit information may not be complete for all provinces and territories. Specifically, data may be biased toward the context in Ontario and Alberta as they account for the largest proportion of the study cohort (57%) and are the only provinces with mandatory ED reporting (including reporting of diagnoses). These provinces recorded the highest frequency of ED visits.

Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, and National Ambulatory Care Reporting System (linked file), Statistics Canada.

Table 11
Select geography indicators among Indigenous adults released from provincial custody during the two years following release, by type of reconviction pattern group, 2016/2017

Geography indicator	Low reconviction group		Primarily violent and administration of justice group		Primarily property and administration of justice group		High persistent reconviction group		Total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Rural and urban¹										
Rural	932	49	540	50	402	34	504	34	2,378	42
Urban	966	51	550	50	796	66	998	66	3,310	58
North and South²										
North	715	38	440	40	299	25	430	29	1,884	33
South	1,183	62	650	60	899	75	1,072	71	3,804	67
Indigenous community³										
Non-Indigenous Community	1,427	75	798	73	1,029	86	1,261	84	4,515	79
Indigenous Community	471	25	292	27	169	14	241	16	1,173	21

1. Urban areas include Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) and Census Agglomerations (CA), which are formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centered around a population center, also known as the "core." A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000, with 50,000 or more residing in the core. A CA, on the other hand, must have a core population of at least 10,000. To be classified as part of a CMA or CA, adjacent municipalities must demonstrate a high level of integration with the core, as measured by commuting flows derived from census data. Rural areas are defined as those located outside of a CMA or CA. It should be noted that Statistics Canada's definitions may differ from concepts used by Indigenous communities to describe their locations.

2. Based on Statistics Canada's Variant of Standard Geographical Classification (SGC) 2021 for North and South. South includes Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as the southern regions of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador. North comprises the territories and the northern regions of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador. It should be noted that Statistics Canada's definitions may differ from concepts used by Indigenous communities to describe their locations.

3. Indigenous communities were identified using the 2021 Census subdivisions (CSDs) boundaries, which were categorized into 'on reserve', 'inside Inuit Nunangat', and 'other' categories. The category 'on reserve' includes eight CSD types legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands, i.e., Indian reserve (IRI), Indian settlement (S-É) (except for the two Indian settlements of Champagne Landing 10 and Kloo Lake, located in Yukon), Indian government district (IGD), Terres réservées aux Cris (TC), Terres réservées aux Naskapis (TK), Nisga'a land (NL), Tsawwassen Lands (TWL) and Tla'amin Lands (TAL). The category 'inside Inuit Nunangat' includes CSDs located in the four Inuit regions: Nunatsiavut (Northern coastal Labrador), Nunavik (Northern Quebec), the territory of Nunavut and the Inuvialuit region of the Northwest Territories. These regions collectively encompass the area traditionally occupied by Inuit in Canada. The category 'other' includes all CSDs in Canada not defined as 'on reserve' or 'inside Inuit Nunangat'. For more information on Indigenous variables, including information on their classifications, please refer to the Indigenous Peoples Reference Guide, Census of Population, 2021. Additionally, the 2021 CSD boundaries were flagged according to the percentage of the population that identified as Indigenous in the 2016 Census of Population. An Indigenous community flag is assigned to on-reserve CSDs if greater than 50% of the population identified as Indigenous or to off-reserve CSDs if greater than 70% of the population identified as Indigenous. It is important to note that this term does not necessarily represent all Indigenous communities in Canada.

Note: Indigenous persons include First Nations persons, Métis and Inuit. Information on Indigenous identity is based on data from the Canadian Correctional Services Survey, and is self-reported by persons upon intake to correctional services. Includes individuals released from provincial custody between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017 in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, whose records were successfully linked to other data sources used in this study. Excludes individuals who were released from provincial custody in 2016/2017 but who died during the subsequent four years. Postal codes within two years following release from custody were used to identify post-release geography.

Source: Canadian Correctional Services Survey, Integrated Criminal Court Survey, Canadian Vital Statistics Database - Deaths, T1 Family File, and historical postal code file (linked file), Statistics Canada.