

Addressing Violence against Aboriginal Women

FNSP Practicum 2009/10 for Battered Women's Support Services

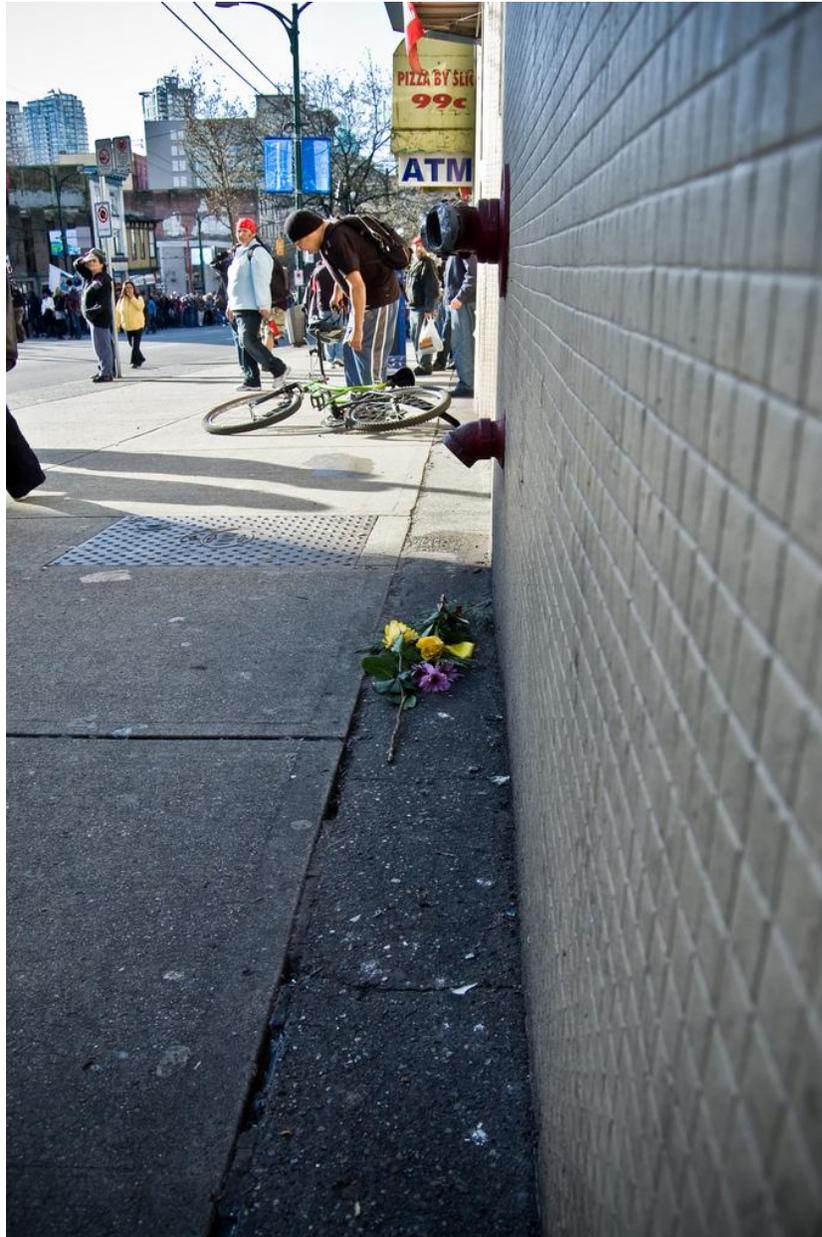


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Review of Selected Literature

In Canada, Aboriginal women are five times more likely than other women to die as a result of violence, and the numbers of Aboriginal women who are currently missing are staggering. This problem is not localized to one civic or provincial region, but is spread across the country; there are reports that more than 520 Aboriginal women are known to be either missing or murdered currently in Canada (NWAC 2008). In response to this crisis, many non government organizations are conducting research and spreading awareness both nationally and internationally such as the Amnesty International *Stolen Sisters* (2004) and *No More Stolen Sisters* (2009) reports. The following two short annotated bibliographies attempt to review some of this emerging literature and identify any gaps or areas for further study.

In the first annotated bibliography below, we have selected sources that focus on academic and grey literature that examine structural and causative issues that lead to abductions and murders of Aboriginal women in Canada. All of our sources are no more than ten years old and the majority of them were written in the last two years. Although not all literature available is included, the selection provides a general and broad overview of the type of resources available. We have listed reports from the Native Women's Association of Canada's *Sisters In Spirit* initiative, which has produced the most extensive and current qualitative and quantitative research data, Amnesty International, and many of the reports from Canadian NGOs to the UN's Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women; these reports are all rich documents that offer information from front line workers, families, and survivors as well as several key recommendations.

Further to this grey literature are a few academic sources; this underscores the need for more awareness, funding and research. Colonialist thinking, jurisdictional barriers, systemic racism, inaction, lack of state institution transparency, lack of funding and many more barriers prohibit the funding and publishing of further research. Among the many significant gaps in available literature are transparent reviews of state institutions that contribute (either actively or passively) to the disappearances and deaths of Aboriginal women. For example, statistics on girls in the care of MCFD who go missing or are murdered, law enforcement inaction, federal, provincial and territorial jurisdictional issues, highway safety and more information is not readily

available. However, as the sources below show, there has been much more community pressure, media attention and NGO support in the last few years which suggests that greater attention is being paid to the issues. As more awareness is raised by the tireless efforts of communities, families, activists and others, the literature should develop further.

The second annotated bibliography is an overview of the literature which addresses issues in policy, legislation and investigations into disappearances and murders of women (particularly those involved in sex work). It is fairly representative of the types of materials available and their relation to the topic. What is clear is that literature in this field is extremely limited and little research is being conducted to examine the involvement of law enforcement in the perpetuation of violence against Aboriginal women in our society.

Of the available academic research, the majority was published in the past 10 years (primarily the past 2-3 years). This is an indication that this is an emerging field and one which is gradually receiving greater attention not only from academics but also from the granting agencies which fund their research. Undoubtedly this is due to the continued and escalating community pressure, and much of the recent research is also likely inspired by and a response to Amnesty International's Stolen Sisters report (2004). Unfortunately, because this research involves such contentious and politically divisive topics as the ongoing effects of colonization, government-sanctioned/legislated racism, and the unethical behaviours of law enforcement in their investigations (or lack thereof) into the disappearances and murders of Aboriginal women and sex workers, this is research that is difficult to secure funding for and difficult to publish. Some of the most revealing literature that is available is that which was actually published by non-academic institutions, i.e. the Amnesty reports and Kim Rossmo's book.

Much of the literature acknowledges law enforcement as being among the major perpetrators of violence against Aboriginal women and in great part responsible for the perpetuation of violence against Aboriginal women. A number of the articles point to the need for police officers to adopt new theoretical frameworks when dealing with cases involving marginalized and oppressed groups (such as Aboriginal women and sex workers). Further, given that statistics confirm that Aboriginal women experience the highest rates of violence and violent death (five times the rate of other women), and given that sex workers account for approximately

75% of serial murder victims (Quinet 2007), when an Aboriginal woman or sex worker is reported missing or found murdered the subsequent investigation must be timely and thorough.

The results of this literature review clearly demonstrate that there is a huge gap in both academic and non-academic literature in examining the role law enforcement plays the disappearances and murders of Aboriginal women in Canada. However, the existing literature is explicit in its indictment of the ways in which law enforcement functions, particularly in investigations involving Aboriginal women and other marginalized peoples, and how police investigations are informed and influenced by larger factors, primarily the failure to question and break away from legislated/institutionalized racism and sexism. If police hope to conduct more “successful” (of course, success in these circumstances is relative) investigations into the disappearances and murders of Aboriginal women, it is imperative that they acknowledge the ongoing oppression that law enforcement encourages, perpetuates, and operates within. Law enforcement organizations must take steps to re-orient their approaches to such investigations in order to account for the ways in which the ongoing oppression and marginalization of particular peoples contributes to particular crime trends and outcomes.

Annotated Bibliography: Structural and Causative Literature

This annotated bibliography attempts to explore selected sources that will support research into structural and causative issues that lead to abductions and murders of Aboriginal women in Canada. Although not complete, it provides material to support a contextual and theoretical research paper with the end result of developing unified safety strategies for Aboriginal women on Canadian highways. Literature ranges from published books, academic articles, and grey literature such as NGO and UN reports. Selected news media sources are listed at the end of the bibliography.

Aleem, R., Czapska, A., Taefi, N., & Webb, A. (2008). *Submission to UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women at its 7th periodic review of Canada*. Justice for Girls & Justice for Girls International. Retrieved November 11, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

Report submitted to CEDAW by NGOs “Justice for Girls” and “Justice for Girls International” in response to the federal government of Canada’s 2008 CEDAW report. This report asserts that the federal government has not lived up to its obligations to the Convention as it pertains to girls (Canadian females under the age of 19). The section that I am particularly interested in is Section 5: “Marginalization of Indigenous Girls”. This report has statistics and references to support the assertion that Indigenous girls are subject to racism, abuse and poverty and are therefore unlikely to report abuses and/or ask for assistance.

