

RELEASE DATE: November 24th, 2025



Manitoba

THE PROVINCIAL COURT OF MANITOBA

IN THE MATTER OF: *The Fatality Inquiries Act C.C.S.M. c. F52*

AND IN THE MATTER OF: An Inquest into the Death of Tyson Kane Roulette
(Date of Death December 9, 2019)

Report on Inquest
Judge Cynthia A. Devine
Issued November 19, 2025

APPEARANCES:

Ryan Amy, Counsel to the Inquest

Erica Haughey, Counsel for the Department of Justice Canada, representing the
Correctional Service of Canada



Manitoba

THE FATALITY INQUIRIES ACT

REPORTED BY PROVINCIAL JUDGE ON INQUEST

RESPECTING THE DEATH OF: TYSON KANE ROULETTE

Having held an Inquest respecting the said death beginning on May 12, 2025, and ending on May 22, 2025, at the City of Winnipeg in Manitoba, I report as follows:

The name of the deceased is: Tyson Kane Roulette

I find the deceased died by suicide on December 8, 2019, in the Stony Mountain Institution in the town of Stonewall, Manitoba. The cause of death was ligature strangulation caused by hanging.

The Fatality Inquiries Act allows for Inquest Reports to include recommendations concerning only provincial institutions, laws, programs, policies and so on, and Roulette died in a federal correctional institution. However, because Roulette was a person living in Manitoba who died while in a correctional facility, I have nonetheless considered the circumstances of his life and death and deficiencies that have been or should be rectified to contribute to a cessation of this type of death occurring.

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, November 19, 2025

Judge Cynthia A. Devine
Provincial Court of Manitoba

Copies to:

1. Dr. John Younes, Chief Medical Examiner (2 copies)
2. Chief Judge Ryan Rolston, Provincial Court of Manitoba
3. Honourable Matt Wiebe, Minister Responsible for *The Fatality Inquiries Act*.
4. Jeremy Akerstream, Deputy Minister of Justice & Deputy Attorney General
5. Michael Conner, Assistant Deputy Attorney General
6. Michele Jules, Executive Director of the Manitoba Prosecution Service
7. Ryan Amy, Inquest Counsel
8. Erica Haughey Counsel for the Department of Justice Canada, representing
the Correctional Service of Canada
9. Exhibit Coordinator, Provincial Court
10. Aimee Fortier, Executive Assistant and Media Relations, Provincial Court of
Manitoba



Manitoba

THE FATALITY INQUIRIES ACT

REPORT BY PROVINCIAL JUDGE ON AN INQUEST

INTO THE DEATH OF: TYSON KANE ROULETTE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	The Circumstances of Tyson Roulette’s Death.....	1
	The Ordering of the Inquest	1
	Standing Hearing	2
	The Inquest Proceeding.....	2
	The Inquest Report and Jurisdiction.....	3
II.	CAUSE OF DEATH.....	6
III.	ROULETTE’S LIFE & ROLE AT STONY MOUNTAIN	10
IV.	CONTRIBUTORS TO ROULETTE’S SUICIDE	19
V.	BOI RECOMMENDATIONS/IMPROVEMENTS/SHORTCOMINGS....	
		22
VI.	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	31

Appendix A – WITNESS LIST

Appendix B – EXHIBIT LIST

Appendix C – *Recommendations from Ten Years Since Spirit Matters, A Roadmap for Reform of Indigenous Corrections in Canada, 2023*, Correctional Investigator of Canada (Annex A)

I. INTRODUCTION

The Circumstances of Tyson Roulette's Death

[1] Tyson Roulette was an inmate at Stony Mountain Institution (Stony Mountain) serving a life sentence for attempt murder, manslaughter and careless discharge of a firearm. On December 8, 2019, correctional officers found him alone in his cell, hanging by the neck from a bed sheet tied onto an electrical conduit pipe on the ceiling of his cell. He was unresponsive. Both staff and paramedics attempted to resuscitate Roulette, but he was deceased and already showing signs of rigor mortis. A physician from the Chief Medical Examiner's Office arrived after midnight and pronounced his death on December 9, 2019. He was 34 years old.

The Ordering of the Inquest

[2] Chief Medical Examiner (CME), Dr. John K. Younes directed an Inquest be held into the death of Tyson Roulette on March 18, 2021, fulfilling the requirement for an Inquest as defined in section 19(5)(b) of *The Fatality Inquiries Act* (the Act), *C.C.S.M. c. F52*, to determine the circumstances relating to Roulette's death and to determine what, if anything, can be done to prevent similar deaths from occurring in the future. The inquest is mandatory because Roulette died in a custodial facility.

Presumption of inquest

Subject to subsections (6) and (7), an inquest into a death must be held if

- (b) At the time of death, the deceased person was
 - (i) In the custody of a peace officer,

- (ii) **A resident in a custodial facility**, (emphasis added)
- (iii) An involuntary resident in a facility under *The Mental Health Act*, or
- (iv) A resident in a developmental centre as defined in *The Vulnerable Persons Living with a Mental Disability Act*.

[3] The purpose of the inquest is to establish the facts necessary to complete a report as required by s.26.2(1) of *The Fatality Inquiries Act*.

The Standing Hearing

[4] The office of the CME wrote to Roulette's mother, Pamela Mayer on March 22, 2021, to advise her that Dr. Younes would be calling an inquest. Subsequently, counsel for the inquest made efforts to locate and communicate with Ms. Mayer to advise her of the Standing Hearing and the inquest proceedings. All efforts were unsuccessful. The Standing Hearing was held April 5, 2023, some delay occasioned by the COVID 19 pandemic. Standing was granted for the Correctional Service of Canada. (CSC) Further delay occurred due to staffing. The original staff Crown attorney was replaced by independent counsel Mr. Ryan Amy in 2024.

The Inquest Proceeding

[5] The Inquest was held from May 12 to 16 and 22, 2025. Nine witnesses testified. An Agreed Book of Documents was filed as an exhibit in the inquest, a large binder containing Roulette's correctional plan information, the government investigation report into his death, reports and statements of correctional staff and inmates conducted after his death, post-mortem reports, his mental health files,

incident and intelligence reports, policy and program documents regarding security and counts, suicide prevention, opiates and drugs, security threat groups and commissioner's directives. Additional photographs and statements were also filed.

The Inquest Report and Jurisdiction

[6] At the completion of an Inquest, the Inquest Judge must complete a report that complies with the requirements of s. 33(1) of the *Act*, which states:

After completion of an inquest, the presiding provincial judge must provide the minister with a written report that sets out his or her findings respecting the following:

- (a) the identity of the deceased;
- (b) the date, time and place of death;
- (c) the cause of death;
- (d) the manner of death;
- (e) the circumstances in which the death occurred.

