WORK 2 GIVE:

Fostering Collective Citizenship through Artistic and Healing Spaces for Indigenous Inmates and Communities in British Columbia

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INTRODUCTION

Work 2 Give: A Federal Prison–Tŝilhqot'in Nation Partnership Study

> There is a reciprocal relationship between citizenship and punishment; the cultural conditions of citizenship direct how people will be punished and punishment reinforces notions of whom is thought worthy of citizenship. (Vaughan 2000, 28)

For Indigenous peoples in British Columbia specifically, and Canada more generally, the concept of citizenship is affected by historic and ongoing colonialism, wherein Indigenous communities have faced (and continue to face) racism, socio-economic marginalization, and inequitable treatment at the hands of provincial and federal governments and systems, including the criminal justice system. Indigenous peoples in British Columbia face persistent socio-economic and political inequities that, in turn, are correlated with unfair and unequal treatment across all layers of the criminal justice system, as evidenced by disproportionate rates of incarceration for Indigenous people in British Columbia and Canada (Correctional Service of Canada 2013; Sapers 2016; Perreault 2009).[1] These inequities are exacerbated by inconsistent and inadequate federal and provincial support for Indigenous-specific correctional programming that draws on cultural values as well as art and craft tied to ceremony and healing (Sioui and Thibault 2002; Milward 2011; Sapers 2014). It is within this context that a prison employment initiative, called Work 2 Give, is cur-

[1] In 2016–17, Indigenous peoples in Canada accounted for 28 percent of all admissions to provincial/territorial correctional services, and 27 percent for federal correctional services, while accounting for only 4.1 percent of the Canadian population (Malakieh 2018).

rently being implemented in federal prisons across British Columbia. The Work 2 Give initiative offers incarcerated men, the vast majority of whom are Indigenous, the chance to build and create artistic objects within an employment and hobby program; the men build and create furniture, Indigenous drums and rattles, wooden toys, knitted objects (such as scarves, toques, and mittens), blankets, beaded jewellery, and moccasins. They also grow and harvest organic produce. All of these items are subsequently donated to the Tŝilhqot'in First Nations peoples living in six rural and remote communities in British Columbia. These items are intended to improve the quality of individual and community life within the context of longstanding barriers to social and economic well-being linked to historic and ongoing colonialism.

The Tŝilhqot'in Nation is comprised of over three thousand band members who live between the Fraser River and the Coast Mountains in the central interior of British Columbia. Historically, these communities travelled across large tracts of ancestral land to gather food and trade with neighbouring First Nations, existing in classless, matrilineal, and non-hierarchical communities based on values of collective citizenship (Alphonse et al. 2012). Since the onset of colonialism, the Tŝilhqot'in people have resisted assimilation and dispossession and are actively engaged in ongoing efforts aimed at self-governance and cultural resurgence (Alphonse et al. 2012; Supreme Court of Canada 2014). The Tŝilhqot'in people's participation in Work 2 Give reflects their cultural strength, resilience, and leadership through partnering with BC prisons to provide community members with needed items while also enabling the inmates to heal through their artistic work. One notable feature of their political advocacy, among countless other historical events, is the 2014 Supreme Court of Canada decision to grant the Tŝilhqot'in title and rights to a substantial portion of their ancestral territories (Supreme Court of Canada 2014).

Federal corrections rehabilitation programming largely focuses on individual risk reduction through changes in individual behaviours and attitudes, including changes that support employment post-release, which is in turn linked to reductions in re-offence (Scott and Gillis 2011). While risk reduction and individual responsivity to correctional interventions has shown promise for reducing rates of re-offending (Correctional Service of Canada 2015), promoting the healing, rehabilitation, and restoration of Indigenous people – both within and beyond the prison – requires a decolonizing approach that problematizes colonial and capitalistic notions of progress and productivity. At the very heart of