Amnesty International. (2004). *Stolen Sisters: A human rights response to discrimination and violence against indigenous women in Canada*. Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved November 15, 2009 from <http://amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/003/2004/en>

In its first *Stolen Sisters* report, Amnesty International (AI) documents the roots of violence against Indigenous (First Nations, Inuit and Métis) women as articulated through research (including interviews the families and others) of missing and murdered women in western Canada. AI asserts that the human rights of Indigenous women are being

violated in Canada not only by the perpetrators of the individual crimes, but also by the colonialist context that is perpetuated through state power structures. The report then looks specifically at nine cases of missing or murdered Indigenous women and finishes with a series of recommendations that include acknowledgment, research and action.

Amnesty International. (2006). *Indigenous women and girls lack critical government support*. Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved November 15, 2009 from <http://amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/003/2006/en>

In this report, Amnesty International (AI) calls on the Canadian public to demand the state to create a comprehensive action plan for the elimination of discrimination against Indigenous women. Highlighting the critical work of Winnipeg NGO Native Women's Transition Centre (NWTC), this article articulates the significant consequences of discrimination and succinctly challenges the Canadian state to recognize its economic obligation to support Indigenous women's organisations of this sort.

Amnesty International. (2008). *Unequal Rights: Ongoing Concerns about Discrimination Against Women in Canada*. (No. AMR 20/008/2008) Retrieved November 15, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

In this 2008 submission to the United Nations CEDAW commission, Amnesty International (AI) asserts that Indigenous women are one of the groups most negatively impacted by Canada's failure to implement UN human rights recommendations. This negligence, AI stresses, is directly responsible for the disproportionate sexualised and racialised violence against Indigenous (First Nations, Inuit and Métis) women; an outcome of which is cases of missing and murdered women that has yet to see justice. The report argues that although cases of missing and murdered women have recently been receiving more public, media and state acknowledgment, there has been an unsatisfactory response. The report calls for a coordinated federal effort to develop effective strategies.

Amnesty International. (2009). *No more stolen sisters: The need for a comprehensive response to discrimination and violence against indigenous women in Canada*. London: Amnesty

International Publications. Retrieved November 15, 2009 from

<http://amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/012/2009/en>

In this follow-up report to Amnesty International's (AI) 2004 *Stolen Sisters* report, AI builds upon previous findings while continuing to assert that deep, systemic racialised and sexualised discrimination places Indigenous women at greater risk for violence in Canada. This new report expressly asserts that predatory men seek out Indigenous women because violent crimes toward these specific victims have been normalised in Canada. Highlighting five areas where Indigenous women continue to experience inequality and marginalisation, this document is an extremely important resource in researching structural and causative issues that lead to abductions and murders of Aboriginal women in Canada. It draws attention to specific women who have gone missing or have been murdered and gives voice to their stories. In conclusion, the report identifies lack of political will as a perpetrator and calls for the government of Canada to recognize its obligation: exercise justice for these women, address deep seeded racism and to ensure the safety of the living.

Canadian Human Rights Commission. (2008). *Submission by the Canadian Human Rights Commission to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women Sixth and Seventh Periodic Reports of Canada under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. Retrieved November 11, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

The CHRC is the Canadian government's agency responsible for handling federal human rights complaints. This report was submitted to CEDAW by the CHRC to support the federal government's 2008 CEDAW report. The CHRC states that government of Canada did not include First Nation's people under the Canadian Human Rights Act until 2008 and argues that the government but asserts that it now protects the rights of all peoples. The CHRC states that it has reduced the amount of complaints as well as the time it takes to process them; this reduction in stats may just signify greater under-reporting.

Carter, S. (2003). Transnational perspectives on the history of Great Plains women: Gender, race, nations, and the forty-ninth parallel. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 33(4), 565-596.

Carter argues in this article that Aboriginal women's issues know no boundary such as the 49th parallel. The theoretical background that she uses (especially gendered, feminist, and transnational) could be applied to a study of the cases of missing and murdered women in Canada. For example, in cases where the FBI has definitively linked the long-haul trucking industry as a vehicle for serial murderers, Canada should be able to look at the same model and apply it north of the border. The article also outlines how the formation of the states of Canada and USA were gendered, racist, and highly discriminatory toward women. Although the bulk of the article is about Plains women's histories, the theory could be applied today.

Cultural Memory Group, The. (2006). *Remembering women murdered by men: memorials across Canada*. Toronto: Sumach Press.

This collaborative book memorialises and gives voice to not only victims of murder but their families. Each chapter looks at memorials in a specific city in Canada except for one chapter that is dedicated to Helen Betty Osborn in The Pas and another on First Nation's memorials that span the country. It is a valuable source as it unites the memories of murdered women and gives voice to those in mourning.

Day, S., Smith, A., & Young, M. (2008). *Inaction and non-compliance: British Columbia's approach to women's inequality*. The Poverty and Human Rights Centre. Retrieved November 11, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

Report from the Poverty and Human Rights Centre (PHRC) to the UN CEDAW hearing that challenges the federal government of Canada's report to the same commission. PHRC represents BC and asserts that Canada is not realizing its obligations under the convention and extensively lists how as well as the consequences. Particularly interesting to this research project is the section named "Violence Against Aboriginal Women" where PHRC makes a connection between government negligence and cases of missing

and murdered Aboriginal women in BC. Overall, this is a powerful document with an extensive list of statistics that highlights both the provincial and federal government's discriminatory negligence toward Aboriginal women.

Fiske, J. (2006). *Boundary Crossings: Power and Marginalisation in the Formation of Canadian Aboriginal Women's Identities*. *Gender & Development*, 14(2), 247-258.

Fiske's article stems from a few different research projects where she interviewed over 200 Aboriginal women in BC. Although this article does not comment directly on missing and murdered women, it does outline systemic problems that contribute to an unequal power distribution between the state and Aboriginal women. This power dynamic, Fiske argues, continuously marginalises Aboriginal women, placing them in an at-risk position for structural violence. The article has a theoretical background that is useful when analysing structural and causative issues that lead to the disappearances and deaths of Aboriginal women.

Gilchrist, K. (2007). *Invisible victims: Disparity in Print-Media Coverage of Missing and Murdered Aboriginal and White Women*. MA thesis, University of Ottawa.

I have not been able to get a copy of this paper, although I have seen it sighted in two other articles. From what I have read in this MA thesis' abstract, the article analyses the print media coverage of six missing/murdered women (three Aboriginal and three white) from a critical gendered and racialised theoretical perspective. I feel that may be an important piece of scholarly work and I hope to be able to read it soon.

Goulding, W. (2001). *Just Another Indian: A Serial Killer and Canada's Indifference*. Calgary: Fifth House Publishers.

This book investigates the context surrounding the murders, trial and media coverage of serial killer John Martin Crawford: a convicted predator that preyed on and killed four (known) Aboriginal women. The killer is also suspected of being involved in the disappearances of three more Aboriginal women from Saskatchewan. Goulding describes the murders, and traces the prosecution, conviction and media coverage of the killer from

arrest to sentencing. The author argues that national indifference and racism played a role in each of the deaths and subsequent media silence. The book is a valuable source as it provides evidence for the systemic racism that silences marginalised voices while perpetuating violence against Aboriginal women in Canada.

Government of Canada. (2008). *Statement by the delegation of Canada to the 42nd session of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* Retrieved November 11, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

This document is the federal government of Canada's official report to the CEDAW commission. The document is highly problematic as it is largely indistinct; when it does site statistics they have little associated qualitative data which make them confusing to analyse. Regarding the treatment of Aboriginal women, the document is filled with vague language such as "significant progress", does not attempt to address the cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada and lists no representation from the western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and BC.

Jacobs, B., & Williams, A. (2008). *Legacy of Residential Schools: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women*. In M. Brant Castellano, L. Archibald & M. DeGagné (Eds.), *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools* (pp. 119-140). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

In this co-written chapter, Jacobs and Williams argue that one of the results of residential school is missing and murdered women. By outlining social, historical and economic dynamics that negatively impact the safety of Aboriginal women, the authors provide a context for the preliminary findings of the NWAC's Sisters in Spirit initiative. They also provide strong recommendations for the federal government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission that include state recognition of its role in the marginalisation of Aboriginal women. In their analysis, Jacobs and Williams argue that Canada is in violation of the *International Convention on Human Rights* by not protecting Aboriginal women's right to live.

Kuokkanen, R. (2008). Globalization as Racialized, Sexualized Violence -- The Case of Indigenous Women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10(2), 216-233.

In the first part of this article, Kuokkanen theorises about the role of globalisation and oppression in the cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada. The author then discusses the murder of a Hopi woman and uses an intersectional approach to link these different instances of murder to colonization, patriarchy and capitalism. Most interesting to me is her assertion that the structures which inform globalisation also force Aboriginal women into dangerously marginalised positions where their safety and lives are threatened. With references to both NWAC's *Sisters in Spirit* initiative and Amnesty International's *Stolen Sisters* report, Kuokkanen successfully builds a theoretical framework where scholars can critically examine the state structures that have led to missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada.

Lheidli T'enneh First Nation, Carrier Sekani Family Services, Prince George Native Friendship Center, & Prince George Nechako Aboriginal Employment & Training Association. (2006). *A Collective Voice for the Victims who have been Silenced: The Highway of Tears Symposium Recommendations Report*. Retrieved November 13, 2009 from <http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/files/PDF/highwayoftearsfinal.pdf>

This report was co-authored by five 2006 Highway of Tears Symposium sponsors; they are all intimately aware of the cases of missing and murdered women in Canada as many of them were from these communities. The report gives a contextual historical background to the Highway of Tears, provides victim profiles and analysis as well as a list of recommendations that call for action. The list of recommendations is extensive and pragmatic; the report is essential and invaluable.