[7] A judge may make recommendations aimed at preventing similar deaths in future. The report may contain recommendations, but the Inquest Judge is prohibited from expressing an opinion or making findings such that any person could be identified as a culpable party in the death per s. 33(2)(b) of the *Act*.

[8] There was argument at this inquest about my jurisdiction to make recommendations because Stony Mountain and all the applicable programs, policies and practises are not "provincial" but rather federal.

The report under subsection (1) may contain recommendations on changes to provincial laws or the programs, policies and practices of the provincial government or of public agencies or institutions to prevent deaths in similar circumstances.

(at para. 33(1.1), *The Fatality Inquiries Amendment Act*)

[9] The above wording specifies that recommendations may be made with respect to *provincial* laws, programs, policies and practices of the *provincial* government or public agencies or institutions.

[10] The wording when the legislation was enacted in 1990 did not specifically use the word “provincial”, as follows:

Duties of provincial judge at inquest

After completion of an inquest, the presiding provincial judge shall

- (a) make and send a written report of the inquest to the minister setting forth when, where and by what means the deceased person died, the cause of the death, the name of the deceased person, if known, and the material circumstances of the death;
- (b) upon the request of the minister, send to the minister the notes or transcript of the evidence taken at the inquest; and
- (c) send a copy of the report to the medical examiner who examined the body of the deceased person;

and may recommend changes in the programs, policies or practices of the government and the relevant public agencies or institutions or in the laws of the province where the presiding provincial judge is of the opinion that such changes would serve to reduce the likelihood of deaths in circumstances similar to those that resulted in the death that is the subject of the inquest.

(at para. 33(1) *The Fatality Inquiries Act*)

[11] The main precedent discussing the federal-provincial jurisdictional issue was the Inquest Report of Glen Fiddler, September 12, 2005, by Judge Lerner of this court. In that case, the death occurred on Wasagamack First Nation and counsel had argued that it would be beyond the jurisdiction of the judge conducting an inquest pursuant to provincial legislation, to make recommendations over a matter that the federal government has jurisdiction.

[12] Judge Lerner stated as follows:

The second issue is the nature of the recommendations that may be made as the result of a provincial inquiry. Subsection 33(1) of *The Fatality Inquiries Act* states, in part:

After completion of an inquest, the presiding provincial judge.... may recommend changes in the programs, policies or practices of the government and the relevant public agencies or institutions or in the laws of the province where the presiding provincial judge is of the opinion that such changes would serve to reduce the likelihood of deaths in circumstances similar to those that resulted in the death that is the subject of the inquest.

The Fatality Inquiries Act, as noted, is enacted by the provincial government, and the reference in section 33 to recommendations for change in the programs, policies, and practices of “the government” is clearly a reference to the provincial, and not Federal, government. As well, the doctrine of inter-jurisdictional immunity (see *Stoney Creek Indian Band v. British Columbia*, [1999] 1 C.N.L.R. 192) would also preclude an inquiry created by provincial legislation from making recommendations addressed specifically to a Federal undertaking. As a consequence, I find that a Provincial Judge presiding at a provincial Inquest is without jurisdiction to make recommendations to the Federal government specifically directed to the policies, procedures, and management of Federal departments and agencies.

However, a provincial Inquest does have the jurisdiction to make inquiries into the material circumstances of the death of one of its citizens, including, as noted above, a death occurring on First Nation land. While there is a jurisdictional limitation with respect to the nature of the recommendations that may be made as a result of that inquiry, it does not restrict the fact finding aspect of the inquiry. Similarly, the jurisdictional limitation does not prevent the inquiry from identifying, without recommendation, the problems or deficiencies within Federal departments and agencies that may have formed a part of the material circumstances of death. It remains within the purview of the Federal government to determine what action it will take as a result of the findings of the provincial inquiry in that regard.

This principle informs the recommendation portion of this report.
(at paras. 301-302)

[13] Since the Fiddler Inquest report in 2005, the Act was amended in 2017, specifically clarifying that the recommendations may be made with respect to matters under provincial jurisdiction.

[14] Accordingly, the legislation precludes this inquest from making recommendations, but I will make observations about the circumstances and contributing factors of Tyson Roulette's suicide and discuss the Board of Investigation Report and changes that have been made by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) to make improvements in several areas that were relevant to Roulette's suicide and whether there remain any shortcomings in those areas.

II. CAUSE OF DEATH

[15] There is no issue about the cause of death and the method of suicide. Roulette hung himself from the ceiling of his cell with a bed sheet suspended from the electrical conduit pipe.

[16] There was a full investigation of his suicide by the Incident Investigations Branch convened November 6, 2020, entitled Board of Investigation in the Death of an Inmate at Stony Mountain Institution on December 8, 2019 (BOI). The BOI report recommendations are binding on the CSC. The report itself is very comprehensive and thorough, and I take no issue with any of its findings.

[17] This suicide was unique in terms of when it occurred. A review of all the inquest reports involving suicides at Stony Mountain show that they all occurred

after lock up for the night. Except Roulette's. He hung himself during the hours when hundreds of inmates and staff were up and around.

[18] Thus, the BOI's comprehensive review of staff presence and observation of Roulette is important, including the frequency and monitoring of inmate activities and whether "counts" and security patrols were conducted according to policy. The BOI found that although there was an appropriate number of staff in the area and that counts and security patrols were conducted in the area around Roulette's cell, they were not conducted according to policy. Correctional officers did not look *into* the cell to confirm that the inmates were living and breathing. Roulette's barred cell had a privacy covering, a blanket, including a covering over the "window" area of the privacy covering. Correctional officers did not move aside the entire privacy coverings to ascertain the inmates' wellbeing during most patrols; on some occasions they did not look into any cells, and on the two occasions where the privacy covering was moved aside, only one correctional officer, instead of the required two officers, peered inside, and then only very briefly.

[19] That day, Roulette had not left his cell after 7:55 a.m., after returning from his Opioid Agonist Therapy (OAT) appointment. Nor did anyone else enter his cell until some hours after his death. He did not take breakfast; lunch was not delivered to him, and although several inmates looked into his cell or brought food to his cell

for supper, no food was actually passed into his cell. During the security patrol at 6:10 p.m., neither officer looked inside Roulette's cell.

[20] Throughout the day and evening, several inmates went to Roulette's cell and looked inside. Information from one inmate was that he had seen what he thought was Roulette standing motionless in his darkened cell with his back to his television at approximately 2:00 p.m., and on subsequent checks, the inmate noticed he had not moved. It is his belief that Roulette was likely deceased by 2:00 p.m.