the problematic intersection between colonialism, capitalism, progress, and productivity for Indigenous inmates participating in Work 2 Give is the unexamined assumption that *employment is a primary mechanism for rehabilitation*. In this article, we detail how Work 2 Give provides an opportunity to push back against this dominant framing of employment as rehabilitation. We consider how the meaningful nature of work – that is, the making and giving of artistic objects – provides aesthetic experiences and healing spaces that foster social citizenship (as opposed to purely productive citizenship) for incarcerated Indigenous men in British Columbia. Our qualitative analysis of the men's experiences of Work 2 Give is extended here to renegotiate: (1) the dominant concepts of productive citizenry that surface within imperial ideals regarding work and employment, and (2) the neocolonial myth of Indigenous unproductivity that continues to play out in the BC context.[2] Using Work 2 Give as an exemplar, we describe how forms of Indigenous social citizenship can make space for the healing potential of the arts and therapeutic craft in BC prisons. Drawing on Indigenous understandings of health, healing, and community, Work 2 Give provides a window onto how social citizenship can be extended to encompass spirituality, giving to others, meaningful work, therapeutic art, and holistic well-being within the wider context of colonialism and resurgence.

BACKGROUND

Locating Indigenous Citizenship within the Canadian Colonial State

The rights and responsibilities of citizens to the state are well defined within citizenship theory (Bulmer and Rees 2016), wherein citizens' health and well-being is seen as directly linked to state-based wealth and viability, which, in turn, promotes public engagement, individual responsibility, and productivity. However, for Indigenous peoples living in British Columbia, relationships with the Canadian state were born from imperial violence, colonial dispossession, and subjugation, which continue to affect how citizenship is constructed and experienced.

[2] The term "neocolonial" signals continued state economic and cultural dominance for colonized peoples, and it centres the political economy of capitalism as an ongoing colonial force. The term, originally coined in 1963 by Kwame Nikrumah, a Ghanaian politician, describes neocolonialism as a practice and as the last stage of imperialism. It was intended to signify how capitalism, globalization, and imperialism intersect in the postmodern world. Browne and Smye (2002, 31) use the term to emphasize "new forms of colonial identity embedded in institutional policies and practices." Our intention in using this term is to underscore the ongoing and continued manifestations of colonialism and their intersections with capitalism, neoliberalism, and citizenship.

Productivity as Problematic within Institutional and Colonial Contexts

Initial colonial contact in the eighteenth century and the subsequent development of British Columbia as a colonial state largely framed Indigenous individuals as marginal citizens (Zedner 2010; Vaughan 2000), barriers to state development, and persons without access to the rights and responsibilities afforded to white settlers.[3] The late twentieth century saw a focus on citizenship rights emerge as a cornerstone of the Canadian welfare state (Johnson Redden 2002), wherein rights were grounded in notions of productivity, and capitalism and moral fortitude were equated with economic production (Lambert and Lester 2004). During this same period the Canadian criminal justice system developed as a means to separate those deemed unfit for society – individuals who "fail[ed] to reassure" the wider community of their ability to engage as productive and "safe" members of the moral Christian "new" world (Lambert and Lester 2004). Such individuals were placed in institutions modelled after factories (Melossio and Pavarini 1981) – a removal from society that worked to separate them as "others," creating a social environment within which "'*our*' security depends on '*their*' control" (Garland 2001, 182, emphasis added) and that allowed the capitalistic and colonial foundations of criminal justice and social inequities to take root, persist, and thrive. Increasing neoliberalism in British Columbia and across Canada in the late twentieth century led to a growing desire for social control across increasingly unstable socio-economic landscapes where structures of power "marginalize[d] substantial sections of the population [and sustained a] newly emphatic, overreaching concern with control [and] the urgency with which we segregate, fortify, and exclude" (Garland 2001, 194; Cooper, Graham, and Himick 2016; Parson 2014; Schram et al. 2010; Lindsey 2010; Evans 2005). These political, economic, social, and historic forces have led to increasingly exclusionary policies that create distance between those living within prisons and those living within communities. Yet the widening social strata established through socio-economic, political, and historic forces of marginalization, oppression, and colonialism is rendered invisible through the widespread stigmatization of people in prisons and popular notions of the "beyond hope" criminal (Garland 2001; Melossio and Pavarini 1981; Maruna 2001). With the specific context of Indigenous peoples, stereotypes in British Columbia

[3] One explicit example of this is that First Nations and Inuit peoples were not eligible to vote in BC provincial elections until 1949 and 1953, respectively, and Indigenous persons with status were not granted the full right to vote federally, without any qualifications or need to franchise, until 1960 (Ladner and McCrossan 2007).

and Canada are born from colonial myths of Indigenous savagery, immorality, and inherent risk to wider anglo-Christian society (King 2012). This colonial foundation is strongly correlated with the increasingly disproportionate representation of Indigenous peoples in both provincial and federal prisons (Sapers 2016; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996; Dickson-Gilmore and LaPrairie 2005).