Lowman, John. (2000). Violence and the Outlaw Status of (Street) Prostitution in Canada. *Violence Against Women*, 6(9), 987-1011

An early document that looks at the statistics street (survival) sex-worker murders in the downtown eastside of Vancouver. This article provides a good critique for the systemic colonialist racism of the Vancouver Police Department and a variety of statistics.

McClellan, J. (2008). Delivery Drivers and Long-Haul Truckers: Traveling Serial Murderers. *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 3(2), 171-190.

In the only definitive article I have found yet that asserts there is a direct connection between the long-haul trucking industry and murders, McClellan argues that this industry is a pertinent vehicle for serial killers. The author looks at cases of 27 convicted serial killers who were long-haul truckers by trade and examines their location, modus operandi, victims and other variables with detailed statistical analysis and then offers a set of recommendations. The author is an ex-law enforcement agent and this is evident in her analysis, however it is still a ground breaking piece of academic work.

Mohanty, C. T. (2004). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mohanty's book is an essential theoretical guide for any contemporary feminist researcher who is examining the processes of power, structure and globalisation on Indigenous women. The book has a strong critique for western feminisms and asserts that a gendered gaze is essential when looking at intersections of race and class. The book has an important theoretical framework that will be essential for further research in the project.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2007). *Raising awareness* Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

Part of the NWAC's *Community Education Toolkit*, this document provides information about and a contextual background of the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative. It also is a comprehensive, pragmatic guide for activists who want to raise awareness about violence against Aboriginal women, missing and murdered Aboriginal women, and the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2008). *Navigating the missing person process* Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

Part of the NWAC's *Community Education Toolkit*, this document provides information about the missing person's process through the RCMP, OPP and SQ. It is a very practical guide for families and loved ones, but it is lacking in information for the Territories, Western and Atlantic Provinces.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2008). *Report by the Native Women's Association of Canada on the occasion of the review of the sixth and seventh reports of Canada on its compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

In this report to CEDAW, NWAC outlines the ways in which the federal government has failed to protect the basic human rights of Aboriginal women in Canada. NWAC asserts that the inaction on the part of the state and its institutions has led to a discourse of normalisation insofar as Aboriginal women and girls are viewed as victims of violence and perpetrators of this violence are thus not brought to justice. One of the important recommendations given in this report is that the government make a commitment of seeking justice for the families of missing and murdered women.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2008). *Safety measures for aboriginal women* Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

Part of the NWAC's *Community Education Toolkit*, this document provides practical safety tips for Aboriginal women as well as the contextual background as to why this information is needed. Of the eleven safety and violence prevention resources, three are from BC and the remainder are from Ontario.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2008). *Voices of Our Sisters In Spirit: A research and policy report to families and communities*. Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

In this interim report to the families and communities of missing and murdered women, the NWAC outlines the goals and purpose of the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative, identifies the

research framework, introduces some life stories and reveals some of the interim research results. This document is significant as it provides evidence for the work that the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative is undertaking as well as gives voice to missing or murdered women and the loved ones who are left behind to grieve. The life stories are haunting and beautiful, humanising the victims of racialised and sexualised violence. The preliminary research results include both qualitative and quantitative data gathered from interviews, media sources, RCMP and trial data.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2009). *Research findings, policy challenges and lessons learned: NWAC's sisters in spirit initiative*. Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

This preliminary report by the NWAC discusses the preliminary findings (quantitative and qualitative) as of November 2008 of the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative including policy barriers to research, outcomes, as well as commentary on the causative forces that leads to violence against Aboriginal women. Among the policy areas defined are a reduction of 1) violence, 2) poverty, 3) homelessness and 4) increased access to justice; this report gives clear recommendations in each of these four policy areas. Two emerging policy areas are also identified that deserve note: Aboriginal women's perceptions of safety and the child welfare system. Interestingly, NWAC suggests a possible link between both perpetrators and victims and the Canadian child welfare system. Overall, this paper suggests that an intersectional approach must be taken in order to stop further sexualised and racialised violence against Aboriginal women.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2009). *Sisters in spirit research framework: Reflecting on methodology and process*. Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

In this paper, the NWAC describes the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative's research methods and framework. The paper describes both the methods and preliminary results of qualitative and quantitative research, and discusses barriers to data compilation and analysis. It is a reflexive document that sheds light on the research process, highlighting the positive

aspects of the initiative, possible gaps in the research and areas for critique. The bibliography at the end of the document is informative and applicable for this project.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2009). *Voices of Our Sisters In Spirit: A Report to Families and Communities, 2nd edition* Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/>

In this extensive second edition 109 page report to the families and communities of missing and murdered women, the NWAC outlines the goals and purpose of the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative, describes an expanded research framework, adds to the list of life stories and updates the interim research results (including the addition of ten more women to the list). This document is significant as it provides further evidence for the work that the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative is undertaking as well as gives voice to missing or murdered women and the loved ones who are left behind to grieve. An addition to this report that should be noted is further recommendations that attempt to address systemic racialised and sexualised violence against Aboriginal women that lead to their disappearance or death.

Razack, S. 2002. Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George. in Razack, S. (ed.) *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, pp. 121–56. Toronto: Between the Lines.

This article in an edited volume details the trial of two men who were convicted of murdering Pamela George. Razack explores the implications of colonialist violence in a historical context as it applies to this murder. Important to my research is the structural theory that Razack uses to assess this violent racialised and sexualised murder. Razack describes George as existing in a “zone of violence”; a normalising space which put her at a higher risk for violence and placed the perpetrators outside of this space, less prone to blame or consequence.

Six Nations Women’s Traditional Council Fire, Haudenosaunee, & FORWARD. (2008). *Canada’s Flagrant and Scurrilous Human Rights Violations Against Ogwehó:weh*

Agó:weh (First Nations Women) Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

In this submission the UN CEDAW commission, data was collected from first hand experiences of the council and interviews of thirty women from Six Nations. It outlines violations to Aboriginal women's rights and gives voice to *Ogwehó:weh Agó:weh* at the end of the document. In the introduction to the report, it is stated that it is impossible to divorce gendered discrimination from racial discrimination and the conclusion is that the Canadian state has failed to meet its human rights obligations. Insofar as the report addresses the missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada, the assertion is made that causes of disappearances and deaths are racial and economic.

Smith, Andrea. (2003). *Not an Indian Tradition: The Sexual Colonization of Native Peoples*. *Hypatia* 18(2), 70-85

Smith argues that colonialism is inherently sexually violent and therefore decolonisation efforts cannot be divorced from anti-sexual violence efforts. A pre-cursor to her book, it is an important document to read in researching violence against Aboriginal women in North America.

Smith, A. (2005). *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian genocide*. Cambridge: South End Press.

This is a book essential to understanding causative and structural aspects of gendered, racialised and sexualised violence against Aboriginal women. Smith argues that one of the tools of colonialism is gendered violence- specifically it is a way to dominate the physical bodies of colonised peoples. Intrinsic to her argument is that gendered and sexualised violence cannot be separated from colonialism and an intersectional approach to analysis is essential.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). *Full Report of the Prevalence, Incidence, and Consequences of Violence Against Women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*

(No. NCJ 183781). Washington: National Institute of Justice. Retrieved November 19, 2009 from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/183781.pdf>

Although this source is from the American Institute of Justice and does not specifically address missing and murdered women in Canada, its findings are important and can be used as supporting evidence. What is most interesting to me is the assertion that there are major gaps in research regarding the instances of violence against Indigenous women. The report argues that although it is a known fact that Indigenous women are more at risk to experience violence perpetrated against them, there is little academic research or empirical data available for analysis. The report includes many statistics, but also identifies that there is little analysis of the data specific to Indigenous women.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. (2008).

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women; Canada (No. CEDAW/C/CAN/CO/7). Retrieved November 11, 2009 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws42.htm>

This document contains the concluding remarks of the commission to Canada, including several primary areas for concern and recommendations. In this list of recommendations, CEDAW commends the work of the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative and urges the state to give priority to ending violence against women. The report stresses the committee's concern over the cases of missing and murdered women as well as Canada's subsequent neglect in investigating the causes and not exacting justice. CEDAW urges Canada in this report to investigate if there is a "racialised pattern to the disappearances". The conclusion of the committee's findings is that they are not satisfied with Canada's treatment of women and asked for the state to respond in one year's time. This is unusual as the period to report is usually four to five years. Canada must respond to CEDAW this year.

United Nations, General Assembly. (2003). *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*. Retrieved November 11, 2009 from

<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>

This declaration outlines basic human rights that should be afforded to women and calls for the elimination of gender based violence against women. Of the many rights listed are a few that the state of Canada is in direct violation of by not protecting the rights of women who have disappeared or died due to violent crime. Specifically, the “right to life”, “right to liberty and security of person”, right to equal protection under the law”, “right to be free from all forms of discrimination”, “right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health” and “right not to be subjected to torture, or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” have been violated. Another article of this declaration that Canada is in violation of is article 4: “States should pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating violence against women”. This is an important document that implicates the state as a perpetrator of violence against the missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada.