[21] At 9:55 p.m. an inmate requested that correctional officers open the cell because they believed Roulette to be deceased. The cell was opened immediately; Roulette was hanging by his neck from the ceiling, and his body was in a state of rigor. Evidence confirmed that the state of rigor showed he had been deceased for between three and six hours by that time and the BOI report found that he may have been deceased prior to the count at 4:20 p.m. Coupled with the observations of the inmate who provided a detailed description of Roulette at approximately 2:00 p.m., it is likely his death occurred closer to 2:00 p.m.

[22] Corrective measures have been taken by Stony Mountain with respect to the failure of staff to properly conduct security checks and counts.

[23] No further evidence on that issue was heard at the inquest, and I am satisfied that there are no systemic issues regarding counts and security patrols; the adequate policies were simply not followed in this case.

[24] Another area of investigation of the BOI was the intervention and medical care provided once Roulette was discovered. The BOI was satisfied that there were no shortcomings regarding the medical interventions once Roulette was discovered. He was in a state of rigor, so rescue efforts were unsuccessful. Again, I take no issue with the efforts taken after his discovery.

[25] The BOI also noted ongoing issues with respect to the infrastructure of Stony Mountain, and specifically the presence of and accessibility to metal conduits from which Roulette and other inmates have hung themselves. I note that over the past 20 years, several inquest reports have involved suicides of inmates at Stony Mountain who have hung themselves from these metal conduits: Inquest Re: Alan Nicolson, Report of Judge Sandhu, August 22, 2005; Inquest Re: Grant Ermine, Report of Judge Sandhu, March 27, 2009; Inquest Re: Devon Newson, Report of Judge M. Smith, December 16, 2009; Inquest Re: Devon Sampson and Dwayne Flett, Report of Judge B. Corrin, August 31, 2018 and Inquest Re: Timonthy Kotulsky, Report of Judge D. Slough, January 23, 2025.

[26] The BOI report notes that they were informed by the Technical Services and Facilities Branch that CSC is strategizing to reduce and/or eliminate the potential risks associated with suspension points.

[27] No further evidence was called on this area of investigation in the inquest, and it appears that the CSC is taking steps to deal with the issue.

III. ROULETTE'S LIFE & ROLE AT STONY MOUNTAIN

[28] Roulette commenced his life sentence for manslaughter and attempt murder on January 31, 2011 and entered Stony Mountain on February 3, 2011. He was identified as a maximum-security inmate by the Winnipeg area parole officer, but the warden and case management team did not concur with that assessment after Roulette's intake process, and he was reclassified as medium security. He remained as a medium security inmate until his death.

[29] He was a leader of the Indian Posse (IP), a large and active street gang that began in Winnipeg in 1988 and then spread throughout the province and into Saskatchewan and Alberta, with associates beyond even those provinces. At the time of intake, Roulette was "affiliated", the language used by the CSC for assessing and designating for security purposes within the correctional service, as a member of the Indian Posse security threat group (gang). He was assigned to live in a unit within the prison where other members of the IP were housed.

[30] Over the next several years, Roulette had a leadership role among not only IP gang members, but also inmates in other gangs and non-affiliated inmates. He was a Vice Chair of the Inmate Welfare Committee (IWC), which afforded him access to most of the general population units and areas of the prison. He was frequently requested by prison officials to assist in mediating and quelling any conflicts among

various gang members, both in his role as an IWC member and his role as an IP leader.

[31] If there were security issues and rising tensions between and among inmates, Roulette was often sent in to broker peace.

[32] Security officers consulted with him about placement of new inmates, “because he had the pulse of the institution and the various security threat groups” according to one witness. For example, if a new inmate owed a drug debt to another gang, the warden would ask Roulette if he could live on the IP range, or if he could speak to members of the other gang about the debt to ease the way for that inmate to be on their range.

[33] Roulette was proud, polite and respectful to staff, gregarious, charismatic and articulate.

[34] For the most part, his mediation efforts were successful, but at the same time it is clear that Roulette was developing and continuing an active drug and criminal operation within the institution. He extracted “rents” from inmates in exchange for their security and protection on his unit. He is known to have ordered a “hit” on a rival gang member, which in turn led to the murder of an IP member in retaliation. He was involved in the trafficking of several illegal drugs. Security intelligence information throughout the eight years of his incarceration regularly considered him as responsible for large scale drug trafficking within the institution, including drone

drops of methamphetamine, fentanyl and carfentanyl. “He was running a business within the institution” according to a security intelligence officer who testified.

[35] Two months before his death, intelligence reports led to a search of his cell. Considered altogether, several items that were found demonstrated his involvement in criminal activity within the prison: a cell phone charger (evidencing the existence of a cell phone, which is prohibited contraband within the penitentiary), “score sheets” for the purpose of selling drugs, lists of credit card numbers, lists of financial institutions and account numbers, instructions on “hacking” cell phones and information about PayPal and bit coin.

[36] There was also evidence about the inmate code and how Roulette may have been endangered due to his regular involvement speaking with the warden, security officers and correctional officers. Generally, the inmate code precludes inmates from talking with staff. Inmates who speak with staff are considered “rats” and are punished or even killed by inmates as a result. In the months leading up to his suicide, there were two things that suggested Roulette was in danger. On January 28, 2019, a jacket considered to be “body armor”, that is, an altered jacket lined with newspapers and magazines, was found. It had Roulette’s name on it. Staff considered he may in danger. He denied it. Security had a further indication about threats on Roulette on April 18, 2019, when they received information that Roulette was going to be assaulted by “his own guys”, and other gangs were asking questions

about his meetings with the warden and security intelligence officers. Other IP members complained that he would never get caught doing anything and when he did, there were no sanctions.

[37] After his death, a thorough search of Roulette's cell was conducted. There was a Scrabble game tile holder with the words "Just die already" written on it. It is not known whether he wrote those words or another inmate who wanted him dead had done so. Either way, it evidences a concern about his safety.

[38] Beginning as early as September 2011 shortly after he arrived at Stony Mountain, Roulette had expressed a desire to disassociate from the IP. On December 23, 2011, while standing on the top tier, he declared that wanted off the IP range and that he was "done with the gang lifestyle". On August 12, 2012, he met with Indigenous liaison officers about getting gang tattoos removed from his face. The Indigenous liaison officers submitted the request to the John Howard Society, which connects inmates to a community partner who do laser tattoo removal. On February 22, 2013, however, his case management team did not support his request because of his "ongoing involvement with STG (gang)-related activities."

[39] The Correctional Manager of Operations testified in this inquest that Roulette had been trying for years to get off the IP subpopulation range in the prison.

[40] It should be noted that there is no tattoo removal program at Stony Mountain and covering tattoos (with other tattoos) is prohibited, although it is frequently done in the prison.

