

A Statistical Analysis of the
Manifestation of Structural Violence as Interpersonal Violence

by

Tonya Simpson

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Department of Anthropology
University of Alberta

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Abstract

For the past decade, the disproportionate victimization of Indigenous women across Canada has gained national attention within the spheres of activist organizations, media outlets, and political parties. Although the rates of homicidal violence towards non-Indigenous women have declined over the years, the targeting of Indigenous women persists. This observation suggests that factors unique to the victimization of the latter group exist, and these variables might be sustaining the violence that they continue to experience. Recent dialogue concerning the ongoing violence towards Indigenous women has situated the heightened rates of homicide within the greater contexts of structural violence inflicted upon Indigenous peoples. This structural violence is rooted Canada's colonial history and is maintained by several contemporary social structures.

Provided the recent association between homicidal violence and Canada's colonial foundations affecting Indigenous women, this research project sought to determine if structural violence manifests as unique themes of interpersonal violence within this population that are distinct from major themes of violence affecting other sex and ancestrally-based victim groups. The cases of 183 homicides involving the victimization of Indigenous women, women of Colour, Caucasian women, and males were reviewed from a publicly available victim list, media outlets, and case law databases. Using a variety of statistical tests, the victim and offender profiles, circumstances of homicide, and legal outcomes of the cases were compared. The study found that differences exist in 1) the dominant themes of violence, and 2) the proportions of dominant themes of violence affecting the victim groups. Results indicate that the structural violence affecting Indigenous populations aligns with major themes of interpersonal homicidal violence that this group experiences while accounting for the disproportionate rates of victimization.

Unexpectedly, this study also identified major themes of violence affecting women of Colour motivated by social systems that prioritize honour and female submission. The results of the study are contextualized by theories that understand racially-based differences in interpersonal violence as consequential to differences in the material realities of these groups that are derivative of structural violence.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Tonya Simpson. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “A Demographic Analysis of Homicide Patterns in Alberta”, No. Pro00078829, 2018-06-14.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2014, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) released the results of an investigation into all of the reported incidents of missing and murdered Indigenous women (RCMP, 2014). The report exposed 164 unresolved cases of currently missing Indigenous females and 1, 017 homicide cases involving female Indigenous victims from across all Canadian police jurisdictions between 1980 and 2012. Of these cases, 225 have yet to be resolved. Despite the fact that Indigenous women only comprise 4.3% of the female population in Canada, the demographic represents 11.3% of the total number of missing females in the country (RCMP, 2014). While these statistics are already alarming, the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) asserts that the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls is much greater, nearing 4, 000 victims (Tasker, 2016). Taken together, these data indicate that Indigenous females are overrepresented amongst Canada’s missing and murdered women, an issue that has become known as the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) crisis.

In recent years, the MMIWG crisis has gained national and international attention through diverse social justice platforms. Many government and non-governmental organizations have investigated the issue to varying degrees and have offered recommendations to address the violence. Under the Harper government, the Special Committee on Violence Against Indigenous Women of the House of Commons investigated the crisis and published their findings in the report, “Invisible Women: A Call to Action” (Special Committee, 2014). The report outlines recommendations for ending the violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls. These recommendations largely focus on changing what programs and services are accessible to individuals within this collective, as evidenced by proposing plans to support the families of

victims, communities, and police services through a variety of modifications and additions to services and programming. Additionally, the report primarily considers the experiences of the victim and the perpetrator, demonstrated in the Committee's suggestions to strengthen the criminal justice system, develop a Canadian Victims Bill of Rights, implement a national DNA-based Missing Persons Index, support education to prevent violence, and support programs that allow Indigenous communities to respond to violence. The Committee emphasizes that the experiences of vulnerable individuals ought to be improved. This observation is supported by the Committee's recommendation to support shelters and front-line services, improve child-care services, and to take action to address the sex trade and substance abuse. These recommendations demonstrate that the Special Committee on Violence Against Indigenous Women prioritizes the improvement of individual experience to address the MMIWG crisis, which it presents as a collection of individual and unconnected crimes.