Annotated Bibliography: Police Investigations

This annotated bibliography is an examination of the literature, both academic and grey, that has been published to-date about the investigations into the disappearances and murders of Aboriginal women in Canada. It includes academic articles, commissioned reports and books, but does not include newspaper articles or other media works. Because the topics discussed in the literature overlap to a great degree, I have listed them alphabetically as I could not find a grouping system that accurately represented the types of literature uncovered.

Cameron, Stevie. *The Pickton File*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007.

This book is written by journalist Stevie Cameron in the style of an expose. While it is not at all academic in nature and is written as a narrative, it does provide good insight into the flawed police investigation of the women missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the political involvement and control of this investigation.

Lambertus, Sandra. *Addressing Violence Perpetrated Against Aboriginal Women in Alberta*. Canada: Alberta Solicitor General Victims of Crime Fund, 2007.

This study, commissioned by the Alberta Solicitor General Victims of Crime Fund, attempts to deepen the understanding of the victimization of Aboriginal women in Alberta. It focuses on a range of services that women access frequently, but looks particularly hard at police forces and their contribution to the cycle of violence that so many Aboriginal women find themselves in. The article links the victimization of Aboriginal women to the oppression of Aboriginal peoples as a whole and argues that the elimination of violence against Aboriginal women will come only when there are successful efforts to improve health, economic independence and self-sufficiency for all Aboriginal people. The study further reports that there needs to be more effective networking and co-ordination between police forces themselves, as well as between the police and other service programs. It argues for a move beyond stop-gap measures like shelters and programs aimed at getting Aboriginal women to contact the police, towards

protective measures that reduce risk of victimization in the first place. Includes a “Suggestions for Action” section which focuses on the roles of government institutions and program providers.

Larsen, E. Nick. "The Effect of Different Police Enforcement Policies on the Control of Prostitution." *Canadian Public Policy* (1996): 40-55.

This article discusses the role of police in the regulation and criminalization of sex work. It examines laws and enforcement of these laws in four major Canadian cities: Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto and focuses on the “communicating law” in each of these cities. It finds that in Vancouver, an enormous gender bias has been reinforced by police departments in the criminalizing of women involved in sex work, while not laying charges against johns. Further, it finds that police stopped responding to “prostitution-related calls” from poorer neighbourhoods, and were conducting sweeps that were pushing more women into these neighbourhoods and into greater danger. It was also found that police forces in all four cities adopted harassment tactics to deter sex workers. While this functioned to reduce public pressure on the police, it did not reduce the number of women involved in sex work, nor did it provide them with a safer environment. It is clear that policies targeting sex workers and sex work must look at structural and causative issues which contribute to women becoming exploited through sex work.

Lowman, John. "Violence and the Outlaw Status of (Street) Prostitution in Canada." *Violence Against Women* (2000): 987-1011.

This article focuses on the *Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics*’ (CCJS) records of the murders of women involved in the sex industry. The article attempts to construct a profile of the murders of sex trade workers and, in doing so, uncovers links between the media, law enforcement, and the ways in which murders of sex trade workers are reported and investigated. The author finds discrepancies between CCJS records of murders of sex workers and the number of murders reported in the media. The CCJS Homicide Survey lists 22 women involved in the sex trade as having been murdered in Vancouver between

1992 and 1998, however newspaper coverage puts the number of women murdered in that time frame at 32. The article is critical of local police response to women missing from the DTES as well as police treatment of sex workers and the danger this puts women in. Lowman suggests that policy-makers engage directly with sex workers in order to make their environment safer. Further argues that politicians must address fundamental issues leading to sex work and the exploitation of women and children in Canada: effects of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples, feminization of poverty, addiction, sexual exploitation, and violent male sexual expression.

Fellmeth, Aaron Xavier. "Feminism and International Law: Theory, Methodology and Substantive Reform." *Human Rights Quarterly* (2000): 658-733.

This article focuses on the feminist critique of international law. It argues that, unlike individual federal laws, international law increasingly displays little to no gender bias and does formally account for most human rights concerns that are unique or exclusive to women. The article argues that while international law cannot directly police countries, it can leverage improvement within states in regards to women's concerns through economic sanctions and the impact of negative international public opinion. Further, if a state fails to employ available police powers and court procedures to adequately investigate and punish violations of women's human rights, it would be violating its obligations under CEDAW and certain other human rights conventions; certainly, Canada would fall into this category.

Geller, William A., Norval Morris. "Relations Between Federal and Local Police." *Crime and Justice* (1992): 231-348.

While this article focuses on law enforcement in the United States, it is still applicable to Canada in comparing the relationship between local municipal police departments and the RCMP. This article argues that there is little rational basis for delineating between federal and nonfederal jurisdiction and that the separation is primarily politically-based, with no regard for efficacy. The article points to political inefficiency and the

squandering of already scarce resources as important factors when considering the overlap (or lack thereof) of police forces and their investigations.

Goulding, W. (2001). *Just Another Indian: A Serial Killer and Canada's Indifference*. Calgary: Fifth House Publishers.

This book takes a critical look at attitudes that many in Canada hold in regards to the lives of Aboriginal women. Goulding argues that the media and the public's dismissal of the murders of Aboriginal women and the lack of rigorous investigation on the part of police forces is part of a predominant culture of racism and oppression that exists in this country.

Graham, Erin. "Harm Re(pro)duction and Prostitution: Why Settle?" *Unknown Journal* (2009): 93-100.

This article is written as a feminist, anti-violence critique of exclusive reliance on harm reduction services directed to sex workers in the DTES. It argues that policies regarding prostitution take into account solely issues of harm reduction and do not look at causative issues, nor do they have a liberatory goal. Further, it states, if society "can reproduce inequality, surely we can produce equality." It takes issue with harm reduction strategies for avoiding any analysis of intersections of gender, race and class inequities which contribute to the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women. Argues that while it is indeed important for policy-makers to listen to exploited women, they must not ignore fundamental messages about the violence and oppression that they face but about which they may not speak.

Janssen, Patricia A., Kate Gibson, Raven Bowen, Patricia M. Spittal, Karen L. Petersen. "Peer Support using a Mobile Access Van Promotes Safety and Harm Reduction Strategies among Sex Trade Workers in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside." *Journal of Urban Health* (2009): 804-809.

This focus of this article is Vancouver's Mobile Access Project (MAP) van which provides services to sex workers in the Downtown Eastside and surrounding

neighbourhoods. Indicates that the MAP van is an essential resource for harm-reduction and has prevented numerous physical and sexual assaults of sex workers, as well as spreading the word and collecting information about 'bad dates'. Unfortunately, however, there is little cooperation from the VAPD to share information on bad dates with MAP workers, which contributes to placing sex workers at greater risk.

Kennedy, Leslie W., David R. Forde, Robert A. Silverman. "Understanding Homicide Trends: Issues in Disaggregation for National and Cross-National Comparisons." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* (1989): 479-486.

This article argues for the use of aggregate-data in order to identify national and cross-national murder trends in Canada and the United States. It further argues that using aggregate data would allow police to more easily identify trends based on type, region, circumstance and racial characteristics. The article suggests that a dis-aggregation of statistics requires the formulation of different theoretical orientations on the part of police to explain and investigate murders; however this shift may be what is needed in some instances, particularly in murders involving Aboriginal or other marginalized peoples.

Mann, Michelle M. "Aboriginal Women: An Issues Backgrounder." 2005.

This issues backgrounder examines the wide array of policy and social issues that affect the lives of Aboriginal women in Canada. It clearly outlines these policies and issues in a straightforward, easily understandable manner and explains how these factors are detrimental to Aboriginal women's autonomy and status in society.

Ed. Preugger, Valerie J. "Thunder Bay Police Service: Analysis of Policy & Procedure Manual." *Policy and Procedure Analysis*. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Police Service, March 2007.

This analysis of Thunder Bay Police Service's *Policy & Procedure Manual* was commissioned by TBPS to address issues with the manual. While many of the recommendations were semantic in nature, simply involving the re-wording of certain sections to appear more inclusive and multicultural, the revisions to one section were particularly interesting. Under chapter 37 – *Missing Persons* it states, "It might be useful

to add Aboriginal women and prostitutes (sextrade workers) to the list of high risk victims. While these people are adults, they are often the target of predators and the least likely to be investigated right away due to the transient and unpredictable nature of their lifestyles.”

Quinet, Kenna. "The Missing Missing: Toward a Quantification of Serial Murder Victimization in the United States." *Homicide Studies* (2007): 318-340.

This article looks at the reporting and investigating of serial murder victims in the United States. While in the early 1980's, statistic figures of serial murder victims were somewhat exaggerated, it is widely believed that current estimates are gross underestimations. This study examined statistics from missing persons databases, unidentified remains, and misidentified remains in order to form a more complete estimate of the number of yet uncounted serial murder victims. This study led to a lower estimate of an additional 182 and an upper estimate of 1,832 serial murder victims per year in the United States. The article argues that understanding the real number of serial murder victims may prompt police forces to be more critical of their own investigations. This is particularly important in the investigations of missing Aboriginal women and sex workers as it has been shown that these women are less likely to be reported as missing and their disappearances less likely to be thoroughly investigated. As such, they fall into a category that this article terms “the missing missing”. The article suggests that the number of “missing missing” sex workers may be much higher than anticipated, as 65% of all serial murder victims are female, and approximately 75% of all known female serial murder victims are sex workers. Using the lower estimates of these statistics, it would follow that if there are 120-180 victims of serial killers per year, 59-88 of those victims would be female sex workers.