[41] Roulette's claims that he wanted out of the gang and was tired of the gang life was counterbalanced by Security Intelligence's continuing information about him having a leadership role in the gang and running a lucrative drug trade in the prison. Moreover, he had a leadership role in the institution, and had not removed his tattoos, altered them or dated them to demonstrate that he was no longer active in the gang.

[42] Roulette had tattoos over much of his face, neck and the rest of his body, most of which were IP tattoos. The style, prominence, and location of the tattoos on his body made it clear that not only was he an active member of the IP, but also that he was high ranking. He had a tattoo of the words "Indian Posse" across his back in large script, connoting that he was a high-ranking member of the gang. Only a high-ranking member would be permitted to have such a tattoo. He had a tattoo of the letters "IP" on his face, connoting a brazenness in identifying his membership with the gang. He had large chest shield tattoos of stylised "IP" letters. He had many more tattoos connoting a gang lifestyle, including tattoos representing money, reclaiming a slur used by other gangs about the IP ("Slob"), guns, executions, and a red bullet hole tattoo on his temple.

[43] At the time of his death, it was discovered that at least one of the IP gang tattoos on his chest was covered with other tattoos, but there remained several other IP gang tattoos. Not only did he have no tattoos removed and only the one on his chest covered, but Roulette also managed to get several additional tattoos over the eight years he was in Stony Mountain; photographs showed he had more tattoos at the time of his death than he had when he entered the prison.

[44] Roulette had little engagement with psychological or mental health services. He went to Health Services for various physical medical appointments and treatment and had one meeting with a psychologist in late 2018 but cancelled or did not show for any subsequent appointments, despite psychology following up with him.

[45] He was an opioid drug user and joined the methadone drug program soon after his admission to the prison, the OAT program. He received his doses daily for the most part. Over the years, he transitioned from methadone to suboxone treatment.

[46] Roulette had regular contact with his mother and son and had several private family visits (PFV's) with them in a private cottage at the prison. He started a relationship with a woman from Ontario, who moved to Manitoba. It appeared that she became a regular user of methamphetamine, and her condition declined rapidly. She left a weekend family visit with Roulette after one night because she was in withdrawal. Roulette was hearing from the streets that she was hanging out with Indian Posse, using a lot of methamphetamine, and having to resort to prostitution

to buy her drugs. Letters he wrote to his girlfriend demonstrating his significant anxiety and distress were found in his cell after his death.

[47] At the same time, it appears that Roulette started developing a serious methamphetamine habit himself. He had been seen very intoxicated by drugs a few times not long before his death, and he appeared to be less engaged with the prison.

[48] Before this, for years, Roulette was considered by staff and inmates as very much a leader, moving about the prison and among staff and inmates from all gangs and those unaffiliated, with ease. One witness testified that, “He ran the place”.

[49] Roulette’s role at Stony Mountain and ultimately, his death, cannot be fully understood without considering his circumstances as an Indigenous person and how colonialism brought him to the place where he died alone by suicide in a federal penitentiary in Manitoba. His life was marked by the multi-faceted traumas and sequelae of colonialism discussed by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R v Gladue*, [1999] 1 S.C.R. 688 and *R v Ipeelee*, 2012 SCC 13. The reason for the overwhelming number of Indigenous people in custody, particularly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan stems from this history. It was described in *Gladue* as follows:

. . . The unbalanced ratio of imprisonment for aboriginal offenders flows from a number of sources, including poverty, substance abuse, lack of education, and the lack of employment opportunities for aboriginal people. It arises also from bias against aboriginal people and from an unfortunate institutional approach that is more inclined to refuse bail and to impose more and longer prison terms for aboriginal offenders.. . . (at para 6, *Gladue*)

The background factors which figure prominently in the causation of crime by aboriginal offenders are by now well known. Years of dislocation and economic development have translated, for many aboriginal peoples, into low incomes, high unemployment, lack of

opportunities and options, lack or irrelevance of education, substance abuse, loneliness, and community fragmentation. These and other factors contribute to a higher incidence of crime and incarceration. A disturbing account of these factors is set out by Professor Tim Quigley, "Some Issues in Sentencing of Aboriginal Offenders", in *Continuing Poundmaker and Riel's Quest* (1994), at pp. 269-300. Quigley ably describes the process whereby these various factors produce an overincarceration of aboriginal offenders, noting (at pp. 275-76) that "[t]he unemployed, transients, the poorly educated are all better candidates for imprisonment. When the social, political and economic aspects of our society place Aboriginal people disproportionately with the ranks of the latter, our society literally sentences more of them to jail." (at para. 67)

[50] Roulette experienced many of the outcomes of colonialism experienced by Indigenous people in Manitoba: a family history of fragmentation and instability, a family history of and his own substance abuse, loss of heritage, including language, land and spiritual identity, lack of formal education, minimal non-criminal employment, poverty, neglect, and exposure to violence and gangs in his neighbourhood. He started living on the streets at the age of 12 and was essentially raised by gang members.

[51] Roulette identified as Metis. He was the first-born son of Pamela Mayer and Eloi Roulette in Winnipeg in 1985, who then had a second boy, Roulette's younger brother Cody. His family were from Easterville and Grand Rapids in Manitoba. He had no connection with any extended family. He did not speak his native language.

[52] He told the Elder who did his initial Elder Review for Stony Mountain that he was "pretty sure" members of his family were sent to residential school.

[53] His parents drank a lot when he was a child, often leaving the boys alone. By the time he was seven he was looking after his little brother. He started to commit break and enters as a child to get food and clothing for him and his brother.

[54] His parents separated when he was 12 years old. His father broke many promises to the children and was largely absent, with his mother sometimes leaving to look for him, leaving the children alone. Roulette ran away from home. From that point on he was living on the streets and getting involved with the Indian Posse. He started using alcohol and marijuana by the time he was 13, but gravitated to drugs more than alcohol, using prescription pills, including oxycontin, Percocet, cocaine, and hallucinogens. He suffered significant withdrawal symptoms after his arrest and during the first few days of his presentence custody.

[55] He joined the IP and had a cousin in that gang, and he also had family in the rival Manitoba Warriors gang. The life sentence he was serving was for the “hit” he ordered on a rival gang member. His co-accused testified against him at trial.

[56] Like many Indigenous peoples, Roulette had lost many people in his life prematurely, to murders, overdoses, suicides and car accidents.

[57] He was disassociated from his language, as already mentioned, and his culture. Although he went to some powwows with an uncle who danced throughout Canada and then in Sweden, he had never attended a sweat lodge ceremony until he

was in custody in provincial jails in Manitoba. He had trapped, hunted and fished with family and friends. He also had attended some feasts and sharing circles.