That same year, the Government of Canada also released the "Action Plan to Address Family Violence and Violent Crimes Against Aboriginal Women and Girls" (2014), which announced \$25 million to be devoted to existing government initiatives towards violence prevention and deterrence activities, victim support, front-line services, and the creation of a DNA Missing Persons Index. Since then, the Trudeau government has launched and completed the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) to investigate the "systematic causes of all forms of violence against Indigenous women and girls, including sexual violence" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls [NIMMIWG], n.d., para. 1). After hearing 1484 survivor testimonies, consulting 101 experts, conducting 15 community hearings and additional institutional hearings, speaking with nine knowledge keepers and experts, reviewing past and current research, and conducting a

forensic analysis of police records, the final report was released in June 2019. This report has revealed findings about the systemic causes of violence against Indigenous women and girls rooted in Canada's colonial history and offers suggestions to policies and practices to reduce violence and increase the safety of at-risk individuals. Recommendations cover actions needed to address systemic causes of violence to increase safety in ways that the victims will be honoured (NIMMIWG, 2017; 2019).

Recommendations to end violence towards Indigenous women and girls have come from outside of government commissioned efforts. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) has published "A National Action Plan to End Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls" (2013). The NWAC has produced relevant documents, including "Voices of Our Sisters in Spirit: A Research and Policy Report to Families and Communities" (2009), followed by "What Their Stories Tell Us: Research Findings from the Sisters in Spirit Initiative" (2010). Human rights agencies, such as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2014) and Amnesty International (2004, 2014) have put forward similar reports concerning the violations on the human rights of Indigenous peoples and the heightened violence faced by Indigenous women and girls. Beyond these publications, many Indigenous women and scholars have contributed to the ongoing dialogue through academic literature and books based in the lived experience (Barker, 2008; Burnett & Read, 2012; Campbell, 1973; Dean, 2015; Hargreaves, 2017; Long & Dickason, 2016; Mihesuah, 2003, Monchalin, 2016; Smith, 2015; Suzack et al., 2010; Valaskakis et al., 2009; and Vowel, 2016). As a whole, these writings maintain that violence towards Indigenous women is a derivative of the colonially-imposed reorganizations to Indigenous politics, social structure, economic systems, culture, and spirituality; and assert that effective violence prevention and intervention strategies must address these forms of disruption

and diaspora. Furthermore, information regarding the MMIWG crisis is ever-present in the media. Across Canada, hundreds continue to gather and participate in the annual Valentine's Day Memorial March for Missing and Murdered Women, an event that raises awareness of the MMIWG crisis (Rumbolt, 2018). Perhaps the most explicit program featuring this issue is the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network's (APTN) program, *Taken*, a true crime documentary that focuses on sharing the stories of MMIWG victims in an effort to bring about truth and justice (APTN, n.d.).

Taken together, the widespread nature of this dialogue and the participation of major organizations demonstrates that this issue has warranted attention across national and international social justice spheres. With several contributors informing the severity of the issue, discussing the root causes of the violence, and recommending national systemic action, it seems that the crisis should be nearing resolution. Yet, recent data indicates that in 2018 alone, 148 women and girls were killed by violence in Canada, averaging a violent female death every 2.5 days. Although Indigenous women and girls comprise approximately 5% of the population in Canada, they represented 36% of the women and girls killed by violence, a trend that has been consistent across time (Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability [CFOJA], 2018). These findings are consistent with the RCMP's original report, revealing that while the number of non-Indigenous female homicide victims has been declining over time, the number of Indigenous homicide victims has remained relatively constant. As a result, their representation amongst female homicide victims has increased from 8% in 1984 to 23% in 2012 (RCMP, 2014). Thus, despite the mounting attention towards this crisis, Indigenous women continue to be victimized at disproportionate rates. The discrepancy between the amount of attention that seems to be given to this issue and the continuance of the disproportionate victimization of Indigenous

females warrants the question: What is unique about the violent targeting of Indigenous women and girls that allows for its persistence while the victimization of non-Indigenous women continues to decline?