Within citizenship theory incarcerated peoples are seen as on the margins of "civilization," so-called conditional citizens both physically and symbolically removed from society (Zedner 2010; Vaughan 2000) and placed in institutions where they are meant to rehabilitate so that they will be *productive* members of the wider community upon release (Garland 2001; Wacquant 2010). Indigenous inmates in British Columbia are thus conceptualized, both as Indigenous peoples and as "criminals," as *conditional citizens* who exist as roadblocks to economic development and Canadian prosperity (Rossiter and Wood 2005; O'Bonsawin 2010). This double layering of dispossession is highlighted by the ways that physical and symbolic exclusion, structural violence, and othering mirror colonial disruptions of socio-emotional and spiritual belonging – disruptions perpetuated by the Indian Act, residential schools, the Sixties Scoop, and the ongoing removal of Indigenous children into a culturally unsafe foster care system (Milloy 1999; Geddes 2017; Fournier and Crey 1997; de Leeuw and Greenwood 2017). Just as the ways that the policing and incarceration of African Americans offers a second instalment of slavery, so the incarceration of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia provides another chapter in the colonial process of removing unwanted and unproductive Indigenous bodies from lands and spaces that settlers want for themselves (Razack 2015; Razack 2018).

The original colonization of British Columbia was premised on the myth of empty, unclaimed land, according to which Indigenous peoples failed to fully utilize available resources and were thereby susceptible to colonial attempts to harness the full productive potential of lands and resources. The continued degradation and dispossession of resources and land today justifies the ongoing removal of unproductive bodies from the productive spaces of wider society (Razack 2018; de Leeuw 2009). The "exclusionary tendencies" of neoliberal society towards incarcerated Indigenous peoples isolates and dispossesses (Müller 2013); individual inmates are the objects of rehabilitation, expected to learn behaviours and skills that will support productive citizenship and therefore extinguish their threat to public safety. Despite widespread calls for restorative rehabilitation and justice initiatives that honour the many ancient justice

processes of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia and Canada, many initiatives focus so closely on the individual that social bonds and community well-being – the wider relational web necessary for restoration and healing within the context of colonial dispossession and assimilation – vanishes (Wacquant 2010, 768; Murphy 2016). It is upon this foundation that connectivity, relationship, and responsibilities offer the potential to restore social bonds and to create spaces for collective healing within and beyond prison walls (Kirmayer, Simpson, and Cargo 2003; Mundel and Chapman 2010).

Meaningful Work, Productive Work

Despite the well-documented social impacts of racism, colonialism, and correlated criminal justice inequities (Sapers 2014; Sapers 2015; Sapers 2016; Dickson-Gilmore and LaPrairie 2005; Hyatt 2013), the Canadian criminal justice system is largely focused on individual risk reduction, and under- and unemployment are recognized as common risk factors among incarcerated individuals at both provincial and federal levels (Perreault 2009; Sapers 2014) as well as being common risk factors of recidivism post-release (Scott and Gillis 2011). Thus, prison employment programs widely attempt to rehabilitate incarcerated individuals into *productive* citizens, despite mixed evidence pertaining to the impacts of employment on recidivism (Latessa 2012; Wheatley 2016). Productivity in the capitalistic and colonial sense is not restorative, as highlighted in a national study of Indigenous individuals in federal custody who described work histories affected by colonialism and expressed a desire for "greater opportunities for meaningful work" that incorporated Indigenous knowledge, values, and learning and teaching styles (Forrester, Trainor, and Brazil 2012, 1).

Federal prisons in British Columbia operate a number of correctional work programs; however, an increased focus on individual behaviour change through psychosocial programming has resulted in an increased mismatch between prison employment opportunities and labour market needs (Nolan 2014; Correctional Service of Canada 2008; Correctional Service of Canada 2015; Richmond 2014). This capitalism-as-rehabilitation drives work that is meaningless and mundane, mirroring the neoliberal replacement of social welfare with social control (Alfred and Chlup 2009; Giroux 2005; Wacquant 2010) and elevating colonial notions of productivity over the socio-emotional, historic, and contextual needs of Indigenous peoples incarcerated in specific times and places, and in

need of healing across webs of interrelationships between individuals, communities, nations, history, and the natural world (Wacquant 2010).