Rossmo, D. Kim. *Criminal investigative failures: avoiding the pitfalls*. Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis, 2008.

Written by VPD Inspector Kim Rossmo, this book discusses the trend of under-investigation of particular cases by police. It discusses issues leading up to investigative

failures, including: tunnel vision, cognitive biases, errors in reasoning, rumour, ego, misinterpretation of data. This book was inspired by the eventual, yet flawed, investigation into the disappearances and murders of women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, which is discussed in most detail in Chapter 3. As the author states in the book's introduction, "[this case] was a terrible but not atypical example of a criminal investigative failure – too little, done too late, by a disinterested Major Crime Section."

Seshia, Maya. *The Unheard Speak Out: Street Sexual Exploitation in Winnipeg*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2005.

This study conducted by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives examines the nature of street sexual exploitation of (mostly) Aboriginal women in Winnipeg. It situates street sexual exploitation within the context of colonization and explains the relative ineffectiveness of "supports" for exploited women. It lists a number of conclusions and recommendations in the 6th chapter.

Sethi, Anupriya. "Domestic Sex Trafficking of Aboriginal Girls in Canada: Issues and Implications." *First Peoples Child & Family Review* (2007): 57-71.

This article refers to colonization and the residential school system as key factors behind the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women and girls. It argues that because of a lack of awareness, acknowledgement and understanding of the history of colonization and oppression, few services and policies directed at Aboriginal women and girls, particularly those who sexually exploited, are effective or even appropriate. It also points to broader policy issues of recognition of rights of Aboriginal women. The article goes on to outline a number of Policy Recommendations, including establishing a national level strategy for domestic trafficking of Aboriginal women and girls, bridging the policy-practice gap, establishing a preventative rather than reactionary approach, and the development and implementation of culturally-relevant services. There are also a number of legislative reforms that are pointed to as being crucial in order to change the gendered nature of racial discrimination against Aboriginal women.

Scott, Susan. *All Our Sisters: Stories of Homeless Women Across Canada*. Toronto: Higher Education University of Toronto, 2007.

This book is a compilation of stories of homeless women from across Canada, situated within a larger context of racism, sexism, classism and colonization. Missing and murdered women are mentioned a number of times in the book, and both the RCMP-VPD Missing Women Joint Task Force and Alberta's Project KARE investigations are examined. The book lists law enforcers as individuals responsible for perpetrating violence against Aboriginal women.

Weaver, Hilary N. "The Colonial Context of Violence: Reflections on Violence in the Lives of Native American Women." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (2008): 1-12.

This article situates violence against Aboriginal women within the larger context of colonization and the ongoing violence of oppression and marginalization. It explains that "to understand the violence in the lives of First Nations women, it is important to have some understanding of their social environment or the context that allows, and in fact promotes, violence against Native people." The article goes on to critically examine colonization and the impacts it has had and continues to have on the lives of Aboriginal peoples. Further it states, 80% of attacks against Aboriginal women, and 90% of sexual assaults are perpetrated by non-Aboriginal people, and that this is likely an underestimation. Because police are some of the main perpetrators of the legacy of colonization and their responses to violence against Aboriginal women largely dictate whether those women are helped and whether their attackers are prosecuted, police are seen as pivotal agents in the fight against violence against Aboriginal women.

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Canada's Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Situating colonialism at the center of this violence

Prepared by: Jamie Cooper
For: Battered Women's Support Services
February, 2010

I would like to start by first acknowledging the Coast Salish people, on whose unceded traditional territory I was born and continue to live. hay ce:p q̓ə, si:y̓e:m̓ məsteyəxʷ! In October 2009, as a student in the UBC First Nations Studies 400 practicum class, on behalf of Battered Women's Support Services, I began to research if there is a connection between the trucking industry and cases of missing and murdered women in Western Canada. I started by researching the structural and causative issues that lead to abductions and murders of women and then attempted to contact members of the trucking industry for interviews. As expected, this did not go far. I was unable to receive any response from the Canadian trucking industry, even though the FBI has made solid connections and convictions of long haul truck drivers in several murders below the 49th parallel. The result of my research is the following paper. I have tried to maintain a theoretical framework that looks at intersections between race, gender, colonialism and inequality- knowing full well that as a member of the settler society and an undergraduate student, I will not be able to fully examine nor explain the tragedy of Canada's missing and murdered Indigenous Sisters.

Setting the Stage: Historical Context of Colonialism in Canada

No examination of violence against Indigenous¹ women can be made without first positioning colonisation at the centre of such analysis. Amnesty International's *Stolen Sisters* report argues that Canada's history of colonial violence has "pushed a disproportionate number of Indigenous women into dangerous situations that include extreme poverty, homelessness and prostitution" (2004). It is thus paramount to understand the context of colonisation in Canada in order to begin to understand the structural problems and barriers that lead to serious numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada. Although this paper cannot speak to the

¹ I feel the need to clarify why I use each identification term as the politics of identification are rife with colonial problems. In most cases, I try as much as possible to refer to a community name as this respects the right to self-determination. This is sometimes not possible especially in the context of this paper as I must generalise a lot; in this case I try to use the term "Indigenous" as it is internationally recognised. I use the term "Aboriginal" in the context of legislation and common vernacular although it is imposed identification by the outside. "Aboriginal" is defined in the *Constitution Act, 1982* as referring to Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. "Indian" is used only in reference to *Indian Act* legislation, and "First Nation" when referring to a nation or a band.

existence of violence against women before European contact, there is much documented evidence of the increase of violence against Indigenous women after the settler society came to this land and Canada started developing into a political state. Only after an examination of the roots of colonisation can we get a much clearer understanding of how these colonialist attitudes and practices are perpetuated today, further impacting the lives of Indigenous women.

From the time that the first European explorers came to turtle island until shortly after the settler society followed, Europeans were highly dependent on the cooperation and assistance of Indigenous women (Lawrence 2003). This quickly changed when the Euro-North American governments started forming and the issue of land became central. As the settler society started enacting legislation “based on colonialist assumptions about race, Nativeness, and civilization” (Lawrence 2003, 24), discrimination against Indigenous women increased (Amnesty International 2004). Colonists sought to appropriate land and did so through legislatively overpowering Aboriginal peoples and removing them from their traditional land base. In 1763, the *Royal Proclamation* was touted as a protective piece of legislation that set out to acknowledge a nation-to-nation relationship between Indigenous peoples and the settler society. Insofar First Nations were told that the proclamation would protect their right to self-determination, land and sustenance, the crown misled them. The document was patriarchal in nature as it defined the crown as being the final authority, and created divisions between British and Indian lands and who could acquire them. The first reserves were created in the 1830s as more settlers arrived and the government wanted them to occupy more land. By the 1850s, new legislation was brought forth that defined what Indian identity was and restricted persons with that identity to specific areas. In effect, all this legislation caged Indigenous peoples within social

categories set from without and imprisoned them on small reserve lands, assuring more territory was available for the settler society.

Two further pieces of legislation, the *1857 Gradual Civilization Act* and *1869 Gradual Enfranchisement Act*, also reduced Indigenous people's land bases, discriminated against women, and reinforced the false colonialist assumption that Indigenous people were not persons (RCAP 1996, Lawrence 2003). Both were only applicable to Aboriginal men and if the time came where the enfranchisement happened, a woman had no personal choice and would be automatically enfranchised with her husband (RCAP 1996, Amnesty International 2004). The list of racist and sexist legislation is long and continues to grow, but the *1876 Indian Act* is certainly the most harmful legislation that is still in effect today.

Created as a consolidation of all previous legislation, the Indian Act defined identity, government and land, essentially making Aboriginal peoples wards of the state (RCAP 1996). More important to this argument, however, was that the Indian Act removed status and band membership from any Aboriginal woman who married a non-status man. As Bonita Lawrence asserts this "loss of status was only one of many statutes that lowered the power of Native women in their societies relative to men" (8) and that "constant colonial incursions into Native spaces generate almost unimaginable levels of violence" (5). In the colonizing government's eyes, women were seen as property, not people, and therefore any rights afforded to a person was removed and transferred to men, who were thus viewed as holders of property- women. These policies pushed Aboriginal women off of their traditional territory and away from their communities.

Residential schools also reified colonial violence from 1879 to 1996. Mandatory for all Aboriginal children to attend, these schools separated children from their families and communities, forcing them to speak English and worship according to European Christian customs while inflicting great physical, emotional and sexual abuse, poor living conditions, lack of adequate medical care and food on them. Many argue that residential schools were a tactical assimilation tool that resulted in cultural genocide, which was less expensive to perform than physical genocide (Amnesty International 2004, Smith 2005, Jacobs and Williams 2008, etc). Smith argues that the main objective of residential schools toward girls “was to inculcate patriarchal norms into Native communities so that women would lose their place of leadership in Native communities” (2005, 37). Norms such as the subjugation of women’s bodies, victimization of women, domination of men, hierarchical categories, and violence against women.