As differences in the trends between the victimization of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women have become apparent, several members and member organizations of the Indigenous community have offered their insight regarding the colonial nature of violence towards Indigenous women. Indigenous scholars and activists assert that historical and contemporary violence affecting Indigenous women and girls stems from entirely different sources than violence affecting non-Indigenous women, and thus, solutions that solely reduce the crisis to individual acts of crime are considered insufficient in violence prevention and intervention with respect to this issue. Specifically, this group identifies major disruptions in gender harmonies and economic, political, and social systems in combination with the introduction of multiple risk factors introduced throughout North America's colonial history as a primary systemic source of gendered and racialized violence. Because Indigenous women were intentionally disempowered to allow for the patriarchal and Euro-centric visions of colonialism, several members of the Indigenous community contend that this process has left Indigenous women to be viewed as exploitable and disposable within a society that supports their marginalization, rendering them disproportionately vulnerable to violence. Based on these perspectives, Indigenous scholars and activists tend to discuss gendered and racialized violence in unison with state violence (Barker, 2008; Burnett & Read, 2012; Campbell, 1973; Dean, 2015; Hargreaves, 2017; Long & Dickason, 2016; Mihesuah, 2003; Monchalin, 2016; Smith, 2015; Suzack et al., 2010; Valaskakis et al, 2009; and Vowel, 2016). Overall, these views largely align with the experiences of other females indigenous to lands that have been disrupted by colonial governments (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013;

Behrendt, 1993). The current research project aims to incorporate the views of Indigenous peoples into the academic conversation surrounding the MMIWG crisis by investigating if the structural violence they have described might be manifesting as interpersonal violence, and if this connection could explain why Indigenous female victimization is not declining alongside non-Indigenous homicidal targeting.

Given the extensive dialogue surrounding MMIWG, it has been established that unique societal, and in turn cultural structures are considered to be dominant causes of violence towards Indigenous women and girls. By analyzing themes of homicidal violence in sex and ancestrally-based victim groups, this project seeks to determine 1) if and how unique forms of structural violence manifests as unique forms of interpersonal violence. If so, this analysis might prove useful for indicating structural violence affecting other vulnerable populations. Provided the knowledge that women indigenous to other colonized regions have expressed similar challenges in terms of marginalization and violence (Behrendt, 1993; Crenshaw, 1989; Zackodnick, 2010), this research seeks to determine 2) how homicidal violence towards Indigenous women compares to that affecting other Women of Colour in Canada, and what systems might be responsible for any differences observed. This objective was created by considering if and how the nature of violence directed towards Indigenous women and girls might present distinct themes, or similar themes in differing proportions, from violence affecting other groups.

By integrating Western academic research methodology, Indigenous tribalist theory, and forensic case data, the presented thesis project investigates the social structures that render Indigenous women more vulnerable to acts of violence than other sex and ancestrally-based groups. In doing so, the project addresses (1) how acts of lethal violence directed towards Indigenous women compare to those committed against Caucasian women, women of Colour,

and the general male population; (2) how structural violence can manifest as interpersonal violence; and, (3) how statistical analyses of forensic case data can assist in the detection of systemic violence. Taken together, this analysis informs as to how the bodies of Indigenous women; and other women of Colour, are understood in comparison to those of dominant groups within colonial societies and how those attitudes might increase the susceptibility of the former groups to acts of violence by dangerous members of Canadian society. The hypotheses of these research questions are:

H₀: There will not be any significant differences in the themes of homicidal violence, or the proportion in which these themes are present, in violence affecting Indigenous women from violence affecting Caucasian women, women of Colour, and males.

H_A: Themes, or the proportion of themes, of homicidal violence affecting Indigenous women will be distinct from those affecting Caucasian women and males and will be most similar to those affecting other women of Colour.

These hypotheses are based on two views commonly used to discuss violence affecting Indigenous women. The null hypothesis is consistent with the perspective that violence experienced by Indigenous women is unrelated to broader societal issues associated with colonialism and rather, is an issue of heightened crime. This understanding has been expressed by past Canadian governments (Ditchburn, 2014). In contrast, the alternative hypothesis is consistent with the view that Indigenous women are disproportionately exploited and victimized due to their forced placement at the bottom of intersected sexist and racist hierarchies, similarly to other women of Colour (Barker, 2008; Burnett & Read, 2012; Campbell, 1973; Crenshaw, 1989; Dean, 2015; Hargreaves, 2017; Long & Dickason, 2016; Mihesuah, 2003; Monchalin, 2016; Smith, 2015; Suzack et al., 2010; Valaskakis et al., 2009; and Vowel, 2016).