Extending the Social towards Collective Citizenship

The tensions surrounding conditional citizenship for Indigenous peoples in British Columbia extends beyond political marginalization and oppression to include the wider social implications of land rights, food sovereignty, and belonging, as is outlined elsewhere in this issue (Timler and Brown 2019). The disruption of Indigenous social cohesion was one of the goals, if not the main goal, of colonialism, as evidenced by the banning of potlatches, the residential school and Indian hospital systems, and the disruption of diverse subsistence economies that focused on relationships and that provided the social fabric upon which oral histories and cultural norms and values were developed. It is through a focus on social well-being, whereby healthy individuals partake in a healthy community, that the concept of social citizenship provides an opportunity to disrupt the colonial concept of productivity as it underscores dominant views of citizenship. Social citizenship focuses on the "restoring [of] individuals … to a state where they may participate more fully as part of a community" (Davy 2014, 217). Efforts to support social connection and cultural integration can thus be seen as supporting social citizenship. That being said, social citizenship is often framed in relation to economic and social welfare rights, and, in the words of Marshall (1949), to "live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society." It is this "society," inferred in social citizenship, that underscores the necessity of deconstructing and reframing the concept of dominant productivity (inherent within prison employment approaches) to make space for rebuilding the very social bonds that can facilitate desistance from crime (Goodwill and Ishiyama 2016; Weaver 2016).

Any understanding of social citizenship for Indigenous peoples must therefore extend beyond the individual to take into account the historical and *ongoing* impacts of colonialism on the social structures of Indigenous communities as well as the collective resurgences that are occurring despite continuing attempts by the colonial state to disrupt Indigenous social cohesion. The men participating in Work 2 Give build and create things as social beings and social citizens; their making and giving of artistic objects connects them to recipient Indigenous communities who share similar yet diverse colonial experiences and socio-economic and political inequities. Thus, any notion of social control born of neoliberalism, capitalism, and productivity is displaced by the relational

connections within and beyond the prison walls – connections that enable collective reciprocity and investment in each other's healing and well-being takes root.

METHODS

The analysis of Work 2 Give presented here was constructed through the lens of social citizenship and is based on a two-year mixed methods study on the impacts of the initiative. The Work 2 Give initiative began in British Columbia in 2012, and the researchers were invited to join the partnership and study the initiative's impact in 2015. This research focused on three of British Columbia's federal prisons, and it used ethnographic methods to engage with twenty-two incarcerated men participating in the project, twenty-eight First Nations community members who helped distribute and/or received the donated artistic objects, and twenty program stakeholders. Individual interviews were conducted with all participants and were recorded and subsequently transcribed, anonymized, and coded. Participant observation took place in the places and spaces where Work 2 Give exists, including workrooms within the prisons and Indigenous communities where items were received and distributed. Photographs and field notes were taken to deepen our observations. The overall impact of the program has been described elsewhere (Brown et al. 2017). Our analysis was guided reflexively through a commitment to decolonizing methodologies and social justice principles. Our analysis focused on attending to ongoing colonial impacts on the men and the communities as well as on resurgence, Indigenous ways of knowing, strengths, capacity, and the resiliency that became possible through the artistic and healing space of Work 2 Give. This study was guided by a memorandum of understanding between the University of British Columbia School of Nursing and the Tŝilhqot'in National Government. An ongoing program of research continues, building upon ongoing research agreements and ethics approval from the Correctional Service of Canada, Pacific Region, and ethics approval from the UBC Research Ethics Board.

RESULTS: THE MAKING AND GIVING OF ARTISTIC OBJECTS

Work 2 Give was originally conceptualized as a prison employment initiative for the making of items to donate to the Tŝilhqot'in First Nation, one that would also engage inmates in the productive use of idle prison time (Brown et al. 2017). The original intent did not detail the creation of therapeutic and healing spaces but, rather, was imagined