[58] When he first started serving his sentence, he did not want to develop a healing plan with an Elder or Aboriginal liaison officer, nor was he interested in living on the Pathways Healing Unit.

[59] Like many incarcerated Indigenous peoples, Roulette had very limited education and employment history. He had a formal grade six education.

[60] Every witness who appeared in this inquest or provided written evidence was shocked by Roulette's suicide. He had never been "on our radar" as a person at risk for suicide, according to the psychological associate who testified. He appeared to be a powerful, confident, proud and egotistical person within the prison.

[61] In retrospect, witnesses testified that there may have been signs of change: he was seen in an intoxicated condition in the two months leading up to his death, and he was spending less time moving around the prison and more time in his cell.

IV. CONTRIBUTORS TO ROULETTE'S SUICIDE

[62] The confluence of several factors and the tensions between several circumstances led to Tyson Roulette's death by suicide.

[63] He was a high-ranking member of the largest street gang in Manitoba at the time of his incarceration. He continued to direct and participate in criminal operations including drug trafficking and extorted and strong-armed other inmates

while balancing the role of mediator/peace broker and peacekeeper on behalf of the prison administration. These dual and untenable roles put him at risk of being considered a “rat”.

[64] Despite his expressed desire to leave the gang/disaffiliate/move to another region, he was not offered any ability to disengage. He was denied tattoo removal. He was denied a transfer to the Atlantic region.

[65] His security classification remained “medium”, which precluded parole unless and until he could achieve a lower classification, which he was unable to achieve because of his gang affiliation. He tried unsuccessfully to transfer to the Atlantic but was refused because of his gang affiliation.

[66] He was also experiencing considerable stress due to his girlfriend’s downward spiral into drug addiction and intelligence he received from the street that she was prostituting herself for drugs and doing increasingly poorly in the community. His obsession with his girlfriend led to disengagement with his mother and son who had formerly been strong community and family supports.

[67] All of the above contributed to his own drug abuse in the month or so before his death, to the extent that there were reports of extreme intoxication, aural hallucinations, and general malaise.

[68] By December 8, 2019, Tyson Roulette likely believed he had nothing to live for. He was serving a life sentence. Members of his gang and other gang members

believed he was a rat and wanted him dead. He was not receiving the support of his mother and son. His girlfriend was in terrible shape and rather than being a source of support, was a source of distress. He had no success in convincing the CSC that he was not in the gang/or wanted to leave the gang. This precluded a lower security classification, any likelihood of Parole, a transfer to Pathways, or a transfer away from the Prairie region.

[69] I observe that Roulette's reliance on drug consumption daily was his default method of coping with stresses. In his Correctional Plan update he had discussed daily drug abuse because he could not handle the pressures of gang leadership, his safety being constantly in danger within and from outside the gang and balancing that with his family life.

[70] Notwithstanding the interconnected circumstances of Roulette, changes that reduce the numbers of Indigenous inmates "affiliated" as gang members and accessible gang exit strategies are important to possibly prevent a future suicide like his. There are several changes and initiatives at the planning or implementational stage within the CSC. I believe they may assist in ameliorating some of the conditions that led to this suicide and may contribute to reducing other suicides in future.

V. BOI RECOMMENDATIONS/IMPROVEMENTS/SHORTCOMINGS

[71] The BOI made one comprehensive recommendation after its investigation into Roulette's suicide, as follows:

The Board of Investigation identified multiple issues regarding the disaffiliation principles that are relevant to inmates belonging to a Security Threat Group (STG) and therefore recommends that the Assistant Commissioner, Correctional Operations and Programs and the Indigenous Initiatives Directorate, consider the development of STG specific training for a wide audience of frontline staff (e.g., Parole Officers, Correctional Program Officers, and Security Operations staff and managers) with respect to engagement, intervention and disaffiliation principles that are relevant to inmates/offenders who are STG affiliated.

[72] I agree with the recommendation but would add the following.

[73] Flowing from that recommendation and the evidence heard and filed in this inquest, I wish to emphasize that at least for Manitoba, the gang members are mainly Indigenous. Any recommendations with respect to gang members and disaffiliation must be predicated on a full appreciation of the history of colonialism, including residential schools, and how the subsequent intergenerational trauma has in large part led to the creation of gangs in Manitoba.

[74] The office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada has conducted two major studies and published two book-length reports on its findings and recommendations involving Indigenous inmates: *Spirit Matters: Aboriginal People and the Corrections and Conditional Release Act*, Special Report to Parliament, 2013 (with updates in the annual reports of 2021-22 and 2022-23), and *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters: A Roadmap for Reform*.

[75] Their approach and recommendations are consistent with the direction of the Supreme Court of Canada's direction and many judges' approaches to the sentencing of Indigenous peoples in Canada, as directed by Parliament with amendments to the *Criminal Code* in 1996 and the cases of *Gladue* and *Ipeelee*.

[76] Collectively, they are an attempt to reconcile the impacts of Canada's colonial history of erasure and oppression of Indigenous peoples within the criminal justice context. They direct judges to sentence Indigenous people differently to ensure fairness and justice.

[77] What happens when an Indigenous person is sentenced to a federal sentence however is no longer under the purview of the Courts. The CSC has complete jurisdiction over the manner in which federally sentenced prisoners experience their incarceration and sometimes release back into the community.

[78] I take judicial notice of the fact that Stony Mountain is the oldest and largest federal penitentiary in the country. I also take judicial notice of the fact that the

number of Indigenous people in federal custody is increasingly disproportionately high: 36% of federal male inmates are Indigenous and 50% of federal female inmates are Indigenous. In Manitoba, that figure is almost doubled. A staggering 66% of the inmates at Stony Mountain are Indigenous. I also take judicial notice of the fact that joining street gangs for Indigenous peoples in Manitoba is a response to the trauma of family dislocation and dysfunction perpetrated by our colonial history, including residential schools.

[79] Several other outcomes within the federal prison system disproportionately affect Indigenous peoples. They represent 38% of maximum-security inmates, 50% of inmates in SIUs; 39% involved in use of force events; and 22% are labelled as gang members, as opposed to 9% for non-Indigenous inmates.

[80] They serve a higher proportion of their sentences than non-Indigenous inmates, 78.6%.

[81] According to the office of the Correctional Investigator, 90% of the Indigenous prison population is denied access to appropriate cultural and spiritual constitutional rights.

[82] They are more likely to self-injure, Indigenous inmates representing 55% of all incidents. And, they are more likely to attempt suicide, 40% of all incidents. *In 2020-21, 83% of all suicides in federal institutions involved Indigenous people.*

[83] Stony Mountain is also notoriously violent; an inordinate number of serious violent assaults and homicides are committed within the institution on a regular basis. Similarly, an inordinate number of suicides occur in the institution.