The design of this project is heavily influenced by the limited access to forensic case data. To circumvent this barrier, publicly-available open-sourced data is obtained and reviewed. One hundred eighty-three homicide cases that had occurred in the Canadian provinces and have since resulted in legal convictions are reviewed in this study and represented each of the four sex and ancestrally based groups: Indigenous females, Caucasian females, females of Colour, and males. All of the cases involving female homicide victims are derived from the “An Awkward Silence: Missing and Murdered Vulnerable Women and the Canadian Justice System” database (Pearce, 2013a; b), which also provides information regarding the ancestral affiliation of the victims. Because the Pearce (2013b) database did not include male cases, cases involving male victims are sourced from news articles. Details of each case are collected by coding and reviewing relevant court transcripts accessed via The Canadian Legal Information Institute, WestlawNextCanada, and the Lexis Advance Quicklaw databases. This information is supplemented with information derived from media files. Case related details that are collected include victim and offender profiles, homicide details and legal outcomes. Statistical analyses are conducted to determine differences in the underlying themes common to the homicides of each of the victim categories. To incorporate the perspectives of the affected community, Indigenous tribalism theory is used to contextualize the MMIWG crisis as a derivative of the imposition of colonial structures. Furthermore, this perspective is extended to allow for the consideration of how interpersonal violence affecting other women of Colour might be caused or enabled by similar social structures. This perspective then serves as a basis for understanding how systemic violence manifests as interpersonal violence.

While the current political and media attention towards the MMIWG crisis supports the topical nature of this project, this research is relevant for several other reasons. Firstly, this

project is original in that it considers how the potential existence of a unique nature of violence towards Indigenous women and girls might be contributing to their disproportionate victimization. Such an investigation is relevant because it will allow for a clearer understanding of the underlying roots of the crisis while informing culturally-relevant violence prevention and intervention strategies. Secondly, this research contributes to the responsibilities towards reconciliation that all Canadian citizens hold, Indigenous or not (Regan, 2010). These efforts are particularly important in this context because not only does this crisis affect the victims and immediate families, but some suggest that this widespread violence harms entire nations and continues to strain the current relationship between the Canadian government and First Nations (Dean, 2015; Burnett & Read, 2012; Hargreaves, 2017; Monchalin, 2016; Smith, 2015; Suzack et al., 2010; Valaskakis et al., 2009; and Vowel, 2016).

Beyond contributing towards reconciliation at the government level, the project design aims to play a part in the reconciliation between the academy and Indigenous peoples. By pursuing a research question that has arisen out of concerns from the Indigenous community, incorporating Indigenous tribalist theory into the contextualization of the MMIWG crisis, and by considering how the colonial experience of Indigenous people continues to affect their daily lives, this project combines Western academic research practices with Indigenous epistemology in a manner that constructs a holistic, critical, constructive, and inclusive dialogue surrounding an issue affecting thousands of victims, families, and nations. In essence, this project demonstrates how research can be conducted by Indigenous peoples, with Indigenous peoples, and for Indigenous peoples, and thereby demonstrates how the Western academy can work simply beyond acknowledgement, and rather in alliance with Indigenous peoples. These efforts are particularly relevant to anthropology, as the relationship between anthropologists and

Indigenous peoples across the world has been tied to colonial efforts and has often resulted in general distrust and skepticism from Indigenous peoples (Menzies, 2001; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008).

Overall, the results of the study indicate that distinct natures of violence are affecting the victim groups analyzed. Both Indigenous and Caucasian women are victimized within dominant themes of sexual predatory violence by strangers. Spousal domestic disputes motivated by frustration, anger, and despair fueled by alcohol is a leading cause of death amongst Indigenous women, whereas jealousy is a motivating factor in the murders of Caucasian women. Women of Colour presented a distinct theme of violence, heavily centered around spousal and family violence motivated by several similar factors. The preservation of honour is a motivating factor that proved to be unique to this group. In contrast, males tend to be killed for the financial or personal gain of others, and these homicides are often tied to activities in the drug trade or between gangs. The discussion presents an analysis of why these findings indicate the need for social structures that enable violence to be reconsidered, as the analysis of these murders identify societal issues predominantly affecting particular demographic groups. Ultimately, the project has furthered the understanding as to why the targeting of Indigenous women fails to decline alongside that of non-Indigenous women (RCMP, 2014), and the findings suggest that other groups, particularly immigrant women, are particularly vulnerable to certain types of violence due to specific systems in place that enable their victimization.