as contributing to an environment in which inmates could develop productive employment skills. Through our investigation of the impact of Work 2 Give on the participating incarcerated men and recipient communities, we began to see how the initiative was creating connections, relationships, and a shared investment between the men and the communities. Throughout our research, we interviewed twenty-two incarcerated men and twenty-eight Tŝilhqot'in community members. A larger sample of participating men (n = 60) provided a demographic snapshot of participation: for incarcerated men the mean age was 44.6 years, 60 percent were Indigenous, and 43 percent had received life sentences. Tŝilhqot'in community members interviewed were 79 percent female and the mean age was fifty-four years. Among the inhabitants of these spaces of reciprocity and connection – Indigenous children, families, and communities living on reserve and those considered "beyond hope" criminals – there was a shared experience of being seen by the wider society as residing at the margins of citizenship (Garland 2001; Melossio and Pavarini 1981; Maruna 2001). It is through this making, giving, and receiving that social citizenship was created and sustained across the prison and Tŝilhqot'in communities. Many of the men described their engagement in the project as a means to give back to a community of children of which they were once a part, providing social support and care across the generations. As one man described it:

> [The sock monkeys] are sort of like a security blanket ... [M]e as a child, five years old I was put in foster care for a few months. And I would have loved to have had a sock monkey to hang onto, or a scarf, a toque, anything, right? ... I wouldn't have felt so alone.

Not only do the men participating in Work 2 Give create social connections and participate in sustaining those connections through the cutting, sanding, and painting of wood; the knitting and tying of wool; the sewing of sock monkeys and blankets; the stretching and painting of deer hide over drum frames; and the tending and harvesting of organic vegetables: they do this within the specific spaces and places of federal prisons. Creating a sock monkey to gift to children entering into foster care fulfills no *economically* productive end; yet, in displacing and rejecting the very notion of capitalistic productivity, there is space to invest in and realize a therapeutic social productivity wherein the healing and expressive potential of art and craft facilitates full membership in society. It is the giving of the objects, not the producing or selling, that supports the men's healing. As one Indigenous man explained:

> This is better than seeing a personal shrink. It's a good therapy for ourselves, to look at what we're doing with our hands, look what we're doing with our minds. You know, it makes our light inside of us a little bit brighter.

Citizenship participation is evident in the meaningful making and giving to the Tŝilhqot'in communities. The men have the opportunity to generate new forms of citizenship embodied in the reciprocity and investment made possible by the sharing of gifts – gifts made and received in ways that foster healing and connection with the recipient communities. Giving and receiving creates a social bond across the trenches of colonialism, dispossession, and intergenerational trauma, wherein connection and relationship become a collective investment in a shared future. One Métis man told us that the men often felt personal connections to the children they were making things for, imagining Indigenous children facing barriers to health and well-being similar to those that they themselves faced. The men spoke of the difference a gift can make, how a child feels that they matter when, with good intentions, they are gifted something homemade. As the men imagined the difference they hoped to make in the lives of Tŝilhqot'in children and families, they described how they were able to glimpse themselves as people who give to others. One man spoke of his life being about taking things, hurting others – and now, through giving, he had the chance to imagine a new, positive way of being. This widening and making of new identities fostered a connection with self that the men understood as enhancing their capacity to relate to, and help, others. Thus, the social bond with others – that is, the recipient families – provided a chance for the men to imagine a future of helping and giving as free citizens. As two men explained:

> I only knew one way. Now I know a different way. You know, when you can change, and go and do something different, it helps, you know? And, and people, even people in here, other – the staff, other inmates, they all see me change, over the years. When I first came [here], I was a very negative guy, and very angry. And I'm not angry anymore.

> Over time you learn so much empathy, so much sympathy … towards other people that you look back and say, "How could I have hurt this person to begin with? How could I have gone down this path?" And taking into consideration other people's emotions and feelings and rights is something that is part of the consequences, that you might not

Figure 1. Carvings made in Work 2 Give. Credit: Movember/Photograph by Richie Trimble.

> have thought about at the time when you were committing your crime, but over time you kind of learn those things. So I definitely think that by participating in this program, it gives you a different perspective on things that you might not have thought about.

The men also described how engaging in meaningful work created spaces of connection among them; many of them indicated that working as a team was a new experience that brought new skills and capacities to consciousness and that these reflected a shared humanity against a dominant prison identity. The men spoke about gaining confidence in asking questions and mentoring men newer to the project. As one man told us:

> I mean you put all this emotion and time and energy into a project and then you see the result, then it gives you confidence to say: "Well, I can go to the next step. I'm not worthless. I'm not not worth something. I'm able to do this to get a result. I didn't have to do it when I was drunk, I didn't have to do it when I was stoned, I'm not getting paid for it, and nobody is judging me."