[84] Roulette came into Stony Mountain as an Indigenous person, identifying as Metis. He was a member of a street gang in Winnipeg, due to the historical circumstances of his family as sequelae of colonialism and the generalized disenfranchisement of many Indigenous people in Manitoba.

[85] It appears that he was a successful member of the gang, by virtue of his personality, intelligence and motivation, until he became part of the new leadership in the gang. The “new” breed of leadership was not without its detractors in the IP, leading to many dangers and stressors for him. He brought all of that into the prison, where his safety was at risk from the old guard.

[86] All of this to say that the BOI’s recommendation with respect to “disaffiliation” from security target groups is very important for Indigenous inmates, and I would add that the approach must be grounded in an approach like that of *Gladue* and *Ipeelee* and *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters*. Accordingly, I have taken the step of including at the end of this inquest report, a summary of the recommendations from *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters*, in Appendix C.

[87] Such an approach may have made a difference in Roulette’s case and will help prevent future suicides by Indigenous inmates. He was “affiliated”, that is, assessed

by CSC as a member of the IP during the intake phase of his incarceration. He eschewed it early on, when it became obvious to him that the gang was not there for him or his family once he was incarcerated. And, whether it was sooner or later, it became clear that the affiliation would preclude any easy transition back to the community.

[88] As previously noted, that “affiliation” was never removed during Roulette’s entire time at Stony Mountain, notwithstanding several attempts to have it removed.

[89] The gang affiliation label automatically precluded him from entering an Indigenous path, specifically Pathways, it precluded a lower security classification, and it precluded a transfer to a different institution and region. Additionally, the specific gang he was affiliated with, IP, was not welcome at any other federal institution in Canada other than Stony Mountain.

[90] In addition to the BOI recommendations, several changes within the CSC have begun to address the conundrum Roulette, and other Indigenous gang members face in custody at Stony Mountain.

[91] As of June, 2020, after Roulette’s death, the CSC changed the criteria for participation in the Pathways Initiative, such that gang members are no longer automatically disallowed from participating. The admission criteria remain strict, to ensure that drug trafficking or other gang activity are not being brought into the Pathways unit. Inmates who wish to be transferred to Pathways must demonstrate

over a three-month period the following: regular participation in ceremony, work with an Elder one on one, no institutional negative behaviour (for example, engaging in fights), and active engagement with their correctional plan. If security information is that they are actively engaged in gang activity, they are not accepted to Pathways.

[92] An Elder who testified at the inquest recommended that Pathways should be a stand-alone unit to limit access, allowing Pathways inmates to feel safe, and for inmates who might not otherwise consider Pathways.

[93] The Native Clan Organization approached Stony Mountain with a Gang Exiting Program, which, as of June 2025, is on site, with staff at Stony Mountain three days per week. Services to inmates will begin at Intake. The program will, among other things, “Gain a deeper understanding of gang exiting strategies through working alongside relatives with lived experience.” Native Clan staff will work with the inmate (called a “relative”) and Stony Mountain staff throughout the inmate’s carceral sentence and develop a release plan with support from cultural leaders, community organizations and other supports.

[94] A local business in Winnipeg provides gang tattoo removal free of charge. The security intelligence officer who testified agreed that having a tattoo-removal program on site would possibly help with gang exiting.

[95] Native Clan has also partnered with Stony Mountain to provide four additional Elders and three Elder helpers at the prison. This will increase the current complement of Elders to 14, and helpers to five.

[96] I agree that these initiatives will assist in the long run to contribute to a better outcome and reduced despair leading to suicide for inmates.

[97] I also believe that some of the recommendations in *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters* are responsive to the evidence I heard and reviewed in this inquest.

[98] Gang affiliation and exit strategies must be responsive to the realities of Indigenous inmates who do not generally join gangs as a well-considered financial investment, but rather, at the outset at least, to find family and have access to substances to deal with trauma. The predicament or impasse facing Indigenous inmates involving the interrelationship and sometimes intransigence of their security level, STG affiliation, reduction of security levels, the entrance criteria for any comprehensive Indigenous programming (E.g. Pathways and s. 81 Healing Lodges) was certainly experienced by Roulette. There are several recommendations in *Ten Years Since* involving this issue. Recommendation 5(c) from *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters* states that the CSC should work with Section 81 Healing Lodges to develop and implement a gang-disaffiliation and exit strategy that is run by Indigenous community-based individuals and/or organizations.

[99] Evidence is that the CSC is doing this in part. It is now working on a system that will differentiate between disaffiliation and disassociation. There was some evidence suggesting the need for a gang-free jail. Or a gang-free range. Funding must be made available for onsite tattoo removal. Transferring out of institutions should not be so difficult as it was in Roulette's case.

[100] Generally, the Indigenous programming, consisting of Inmate plans, Elders, the Pathways program and healing lodges should include regional information to ensure that inmates at Stony Mountain, which is on Treaty One territory, are taught about the history and background of the Indigenous peoples in this area prior to European contact, the making of the treaty and the history since 1871. This must extend to the other Indigenous, Inuit and Metis people in Manitoba and the effects of colonialism on them, including the history and making of Treaties 2 to 5.

[101] The model of an inmate plan specifically for Indigenous inmates, the Indigenous Integrated Correctional Plan Model is used for the Indigenous inmates. All Indigenous inmates are identified, and they are provided their options. They all receive an Elder review. They are informed about the existence of s. 81 healing lodge transfers and s. 84 release supports. And they are told about Pathways. There is Elder involvement, weekly ceremonies and the programming is generally holistic and Elder-driven, according to one of the managers of programs who testified. The written materials are national, not regional or Manitoba specific. The Acting

Manager of Indigenous Initiatives explained that the Pathways program is open only to inmates who are very committed, and can demonstrate over a three-month period sobriety, doing ceremony, no institutional negative behaviour, working one on one with an Elder and being engaged with their Correctional Plan.

[102] Although inmates serving life sentences can apply to be in the Pathways program, priority is given to inmates with shorter sentences, so the wait can be quite long for a “lifer.”

[103] At the time of the inquest hearing, there were 10 Elders working at Stony Mountain and two Elder helpers. The institution was looking to hire another five. The Native Clan partnership would also increase the component to an additional four Elders and three Elder Helpers. The Elder who testified noted that they are having difficulty attracting Elders to apply for the jobs.

[104] She also testified that unlike the protective custody and general ranges, there is virtually no suicidality in Pathways. She recommended that if an inmate starts covering his tattoos, or asking to be moved to Pathways, he should be moved. She also recommended that Pathways should be a stand-alone unit, to foster a feeling of safety and to encourage inmates to apply who might not otherwise apply, and to reduce the risk of drugs coming in to the unit.