The emotional impacts of residential schools are excruciating and arguably a large contributor to violence perpetrated against Indigenous women today. Furthermore, the residual impacts of residential schools are felt by the families of missing and murdered women. The Native Women’s Association asserts that

"many of the resulting issues that have affected families of the missing and murdered Aboriginal women are the result of the detrimental effects of the residential school system. The grief, blame, and shame that many Aboriginal people experience are emotions that many families of the missing and murdered are feeling. Many families have not come forward for many reasons, whether it is based on shame and grief or whether the negative effect of addictions has also had an impact." (135)

This statement suggests the actual numbers of missing and murdered women may be much larger than we know. In short, one of the major legacies of residential schools is that “many Aboriginal women today continue to be challenged by fundamental issues of safety and survival” (Jacobs and Williams, 121).

Perpetuating Violence: Current Colonialist Structures

As I have tried to illustrate, the colonial government has consistently ordered power into a set of hierarchical structures that promote the dispossession of Indigenous women from their lands and self-determining capacities. The Indian Act was amended in 1985 by the passing of Bill C-31 which tried to address the areas where it discriminated against women yet many believe that this goal was not adequately realised (Jacobs and Williams 2008). Further to this discriminatory legislation, violence against Indigenous women is rampant in Canadian state structures; attitudes, policies and negligence have a tremendously negative impact on their lives.

Within state institutions such as law enforcement, systemic racism also perpetuates colonial violence that further marginalizes Indigenous women. It is a well known and documented fact that First Nations peoples and communities are over-policed insofar as law enforcement is concerned yet there is a lack of response in peacekeeping or when violence or abductions are reported (Amnesty International 2004, RCAP 1996, Jacobs and Williams 2008, Lowman 2000, etc). The *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* argues that “when compared to non-Aboriginal communities, Aboriginal communities received proportionately greater law enforcement attention and proportionately less peace-keeping and other services” (RCAP 1996). Lowman further states that the VPD do not investigate reports of missing women from the downtown eastside because “many street-involved women do not have close family ties, and may deliberately go “missing” for any number of reasons” (2000). Amnesty International’s *Stolen Sisters* report articulates this problem as such:

“... both the perpetrators of violence against women and those who administer the criminal justice system - judges, prosecutors, police - often hold the pervasive view that women are responsible for violence committed against them or that they deserve to be punished for non-conforming behaviour. So even when a woman does overcome these barriers and report that she has been the victim of a violent attack, she may well meet

with an unsympathetic or skeptical response. In the few cases in which a suspect is identified and brought to trial, cases of violence against women often flounder unless there is clear and unavoidable evidence of force, illustrating to all that the victim "fought back".” (Amnesty International 2004).

With this kind of overwhelming evidence, the state should take a serious look at the ingrained systemic racist colonial violence and implement the many recommendations put forth by RCAP, Amnesty International, the Highway of Tears Symposium and other reports.

Barriers

Arguably, classic feminism lacks the voice of Indigenous women’s gender analysis as it states that all women are equally oppressed by men. This polarizing discourse creates a binary opposition of male vs. female from a Euro-North American perspective. This discourse marginalizes and “others” those who either do not fit neatly into these categories, self-identify outside of the duality, or articulate from a racialised identity. Indigenous women “do not just face quantitatively more issues when they suffer violence... but their experience is qualitatively different from that of white women” (Smith 2005:8). What does this mean for white leaders of feminist women-serving organizations? That they often unknowingly create barriers to services for women who most need them.

Most of the feminist women-serving organizations in BC are found to be inaccessible by Aboriginal women because of a lack of Aboriginal representation and a practice of feminism that is not informed from an Aboriginal perspective. Very few women’s organizations have Aboriginal board or staff members and those positions that are filled by Aboriginal women are either overworked, spending hours on isolated highways travelling between communities or relegated to menial positions. White middle class feminists are seen by many as the gate keepers of women’s organizations and while Aboriginal women are underrepresented in staff positions

the organizations are more than happy when Aboriginal women use the services. This is another example of how patriarchal colonialist thinking so permeates today's neo-liberal services. It's a racist and patronizing benefactor mentality, dating back to our colonial roots, where Indigenous people are viewed as wards that must be helped that is so damaging and acts as a barrier to service use.

Women's organizations can decolonize their practice by embracing a paradigm shift where services are informed from an Indigenous perspective. This means white feminist leaders must let go of power: employ Aboriginal women as staff in positions of influence and board members who can shape policy, programs and services. Decolonizing women's organizations in practice means creating models of anti-violence services that prevent, activate, and advocate; rooted in an understanding of the colonialist making of this nation, rooted in an historical understanding of Indigenous populations and informed by Indigenous women whose families have been the caretakers of this land since time immemorial. As Andrea Smith articulates, "the lives and histories of women of color call on us to radically rethink all models" and develop "a holistic strategy for ending violence" (2005:152-153).

This is not meant to undermine the work of Canadian women's anti-violence organisations, nor the circumstances in which they practice; redressing the effects of colonisation is imperative but challenging. Organisations are vulnerable in that they receive small, fluctuating funding while they carry massive responsibilities, have very little power and face many obstacles to service delivery. There are major funding issues beyond a lack of financial support; many services are federally funded by the government which represents the colonialist system that continuously perpetrates violence against Aboriginal women. Also, funding "lags behind the

growth in the urban Indigenous population” (Amnesty International 2004). Recruitment poses another challenge to women’s organizations as it is often difficult, requiring a strong commitment to ending violence against Indigenous women and a consistent commitment to being engaged within First Nation communities, working in them and supporting them in higher capacities.

Inaction means no justice: Violence does not stop nor change at the 49th parallel

In April of 2009, the FBI announced their Highway Serial Killings Initiative in a report that exposes a clear connection between long-haul truckers and cases of missing and/or murdered women in the USA. The initiative began when investigators used the FBI’s national Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (ViCAP) to analyse cases of murdered women found along highways in the US and positive linkages were found that lead to the arrest of over 10 serial killers employed in the long haul trucking industry. According to the FBI’s press release, the victims “are primarily women who are living high-risk, transient lifestyles, often involving substance abuse and prostitution. They’re frequently picked up at truck stops or service stations and sexually assaulted, murdered, and dumped along a highway” (FBI 2009). This modus operandi sounds chillingly too familiar to the many cases of murdered Indigenous girls and women in our country.

A similar study conducted by Janet McClellan, an academic and former law enforcement officer, found “22 United States-male citizens and 1 female who used their occupational travel as a foundation for murder. Additionally, five male subjects hailing from international locations were also identified as truck and delivery drivers or as using their distance travel as a means of employment and access to potential victims” (McClellan 2008, 174). Given this evidence, it

seems astonishing that Canada has not looked into the possibility of a connection between the long haul trucking industry here and our unsolved cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women. My research partner and I have reached out to the trucking industry and law enforcement to discuss this but have received no response. When Angela MacDougal of Battered Women's Support Services brought this to the attention of the press in 2009, she was silenced quickly by "experts" who dismissed her concerns. Contrary to what many would like to believe, violence does not stop at the 49th parallel.

McClellan reasons that "the invisibility of a highly mobile vehicle and the transient nature of truck hauling and delivery route vehicles is derived from a number of factors:

1. the general populace is familiar with delivery and transport vehicles in communities and vehicles traveling through communities renders them ubiquitous;
2. dual licensing of vehicles and containers complicates identities and recall of license identification;
3. familiarity and acceptance of vehicles providing services, deliveries, and materials transport frequently render recall problematic;
4. people's memories are often inaccurate" (177-181).

McClellan continues with startling statistics: "in the United States the number of victims associated with the 22 truckers committing serial murder was established as 80, and of those the vast majority were females (64). Hitchhikers and prostitutes were the most frequent victims of the serial predations, accounting for 47 victims. Children accounted for 6 victims" (181). With these startling statistics, it seems that a link between the long-haul trucking industry as a vehicle for serial predators and the cases of missing and murdered women in Canada should take little effort to comprehend.

Canada uses a similar national violent crime database as the FBI, called the Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (ViCLAS) but the RCMP admits that there are a large number

of crimes that do not get entered into the database. There are a small “number of cases being put on the system, as compared to the currently much larger number of cases that qualify as ViCLAS reportable cases” (RCMP 2008). By the time the Highway of Tears Symposium was held in Prince George in 2006, ViCLAS had been available for use by the RCMP in British Columbia for approximately 15 years. Since the implementation of ViCLAS, Ramona Wilson, Roxanna Thiara, Allishia Germaine and AieLah Saric Auger have all been murdered along the highway of tears (highway 16 in northern BC) and their cases remain unsolved. Nineteen other cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women have been reported by the *Sisters In Spirit* report since the implementation of ViCLAS and countless more have gone unreported (NWAC 2009) Currently, ViCLAS reporting is only mandatory in Ontario and Quebec.

Conclusion

I have tried to illustrate (albeit in essentialised form) that to the extent colonialist forces undermined the very personhood of Indigenous peoples, they further marginalized Indigenous women. Because of this marginalization, a vast number of services are not accessible to or not even on the scope of at-risk women in this population. In seeking justice for the over 520 missing and murdered Aboriginal women, the governments, law enforcement and anti-violence service organizations must undertake a paradigm shift. That includes redressing the effects of colonialism, listening to communities and communicating, educating themselves and the mainstream society, and developing specific safety strategies with Aboriginal women. ViCLAS reporting should be accessible and mandatory to all RCMP and municipal officers. It is also imperative that the recommendations from the 2006 Highway of Tears Symposium (Victim Prevention, Emergency Planning and Team response, Victim Family Counseling and Support, Community Development and Support) be implemented.