This social citizenship requires reciprocity and not merely donation. It requires giving, as social actors engaged in a community (albeit one separated by five hundred kilometres and prison walls). Here citizenship is expanded beyond the realm of welfare rights and shared economic stability to include interconnected communities of Indigenous peoples across British Columbia and Canada, individuals on and off reserves, peoples in prisons and detention centres, and peoples with shared experiences of ongoing dispossession as well as individual and communal

Figure 2. Participating inmate with drum made through Work 2 Give. Credit: Movember /Photograph by Richie Trimble.

resurgences and strengths. One Tŝilhqot'in woman positioned herself within this expanded space of social citizenship in her community:

> We always say that's one thing we have to bring back is the drums, and our songs that's been lost for so many years, and it's finally coming back. And this really helped out with it, bringing songs back. We've actually got a few songs now, we have our warrior song that we used to sing, Women's Warrior song. So I think the drums is the big, biggest thing, you know? All the families benefit from beds and the toys, but the youth, but I think the drums is what really brought everything back.

Another Tŝilhqot'in man with whom we spoke widened the lens even further to include the lands, waters, and animals that make up social connections shared by diverse Indigenous peoples across the province; he told about how drums made by the men in Work 2 Give were used by community youth to protest resource extraction at Teẑtan Biny (Fish Lake) , and how the drums helped strengthen the communal voice of young Tŝilhqot'in people learning to protest and protect their ancestral territories. Social citizenship in this context includes a social consciousness towards equity and justice in the wake of colonial inequity and injustice. Artistic objects that support the voices of Tŝilhqot'in youth through reconnections and resurgences tied to song and ceremony provide a profound example of the diverse ways in which artistic items made by men in prison create ripple effects in Tŝilhqot'in communities – ripple effects that support cultural continuity, community strength, language,

Figure 3. Tsilhqot'in child with drum made through Work 2 Give. Credit: Movember/ Photograph by Richie Trimble.

and voice. These ripples extend across the communities, connecting the men in webs of social relationships and reciprocity. As one Tŝilhqot'in woman told us:

> The men know they're contributing to community and, for anyone, you want to be able to contribute to your community whether you're a man or woman. And being able to do that is such an honour, it's such a privilege. It means you're a part of the community, you're not alone, and you have a family. So that's a really big thing for any human being to … to have that need, that want, and that sense of belonging, and knowing where you come from, knowing your family tree, you know who you are, you know what you are, you know your background, your history. And it doesn't matter where you go in the world; if you have those things, you can't go wrong. And I think this program gives that sense of belonging to the individuals, to the men who are making these items, and it gives them that sense of responsibility too, that they're responsible to the family.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS: ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Work 2 Give not only provides an opportunity to problematize colonial notions of productivity and citizenship but also to reframe the conversation when considering social belonging and citizenship for Indigenous

peoples both inside and outside of prisons in British Columbia. Through our engagement with Indigenous men in prison, we learned that the men appreciated the very processes of engaging in the meaningful and therapeutic building and creating of artistic objects. And, in the giving of artistic objects, the men were able to begin constructing alternative identities that supported their social engagement and connectivity with each other and the Tŝilhqot'in communities in ways that show promise for prison work and for post-release community reintegration. These evolving identities became possible through the process of creation, fostering increased well-being, self-worth, healing, and rehabilitation for the men and the communities, not merely as individuals but as members of a wider web of social connections. Work 2 Give provides evidence of the role of therapeutic art and craft in creating connection and belonging in institutional prison spaces, underlining the power of creating and gifting artistic objects in spaces devoid of personal autonomy, social justice, and an overall focus on healing and well-being. It also points to the power of art and craft to work against the stigmatization of socially marginalized peoples – those deemed at the margins of the acceptable – conditional citizens whose engagement with art and craft provide evidence of their humanity and worth.