[105] I would agree with the progress that is being made to address the well-being of Indigenous inmates at Stony Mountain. I would emphasize that all gang-exit

strategies must be imbued with a robust underpinning of understanding of the history and circumstances of Indigenous inmates, appropriate to their First Nation/community/background, as understood in *Spirit Matters*. All Indigenous inmates should be given full access to Indigenous programming. The majority of inmates at Stony Mountain are Indigenous. The default therefore should be that all inmates, unless they opt out, should be provided full access to Indigenous programming and a healing model.

VI. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

[106] I wish to extend my gratitude to counsel for their diligent, comprehensive and helpful approach during the Inquest. I also acknowledge the cooperation and helpfulness of the CSC and its witnesses in providing without information and evidence to the inquest without delay.

[107] I respectfully conclude and submit this Report on this 19th day of November, 2025, at the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba.

Judge Cynthia Devine
Provincial Court of Manitoba



Manitoba

THE FATALITY INQUIRIES ACT

REPORT BY PROVINCIAL JUDGE DEVINE ON AN INQUEST
INTO THE DEATH OF TYSON KANE ROULETTE

APPENDIX A: WITNESS LIST

1. **Bonnie Nordin** – Correctional Manager of Operations, SMI
2. **Jennifer Elyk** - Security Intelligence Officer, SMI
3. **Kristin Rinn** - Psychological Associate with Independent Practise, SMI
4. **Dwayne Cole** - Peer Offender Prevention Services (POPs), SMI
5. **Cherie MacEachern** – Acting Manager, Healthcare and Rehabilitation Program, SMI
6. **Melanie Felix** - Manager of Programs, SMI
7. **Veronica Clarke** - Acting Manager, Indigenous Initiatives, SMI
8. **Tracey Booth/Blue Thunderbird Woman** – Elder, SMI
9. **Christer McLaughlan** - Senior Project Officer, Preventative Security Intelligence Branch, CSC



Manitoba

THE FATALITY INQUIRIES ACT

REPORT BY PROVINCIAL JUDGE DEVINE ON AN INQUEST

INTO THE DEATH OF TYSON KANE ROULETTE

APPENDIX B - EXHIBIT LIST

<u>Exhibit No.</u>	<u>Tab</u>	<u>Description</u>
1		Agreed Book of Documents
		Correctional Plan Documentation
	A.	Correctional Plan Updated
	B.	Elder Review (Initial)
	C.	Elder Review (Progress)
	D.	Elder Review (Progress)
	E.	Program Performance Report – Final
	F.	Assessment for Decision
	G.	Casework Records from October 2 to November 28, 2014
	H.	Program History
		BOI Report and Consultation Grid
	A.	Board of Investigation Report
	B.	Consultation Grid - Updated
		Disciplinary Investigation Report – Redacted
		Reports of Officers of December 9, 2019
	A.	Statement/Observation Report of S. Vandale
	B.	Statement/Observation Report of A. Nero
	C.	Statement/Observation Report of S. Kletke
	D.	Statement/Observation Report of C. Mitchell

- E. Institutional Incident Report for SIO/RHQ/NHQ – C. Mitchell
- F. Security Intelligence Report by J. Elyk
- G. Photos taken by J. Elyk
- H. Statement/Observation Report of J. Elyk
- I. Typed handwritten letters
- J. Statement/Observation Report of J. Borrowman
- K. Statement/Observation Report of E. Zacharias
- L. Statement/Observation Report of B. Morrice
- M. Statement/Observation Report of B. Morrice (Duplicate)
- N. Statement/Observation Report of A. Lee
- O. Statement/Observation Report of A. Lee (Duplicate)

Postmortem and Email

- A. Preliminary Report of Death
- B. Autopsy Report
- C. Letter from Dr. Rivera Re: rigor mortis

Reports regarding rumors

- A. Statement/Observation Report of K. Dumond – Redacted
- B. Statement/Observation Report of J. Goertzen – Redacted
- C. Statement/Observation Report of C. Mitchell – Redacted
- D. Statement/Observation Report of Chaplain Miller – Redacted
- E. Statement/Observation Report of T. Richard – Redacted
- F. Statement/Observation Report of M. White

Matthew Robinson

- A. Notes from BOI
- B. Written evidence of Matthew Robinson
- C. Statement/Observation Report of M. Robinson – Redacted
- D. Statement/Observation Report of M. Robinson

Policy and Standards for Counts

- A. Commissioner's Directive 566-4 – Counts and Security Patrols
- B. Standing Order 566-4 – Standards for Counts and Security Patrols at Stony Mountain Institution

- C. Standing Order 566-4 - Standards for Counts and Security Patrols at Stony Mountain Institution
 - D. Standing Order 566-4 - Standards for Counts and Security Patrols at Stony Mountain Institution
 - E. Standing Order 566-4 - Standards for Counts and Security Patrols at Stony Mountain Institution
 - F. Commissioner's Directive 566-4 – Counts and Security Patrols
 - G. Policy Bulletin 725 – Commissioner's Directive 566-4: Counts and Security Patrols
- Suicide Prevention**
- A. Institutional Suicide Awareness and Prevention Workshop – Participant Workbook
 - B. Suicide Action Plan at SMI
- Opiate & Drugs**
- A. Specific Guideline for the Treatment of Opiate Dependence
 - B. Guidance on Opioid Use Disorder Program
- Security Threat Groups**
- A. Commissioner's Directive 568-3 – Identification and Management of Security Threat Groups
 - B. Policy Bulletin 689 – Commissioner's Directive 238-3 – Identification and Management of Security Threat Groups
 - C. Native Clan Organization – Gang Exiting Program
- Commissioner's Directive 705-5 – Supplementary Memorandum Re: Criteria for Participation in the Pathways**
- Commissioner's Directive 710-6 – Review of Inmate Security**
- Commissioner's Directive 710-2-3 – Inmate Transfer Process**
- Medical and Mental Health**
- A. Mental Health and Clinical Notes of K. Rinn
 - B. Mental Health and Clinical Notes of K. Rinn
 - C. Mental Health and Clinical Notes of K. Rinn

- D. Mental Health and Clinical Notes of K. Rinn
- E. Mental Health and Clinical Notes of K. Rinn
- F. OHIS EMR Medical Information
- Incident & Intelligence Report**
- A. Intelligence Observation Report of J. Elyk – Redacted
- B. Intelligence Observation Report of J. Elyk – Redacted
- C. Institutional Incident Report for SIO/RHQ/NHQ – J. Elyk
- D. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- E. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- F. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- G. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- H. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- I. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- J. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- K. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- L. Intelligence Observation Report of A. Sookermany – Redacted
- M. Intelligence Observation Report of H. Prociuk – Redacted
- N. Statement/Observation Report of M. Day – Redacted