On March 4th, 2010 the federal government budget allowed for ten million dollars to fund a national investigation into the cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women. While this gesture is needed and appreciated it is not enough to just investigate what happened; justice and closure for families means more than an investigation. We must continue to advocate for funding and change that will prevent any more violence against Indigenous girls and women.

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Implementing a Women’s Memorial March

A Report and Guide for Saskatchewan



Photo by Blackbird http://www.flickr.com/photos/blackbird_hollow/

**Prepared by: Jamie Cooper and Tanisha Salomons
For: Battered Women’s Support Services
February 2010**

Introduction

In Canada, Aboriginal women are five times more likely than other women to die as a result of violence, and the number of Aboriginal women who go missing without a trace is staggering. There are reports that more than 520 Aboriginal women are missing in Canada, and approximately 13% of these women are from Saskatchewan (Sisters In Spirit 2008). As Morgan O'Neal reports, "statistical evidence show[s] that almost half of the missing persons in Saskatchewan are Aboriginal, yet they represent only 14% of the population as a whole" (2009).

In response to this crisis, communities across Canada have organized annual Women's Memorial Marches to honour the lives of women that have been lost to violence, raise public awareness, and pressure our police and our government to act. Annual marches are now held in Calgary, Edmonton, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Victoria.

History of the Vancouver Women's Memorial March

From <http://womensmemorialmarch.wordpress.com/about/>

"In January 1991 a woman was murdered on Powell Street. Her name is not spoken today out of respect for the wishes of her family. This woman's murder in particular was the catalyst that moved women into action. Out of this sense of hopelessness and anger came an annual march on Valentine's Day to express compassion, community, and caring for all women in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Coast Salish Territories.

Decades later, the march continues to honour the lives of missing and murdered women. This event is organized and led by women in the DTES because women, especially Indigenous women, face physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual violence on a daily basis. The heinous and unimaginable violence that have taken the lives of so many has left a deep void in our hearts. We gather each year to mourn and remember our sisters by listening to their family members, by taking over the streets, and through spiritual ceremonies.

Increasing deaths of many vulnerable women from the DTES still leaves family, friends, loved ones, and community members with an overwhelming sense of grief and loss.

Every year the list of women going missing also increases. Over 3000 women are known to have gone missing or been murdered in Canada since the 1970s. Last year, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women issued this statement: “Hundreds of cases involving aboriginal women who have gone missing or been murdered in the past two decades have neither been fully investigated nor attracted priority attention.”

The February 14th Women’s Memorial March is an opportunity to come together to grieve the loss of our beloved sisters, remember the women who are still missing, and to dedicate ourselves to justice. Please join us.”



Photo by NoFutureFace <http://www.flickr.com/photos/nofutureface/>

Steps to take: Organise a Memorial March in Your City

Education

It is important that both your organisation and the greater public understand why the march is being held. You may also wish to take the time to familiarise yourself with recent developments, particularly the government and police response.

Location

Choosing the location and route of your march is an important step that should be considered early in the planning process. If there is sufficient interest, there may be reason to hold marches in more than one location in the province; in BC, marches are held in both Vancouver and Victoria. Be sure to plan the start point, route, and end point in detail, and choose a visible location that is contextually appropriate. This may mean marching along a main street, or in an area of high sex trafficking. Some marches make stops at police stations and at places where women were last seen or where their remains have been found.

If you plan to hold a gathering before and/or after your march, the location of that gathering may be a factor when choosing your route.

Permission

Once your route is chosen, depending on your municipal/city bylaws, you may want to contact your police department to inform them about the march. Depending on their particular protocol, they may or may not issue a permit. The contact information for the police departments in La Ronge, Regina and Saskatoon are as follows:

La Ronge RCMP
1603 Bay Avenue
La Ronge, SK S0J 1L0
Tel: (306) 425-6730

Regina Police Service
Box 196
Regina, SK S4P 2Z8
Tel: (306) 777-6500

Saskatoon Police Service
PoliceService@Saskatoon.ca

*PO Box 1728
Saskatoon, SK S7K 3R6
Tel: (306) 975-8300*

Publicity and Networking

Networking and publicity are very important for a successful memorial march, in fact publicity is one of the main reasons we march. You will want to contact press, community members, and the wider public. When you reach out to broader public, explain why the women's memorial march is important to feminist organizations, anti-racism organizations, immigrant organizations, equity organizations, housing advocates and others. To do this, make use of social networking tools (facebook groups and event pages work very well), announcements and word of mouth; create posters, attend community events, give presentations, press conferences, and send out press releases (see [List of Media Contacts](#)) prior to and following the march.

Fundraising

Fundraising is an important part of organizing a march in your city. Funds will be needed for posters, banners, media kits, blankets, gifts, flowers, sound system rentals, food and more. Art auctions are a very good way to raise funds and awareness at the same time. You may also want to send a call out to your organisation's contacts for donations or utilize other creative means of fundraising.

Plan

The first thing that needs to be planned is the route of the march. You may wish to pause at particular places where a woman was last seen, or where a woman was found and perform ceremonies or leave flowers at these places. An important aspect to consider is whether media will have permission to film at these sacred and emotional points; this is an important aspect of planning that family and community members should be consulted on.

Once these important steps have been planned, the next decision is who will lead the march (in Vancouver, Aboriginal women elders lead) and how it will begin. Friends and family may wish to form a circle and smudge prior to the start of the march and as it sets off, you may want volunteer marshals to direct participants (particularly if you will be

marching in the street and potentially disrupting traffic). If your march is sufficiently large you may need to use walkie-talkies or other mass communication tools.

Next, decide whether there will be an opening song (in Vancouver, the women's warrior song is sung at the start and throughout the march). You may wish to stop during a midpoint of the march and have speeches from a few family members or community activists. In Vancouver, we pause at the police station to draw attention the VPD's inaction and negligence in their investigation into the disappearances of so many women. Speeches are held on the front steps of the station.

You may want to plan events that take place prior to or following the march; a gathering for friends/family of missing or murdered women to speak, grieve, share, heal and share food or smudge may facilitate the beginning or closure of your march.

The next planning step is when all the practical work commences: delegate roles (delegate marshals, speakers, singers, etc); create banners; make contingency plans for weather and disruptive behaviour; purchase supplies and media materials.



Photo by Blackbird http://www.flickr.com/photos/blackbird_hollow/

Preliminary List of Women's Organizations in Saskatchewan

La Ronge:

La Ronge Native Women's Council

www.shelternet.ca

Box 888 La Ronge, SK S0J 1L0

Tel: (306) 425-3900

Fax: (306) 425-4922

Contact Karen Sanderson

Tel: (306) 425-3900

Fax: (306) 425-4922

A volunteer council providing services and support to Aboriginal women on the basis of Aboriginal culture and values. Operates a temporary shelter for mothers and their children who are experiencing family violence circumstances. Co-ordinates education and training programs. Affiliated with the Aboriginal Women's Council of Saskatchewan and the Native Women's Association of Canada.

Northern Saskatchewan Women's Network Inc.

Box 53 La Ronge, SK S0J 1L0

Tel: (306) 754-2079

Fax: (306) 754-2157

Email: inafietzray@yahoo.com

A growing group of women from all regions and cultures of the north who are coming together to reclaim their voices at the decision-making tables. The traditional role of northern women holds the responsibility to love and nurture their families and communities. Northern women also have the responsibility to support northern men to fulfill their responsibility to provide for and protect their families and communities. Northern women's voices must be heard in order to regain balance in the decision-making processes that directly impacts the social, cultural, political and economic growth of northern communities.

Piwapan Women's Centre

Box 888 La Ronge, SK S0J 1L0

Tel: (306) 425-3900

Fax: (306) 425-4922

Contact Linda Cunningham

Tel: (306) 425-3900

Fax: (306) 425-4922

Provides: temporary shelter for mothers and their children who are experiencing family violence circumstances; a safe, caring, confidential environment for mothers and children; educational programming in the areas of safety planning, self-esteem and family violence for both women and children; referral to community resources; Ladies Sharing Circle; Family Healing Circle; and one on one support. Child care is available from 9:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. during mother's morning programming. Also provide advocacy and transportation as required. Sponsored by The La Ronge Native Women's Council Inc.

Maple Creek:

Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge
Maple Creek, SK S0N 1N0
Tel: (306) 662-4700

Facility designed specifically for the unique cultural needs of federally-sentenced Aboriginal women. Provides a setting that promotes healing within a structured and healthy environment. Healing and Aboriginal teachings are the cornerstone of the programs at the Lodge. Will house up to 29 women.

Prince Albert:

Iskwew-Women Helping Women
110-8th Street East Prince Albert, SK S6V 0V7
Phone: (306) 953-6229
Email: lopoonechaw@paphr.sk.ca

Provides counselling; advocacy; support groups for battered women; resource development; and community networking. Sponsored by Co-operative Health Centre.

Prince Albert Mobile Crisis Unit Co-operative
4050-2nd Avenue West Prince Albert, SK S6W 1A2
Fax: (306) 922-9559
Contact Al Reis, Director
Tel: (306) 764-1029
Fax: (306) 922-9559

Has a sexual assault program providing emergency response; short and long-term counselling; and public education. General crisis intervention services include: crisis intervention and counselling; information and referrals, transient aid; family violence intervention, child protection and many others. Acts for Community Resources & Employment at night, on weekends and holidays. Can access services by phone, visiting their office or they can attend at residences or any other location within the City of Prince Albert.