Work 2 Give as a space to support collective social citizenship through the creation and sharing of artistic objects pushes the boundaries of rehabilitation approaches within criminal justice contexts, and there are striking parallels between our work in federal prisons and our other research studies within diverse health care contexts. With ongoing barriers to accessing health care for Indigenous peoples – specifically, institutionalized racism that is continuous with health and social inequities – the ongoing production of culturally unsafe environments persists (Reading and Wien 2013; Geddes 2017). We highlight here the role that therapeutic art and craft can play in affording marginalized populations far more than the conditional citizenship status continuously reproduced in neocolonial times. Specific to the interface between health and justice in prisons, health care delivered in federal facilities is based on biomedicalism and illness treatment, with far less emphasis on policy and practice that centres Indigenous healing, traditional practices, and holistic well-being beyond the prison walls (Kouyoumdjian et al. 2016; Wesley 2018). Additionally, the ways in which criminal justice is envisioned in Canada, focused largely on individual risk reduction, also mirrors neoliberal influences in today's health care practice. Within both the Canadian criminal justice and health care systems, art and therapeutic

craft can transcend the individual and move towards collective forms of social citizenship, providing opportunities to extend the boundaries within both systems and thereby creating healing spaces in locales not typically regarded as therapeutic.

While Work 2 Give provides an exemplar for art and therapeutic craft facilitating social engagement, bonding, and collective agency, Indigenous arts and crafts in British Columbia and across other national and international contexts have long histories that supersede colonial notions of productivity and art. Prior to colonization, artistic objects embedded in diverse cultures and lands, subsistence economies, and food relationships were made by diverse Indigenous peoples. These objects have and continue to hold economic value as well as cultural and historic meanings. Work 2 Give problematizes the ideals of colonial productivity and citizenship through engagement in the evolving yet ancient traditions of creating, giving, and receiving artistic objects as a means to connect Indigenous individuals to family, community, land, nature, and the spiritual and animal worlds. Work 2 Give provides an opportunity to re-engage and support the resurgence of communal productivity and collective citizenship in a decolonizing context. By shifting focus from productive to social and collective citizenship for men in prison, Work 2 Give allows for the restoration of belonging and membership for men in prison and in Tŝilhqot'in communities through relational and artistic objects.

By reframing worth as social creation through art and tradition, as opposed to something linked to economic productivity, the potential for collective resurgence and healing against a shared backdrop of colonialism creates a more inclusive space for community and belonging. This pushes back against social assumptions that people in prison "are no longer 'members of the public,'" assumptions made palatable "because we already assume a social and cultural divide between 'us,' the innocent … and 'them,' the dangerous" (Garland 2001, 181–82). Through the creation, giving, and receiving of artistic objects, Work 2 Give provides a framework wherein art can transcend the individual to become collective, creating spaces of relationship and reciprocity in prisons and rural and remote Indigenous communities. Current funding for rehabilitative programs for Indigenous peoples flows from the federal government, a colonial entity that still fails to consider the social, collective, and holistic aspects central to many Indigenous conceptualizations of health and social well-being. However, despite this foundation in individualistic productivity and morality, Work 2 Give exists within federal institutions in British Columbia as a promising contradiction, creating spaces for

collectivity and reciprocity despite funding cuts, marginalization, and neoliberal exclusion. Additional research is being undertaken to explore in more depth the impacts of Work 2 Give and the ways in which this program problematizes imperial notions of productivity while creating opportunities for collective healing and citizenship in a nation slowly working towards reconciliation.

CONCLUSION: LOOKING FORWARD

Reconciliation provides new opportunity for Canadians to create nation-to-nation identity based on new forms of relationships, citizenship, and collectivity. Within the criminal justice context in Canada, efforts to redress inequities of sentencing, rehabilitation, and community release are bound together with Indigenous identity, human rights, and collective and inclusive notions of citizenship. Within the dedicated Work 2 Give prison spaces, the making and giving of items creates therapeutic and aesthetic experiences that provide creative engagement as opposed to the mere distraction of meaningless work. Thus, while a material relationship exists within the process of producing art, furniture, clothing, and toys, the meaning of making and giving is bound up in holistic wellness and relationship, something far more complex than mere production. Making and giving are forms of reconciliation with future potential for nation-to-nation relationships and accountability: for the men with themselves, their fellow inmates, their families, and the recipient Tŝilhqot'in communities. Through Work 2 Give, artistic objects provide creative and valid work that resists the very notion of punishment and deterrence so often used to construct the conditional citizenship and marginal identities of people in prison. At the same time, it also extends beyond the prison walls to create connection and collectivity with Indigenous communities facing similar colonial barriers. In closing, we share the words of one of the participating men:

> Now I am making things for kids who are not unlike me [and] I am becoming someone I never have been, someone who cares, gives, and thinks about others. That's worth more than any prison in the world.

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