2 Photo Bundle of Tyson Roulette's body Tattoos

3 Three Statement/Observation Reports



Manitoba

THE FATALITY INQUIRIES ACT

REPORT BY PROVINCIAL JUDGE DEVINE ON AN INQUEST

INTO THE DEATH OF: TYSON KANE ROULETTE

APPENDIX C

Recommendations from *Ten Years Since Spirit Matters, A Roadmap for the Reform of Indigenous Corrections in Canada*, Ivan Zinger, JD, PhD, Correctional Investigator of Canada (Annex A)

1. I recommend that CSC consult with Indigenous community groups on the job description, role, mandate, and hiring process for the Deputy Commissioner for Indigenous Corrections position, and that they report publicly on their plans and short-term timelines to create and staff this position.
2. I recommend the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada include the Correctional Service of Canada and the Office of the Correctional Investigator in the development and implementation of the Indigenous Justice Strategy (IJS). Furthermore, the IJS should seek to redistribute a significant portion of the current resources within the federal correctional system to Indigenous communities and groups for the care, custody, and supervision of Indigenous Peoples.
3. I recommend that the Minister of Public Safety direct CSC to fund an external, Indigenous-led national engagement initiative to create capacity, interest, and innovation among Indigenous communities and organizations (urban and rural) to enter into Section 81 and 84 agreements for the care, custody, and supervision of Indigenous Peoples under federal sentence.
4. I recommend that the Minister of Public Safety direct CSC to develop and publicly report on clear actions, timelines, measurable targets and deliverables to:

- a. more effectively engage Indigenous communities and organizations to establish more Section 81 agreements, particularly in areas where there are noted gaps (e.g., Ontario and Atlantic region, for Indigenous women, and individuals from northern locations; urban settings);
 - b. establish section 81 agreements in urban and rural areas; and,
 - c. transfer control and ownership of existing CSC-run Healing Lodges to the local community, or an Indigenous group or organization, under Section 81 of the CCRA within three years.
5. I recommend that the Minister of Public Safety direct CSC to work with the Section 81 Healing Lodges to identify the main causes of vacancy rates and identify actions that will be taken to increase and maintain higher occupancy rates, with specific attention to:
 - a. Developing new and rigorously validated security classification tools for Indigenous peoples, from the ground up, that reduce their over-representation in medium and maximum security, consistent with the Supreme Court of Canada decision in R. v. Ewert, 2018;
 - b. Reviewing and modifying the policies and practices for Security Threat Group (gangs) flags with a view to facilitating the removal of these flags, where appropriate;
 - c. Developing and implementing a gang-disaffiliation and exit strategy that is run by Indigenous community based individuals and/or organizations;
 - d. Increasing the availability of trauma-informed care at women's and men's facilities and the ability for incarcerated Indigenous persons to receive proper mental health diagnoses and treatment; and,
 - e. Increasing the number of Indigenous persons who cascade to lower security levels (e.g., accepting medium security populations) and expediting transfers to Healing Lodges, particularly Section 81s.
6. I recommend that the Minister of Public Safety direct CSC to co-develop, with communities and organizations, a new funding model for Section 81 agreements and significantly increase funding to Section 81 Healing Lodges to better support their specific needs and to address the existing disparities with state-run lodges, in order to achieve resourcing parity.
7. I recommend that CSC enhance the impact and reach of institutional Indigenous initiatives by:

- a. Conducting a review of current Pathways participants to identify and recommend individuals for Healing Lodge placements and other non-custodial alternatives (e.g., section 84 agreements).
 - b. Developing an overarching culturally responsive approach that comprises of institutional initiatives for Indigenous people who do not benefit from the current Pathways model. This would include expanding the benefits offered by the Pathways Initiative (e.g., access to Elders, ILOs, Healing Plans, one-to-one counselling) to a larger number of individuals.
 - c. Developing clear and concrete Correctional Plan objectives that guide sentence planning for offenders serving sentences of 10 years to life, and providing more meaningful incentives to Indigenous Lifers (e.g., ETAs, lower-security transfers, and Healing Lodge placements).
 - d. Collaborating with Indigenous Initiatives at the regional and institutional levels to develop yearly national action plans that increase in-reach by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities, community based organizations, non-profits, post-secondary institutions, and other stakeholders to establish ties and support systems with incarcerated individuals that begin at intake and continue post-Warrant Expiry.
8. I recommend that CSC create job security and additional financial supports for Elders:
- a. Elders should be compensated comparably to CSC staff, as well as those in similar roles, such as federal government employees working as chaplains.
 - b. Elders should be offered and have access to a benefit scheme that will foster their long-term wellness, including access to mental health and trauma supports and resources, sick days, vacation, retirement contributions and savings and self-care, equivalent to federal government employees.
 - c. CSC should do away with onerous Statements of Work that place an undue administrative burden on Elders.
 - d. CSC should rethink how and to whom Elders report. e. CSC should ensure Elder insights are properly reflected and integrated into case management records and decisions.
9. I recommend that CSC integrate Elders within CSC's leadership and governance structures respectful of Elder autonomy and independence with the same reverence, recognition, and status accorded Elders in Indigenous communities.

10. I recommend that CSC develop a standardized onboarding training for Elders that outlines the expectations, rules, and reporting practices of CSC. CSC should work to reduce the gaps and differences between institutions and their practices towards Elders. This could include the development of national guidelines or policies when working with Elders, as well as peer support.
11. I recommend that CSC provide Elders with appropriate, prioritized and dedicated indoor and outdoor spaces to conduct ceremonies and programs and for confidential counseling as part of their conditions of work. Elders should maintain control over all items used for cultural and spiritual ceremony, including sacred medicines. For greater clarity, CSC should not interfere with Indigenous peoples' right to ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) of Indigenous intellectual property, including curriculum, ceremony and knowledge shared by Elders as a part of their work with CSC.
12. I recommend that CSC ensure that all staff undergo mandatory and annual Indigenous cultural safety and awareness training, provided by an external agency. Training should recognize the diversity among First Nations, Métis and Inuit to avoid perpetuating pan-Indigenous assumptions.
13. I recommend that CSC report yearly and publicly on measureable performance indicators, results and outcomes to reduce Indigenous over-representation in federal corrections. These indicators and outcomes should be co-developed with Indigenous stakeholders, including Elders and community leaders, and reflect Indigenous concepts of healing and progress.
14. I recommend that the Minister of Public Safety work jointly with the Ministers of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada and Indigenous Services Canada, as well as the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, to develop and implement a national Indigenous decarceration strategy.