Chapter 2: Review of Scholarship

2.1 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women by the Numbers

In 2014, the RCMP released the results from an investigation into all of the reported incidents of missing and murdered Indigenous women throughout all police jurisdictions in Canada (RCMP, 2014). The report exposed 164 unresolved cases of missing Indigenous females and 1,017 homicide cases involving female Indigenous victims having occurred from 1980 to 2012. Of all of the cases, 225 have yet to be resolved. This total indicates that Indigenous women are overrepresented amongst Canada's missing and murdered women. After comparing the circumstances of the homicides with those involving non-Indigenous female victims, several trends concerning the victimization of Indigenous women were identified.

Despite the fact that Indigenous women only comprise 4.3% of the female population in Canada, this demographic represents 11.3% of the total number of missing females in the country (RCMP, 2014). Furthermore, 64% of these cases involve suspicious or unknown circumstances. In terms of homicide cases, women represented 32% of all homicide victims and 16% of these cases involve Indigenous female homicide victims. The proportionality of female Indigenous homicide victims was highest in western and northern Canada, and the disproportionate victimization of Indigenous women was present in nearly all provinces and territories. Indigenous female victims comprise 100%, 92%, and 56% of the women murdered in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and Yukon, respectively. Of homicides in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Indigenous women are the victims in 55% and 49% of all female homicide cases. In Alberta, 28% of all female homicides involve victims who are Indigenous. These statistics indicate that amongst the northern territories and western provinces, Indigenous women are consistently overrepresented as victims of homicide.

Although the number of overall female homicides has been temporally declining, the number of homicides involving female Indigenous victims has remained fairly constant (RCMP, 2014). Thus, the proportion of homicides involving female Indigenous victims is growing. For example, Indigenous women comprised 8% of the victims of homicide in 1984, but 23% in 2012. This increase in proportion is due to the decrease in the frequency of homicides involving non-Indigenous females rather than the heightened victimization of Indigenous women, as the rate of Indigenous female homicide victimization has dropped from 7.60 per 100, 000 in 1996 to 4.45 per 100, 000 in 2011. Therefore, Indigenous women are not only overrepresented amongst female homicide victims, but their numbers are not declining along with the rates of non-Indigenous female homicides over time.

The report released by the RCMP (2014) exposed differences in the common causes of death between Indigenous and non-Indigenous female victims. Indigenous female victims were most likely to die of physical beating, as this was the cause of death for nearly one third of the demographic of concern. Non-Indigenous women were half as likely to die from being physically beaten. Both groups of victims were similarly likely to die from stabbing, smoke inhalation, and other burn-related injuries; however, non-Indigenous women were more likely to have died from a shooting or strangulation, suffocation, and drowning. The RCMP has stated, “Additional research to understand these differences is required,” and therefore, further investigation into the differences in the nature of Indigenous and non-Indigenous female homicides is warranted.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous female victims were equally likely to have been killed at their residence, which accounted for three quarters of all crime scenes (RCMP, 2014). For both demographics, victims were then the next likely to be killed in a vehicle, public transport, street,

parking lot, or open area. The RCMP also considered whether the offender had an original intent to kill the victim by identifying an associated or related offence to the homicide, which was higher in cases involving Indigenous female victims (39%) than non-Indigenous female victims (31%). The most commonly associated incidents involved “sexual assaults” and “other assaults,” both of which occurred more commonly prior to the murders of Indigenous women. In response to the common misattribution of the disproportionate victimization of Indigenous women as being related to supposed participation in criminal activity or dangerous lifestyles, it should be noted that only approximately 2% of cases involving Indigenous female victims were considered to be linked to the drug trade, gangs, or organized criminal activity.