Regina:

Intercultural Grandmothers Uniting

www.uregina.ca/cce/seniors

c/o Seniors' Education Centre Room 106 Gallery Building, University of Regina, SK S4S 0A2

Tel: (306) 585-5816

Email: diane.mullan@uregina.ca

Network of older Saskatchewan First Nations, Métis and other Canadian women who meet and work for the purpose of building bridges of understanding, respect and friendship between the races and the generations. Have three areas of focus: Sustaining and Supporting Older Women in Their Lives and Leadership; Outreach to Youth through the Grandmothers and Youth Violence Prevention Education Project; and Outreach to Children through a story telling project and working to support and mentor young parents.

National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada

2340 Angus Street Regina, SK S4T 2A4

Tel: (306) 787-5915

Fax: (306) 787-8125

Email: nberryman@cicorp.sk.ca

Contact Norma Berryman, Saskatchewan Representative

Tel: (306) 585-3685

Works to ensure equality for immigrant and visible minority women. Especially concerned with sexism, racism, poverty, isolation and violence. Liaises with other national groups and acts as an advocate. Endeavours to heighten public awareness. Works with government and non-government agencies.

Regina Immigrant Women Centre, Inc.

2248 Lorne Street Regina, SK S4P 2M7

Tel: (306) 359-6514

Fax: (306) 522-9959

Email: ivsregina@accesscomm.ca

Contact Rosetta Khalideen, President

Tel: (306) 359-6514

Fax: (306) 522-9959

Operates a drop-in centre where conversation groups are held one evening a month over snacks and coffee; a catering service; provides one-on-one and group counselling and support for immigrant and ethno-cultural women and their families. In partnership with other community agencies conducts research in the area of healthcare, employment, family violence, and recreation. Conducts cross-cultural sensitivity workshops for

community and government agencies. Can be contacted for train-the-trainer sessions on the newly developed Sexual Health Education for Immigrants model. Programs and services subject to change according to funding availability.

Regina Women's Community Centre and Sexual Assault Line

www.reginawomenscentre.com

250-438 Victoria Avenue East Regina, SK S4N 0N7

Tel: (306) 522-2777

Fax: (306) 522-5070

24-hour sexual assault line: (306) 352-0434

Email: rwcc@sasktel.net

Contact Debbie House, Administrator Phone: (306) 522-2777

Purpose is to work toward a non-violent and equitable society by empowering women who have suffered various forms of abuse, and by providing community education and advocacy services. Services include 24-hour crisis line; crisis and long-term counselling; incest survivors' group; reproductive counselling; advocacy, a lending library; and public education.

Street Workers' Advocacy Project (SWAP)

1355 Albert Street Regina, SK S4R 2R6

Tel: (306) 525-1722

Fax: (306) 525-0641

Email: swap@sasktel.net

Advocates for street workers' rights and access to appropriate services. Assists street workers to make their lives safer and to consider alternative lifestyles. Educates the public and youth at risk about street prostitution. A drop-in centre includes services such as referrals; counselling; bad date sheet; street outreach; public education; primary health care; advocacy/support; youth program; and self-help groups.

Saskatoon:

Aboriginal Friendship Centres of Saskatchewan

1615 29th Street West, Saskatoon, SK, Canada S7L 0N6

Tel. (306) 955-0762

Represents its member Friendship Centres in Saskatchewan and provides program administration, statistical data, meeting/event planning, partnerships, advocacy, accountability, information technology support and much more.

Aboriginal Women's Program

www.canadianheritage.gc.ca

Department of Canadian Heritage 310-101-22nd Street East Saskatoon, SK S7K 0E1

Tel: (306) 975-5810

Fax: (306) 975-4675

Email: tamara_young@pch.gc.ca

Enables Aboriginal women to influence policies, programs, legislation and decision-making that affect their social, cultural, economic and political well-being within their own communities and Canadian society while maintaining their cultural distinctiveness and preserving cultural identity. The program funds projects developed by Aboriginal women's organizations to address the issues confronting women of Aboriginal ancestry.

Elizabeth Fry Society of Saskatchewan

www.elizabethfrysask.org

201-165-3rd Avenue South Saskatoon, SK S7K 1L8

Tel: (306) 934-4606

Fax: (306) 652-2933

Email: efry@sasktel.net

Contact Caroleen Wright, Executive Director

Tel: (306) 934-4606

Fax: (306) 652-2933

A community-based voice for women at risk as well as those who are criminalized as a result of poverty, racism, physical, sexual or substance abuse and/or lack of education. Programs and services encourage and end to recidivism and support crime prevention through a social development approach. Offers a Court Worker Program; Volunteer Program; Prison Liaison and Community Outreach; support services and public education.

Iskwewuk E-wichiwitochik

68 Morris Drive Saskatoon, SK S7L 3V2

Email: snflwr12@hotmail.com

Iskwewuk E-wichiwitochik is a coalition of women and men, some representing different groups, activists, academics, and the grass roots. We focus our efforts in providing moral support to the Families of Missing Aboriginal Woman by creating opportunities for them to tell their stories, thereby bringing attention and memory to missing Aboriginal women. We work at raising awareness and prevention through education and political action to the systemic nature of inter-locking issues, such as racism, classism, elitism and colonization which contribute to violence against women; specifically aboriginal woman. We also do this work by being a network of women and groups that work with Aboriginal women. We remain committed to work with other organizations that are committed to social justice and peace.

Saskatchewan First Nations Women's Commission

<http://www.fsin.com/index.php/womens-council-sfnwc.html>

Asimakaniseekan Askiy Reserve Suite 100 - 103A Packham Ave Saskatoon, SK S7N 4K4

Tel: (306) 665-1215

Fax: (306) 244-4413

The SFNWC is extremely busy with various policy issues that impact First Nations women and youth. Currently, files such as exploited children in the sex trade, and First Nations women and violence have been the focus for this year.

Saskatoon Sexual Assault and Information Centre

201 - 506 25th Street East, Saskatoon, SK Canada S7K 4A7

Tel: (306) 244-2294

Fax: (306) 244-6099

Email: ssaic@sasktel.net

The Saskatoon Sexual Assault and Information Centre exists to contend with sexual violence and its effects upon individuals and the community. We aspire to a society where all may achieve their full potential free from sexual violence in any form. We will focus our efforts in support of this mission by: Promoting the healing and empowerment of persons who have experienced sexual violence; Increasing community awareness of sexual violence and its effects; Changing societal attitudes that perpetuate sexual violence; Strengthening collaboration among individuals and organizations working towards the elimination of sexual violence; Contributing to the development of social, legal and educational policies relating to the elimination of sexual violence

Yorkton:

Saskatchewan Aboriginal Women's Circle Corporation

<http://www.sawcc.sk.ca>

P.O. Box 1174 Yorkton, SK S3N 2X3

Telephone: 306.783.1228

Fax: 306.783.1080

Email: sawcc.ahrda@sasktel.net

A provincial organization dedicated to promoting and enhancing the status of Aboriginal women in all areas of our lives. SAWCC works to unite and involve women by addressing issues of concern through education, advocacy, research and resource sharing.

List of Media Contacts

Radio

CBC Radio

Regina Tel: (306) 347-9692

Saskatoon Tel: (306) 956-7414

CFCR 90.5FM Saskatoon

Office Tel: (306) 664-6678

On-air Tel: (306) 242-5002

CJTR 91.3FM Regina

Tel: (306) 525-7274

Email: radius@cjtr.ca kcolhoun@cjtr.ca

Missinipi Broadcasting Corporation

Tel: (306) 425-4003

mbradio@mbradio.com

Radio Canada

Tel: (306) 347-9540

900 CKBI AM PRINCE ALBERT

Tel: (306) 763-7421

Fax: (306) 764-1850

Email : 900ckbi@rawlco.com

News Talk 980 - Regina

Tel: (306) 525-0000

Fax: (306) 347-8557

News Talk 650 - Saskatoon

Tel: (306) 934-2222

Fax: (306) 477-0002

Television

Saskatchewan Communications Network

Tel: (306) 787-0490

Fax: (306) 787-0496

Email: inquiries@scn.ca

CBC Television

Regina Tel: (306) 347-9651

Saskatoon Tel: (306) 956-7430

CTV Online News Team: newsonline@ctv.ca

CTV News: news@ctv.ca

CTV News Channel: ctvnewschannel@ctv.ca

CTV Regina (CKCK)

Tel: (306) 569-2000

Fax: (306) 522-0090

Email: ckck@ctv.ca

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Moose Jaw This Week – Moose Jaw
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The Reviewer – Moose Jaw
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Prince Albert Daily Herald – Prince Albert
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L'eau Vive (French) – Regina
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The Leader-Post – Regina
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Regina Sun – Regina
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The Saskatchewan Senior – Regina
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Eagle Feather News – Saskatoon
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National Newspapers

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NWAC Sisters In Spirit

<http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/awareness.html>

<http://www.nwac->

[hq.org/en/documents/2007.02.26_EducationToolKit_RaisingAwareness_FINAL.pdf](http://www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/2007.02.26_EducationToolKit_RaisingAwareness_FINAL.pdf)