Approximately 90% of the victims had a previous relationship with the offender; a statistical truth regardless of Indigenous status (RCMP, 2014). Indigenous female victims were 11% more likely to be murdered by an acquaintance, specifically a casual acquaintance or by someone that they were criminally involved with, and the perpetrator was usually male. Although spousal relationships between the victims and offenders were common, Indigenous women were 12% less likely to be killed by a former or current spouse. Previous histories of family violence are more common between Indigenous female victims and offenders in a familial relationship (62%) than non-Indigenous victims (43%). Those accused of killing Indigenous women were more likely to be younger, less frequently employed, relying on social assistance, and were less likely to be making a living through illegal activities, but were more likely to have a criminal record that often involved violent offences. Additionally, those who killed Indigenous females were much more likely to have been intoxicated at the time of the crime; however, perpetrators who killed Indigenous women were less likely to have a diagnosed, suspected, or developing mental illness. Motives involving Indigenous female victims typically

involved an argument or quarrel (40% versus 23%) or frustration, anger or despair (20% versus 30%), as compared to cases involving the same motives where non-Indigenous females were targeted. Although victim characteristics do not provide justification for offences against them, Indigenous female victims are less likely to be employed, rely on a type of social assistance, and support themselves through illegal activity. Additionally, intoxication of the victim prior to the event is more common amongst homicides involving Indigenous women compared to non-Indigenous women. There is not any significant difference in the amount of Indigenous and non-Indigenous female victims who are involved in the sex trade.

While differences in victim characteristics do not justify harms committed against them, analysis of the trends in victim activity and circumstance might help to identify destructive social attitudes that perpetrators have towards individuals in particular situations. Given the above research, it seems that financial instability, participation in illegal activity, and the use of drugs and alcohol might be risk factors for victimization by dangerous persons in Canada. Considering the heightened victimization of Indigenous women, simply presenting the identity of an Indigenous woman might be a risk factor for being violently targeted; therefore, further investigation into the homicides involving Indigenous women is needed to understand how social perceptions of race and the risk factors associated with certain communities that tend to be ancestrally specific (such as reservations and other Indigenous communities) might affect the vulnerability of Indigenous women to suffering violent offences.

The findings of the RCMP (2014) coincide with data obtained regarding the victimization of Indigenous peoples in America (Bubar & Thurman, 2004). Surveys have found that Indigenous women are raped by an intimate partner at a rate of 15.9%, a rate that is significantly higher than for those of other ethnicities (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Furthermore, nearly three

quarters of Indigenous women in America are killed by someone they know, and a third are killed by a family member (Wallace et al., 1996). Intimate partners of non-Indigenous victims of violence are of a different ethnic group in 11% of cases, but those offending Indigenous people are of a different ethnicity in 75% of cases. Similarly, 5% of cases involving non-Indigenous victims include a family member of a different race who is the offender, whereas cases involving Indigenous victims present 25% of the familial offenders belonging to a different race (Bubar & Thurman, 2004). Taken together, this data suggests that racial attitudes might be largely responsible for violence targeted towards Indigenous victims. Interpretation of these statistics can be informed by the consideration that the current violence towards Indigenous women might be a consequence of the historical sanctioning of violence towards this group (Bubar & Thurman, 2004; Smith, 2015; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 65-87).

Taken together, existing data indicate that Indigenous women are overrepresented amongst victims of homicide, and their violent targeting is not declining. It is common for these victims to be intentionally physically beaten to death by perpetrators who knew the victim, even if only casually. Indigenous women are more likely to be the selected target of a former sexual assault offender, suggesting that these women are more vulnerable to be subjected to sexual violence. Furthermore, the perpetrators of lethal violence towards Indigenous women tend to have a history of criminal and violent activity and are more likely to be intoxicated during the offence that is commonly motivated by an argument. In America, those causing violence to Indigenous people most often belong to a different ethnic group, suggesting that simply being an Indigenous woman might be a risk factor for victimization in Canada. Relatively few cases of murdered Indigenous women involve a connection between the victim and the sex/drug trades or organized criminal activity (RCMP, 2014); however, given the fact that Indigenous female

victims are more likely to be financially unstable or intoxicated at the time of the event, it is possible that offenders use these vulnerable circumstances of the victim to wrongly justify their attitudes of exploitability and disposability towards them.

Perpetrators who kill Indigenous women are less likely to be mentally ill than those who kill non-Indigenous women (RCMP, 2014). Thus, those preying on Indigenous women are not limited to those whose mental health is compromised. Rather, the attitudes that render Indigenous women more susceptible to violence are present in the mentally well, suggesting that the MMIWG crisis is not simply an issue involving the mentally perverse, but rather, harmful attitudes have become instilled within the general Canadian society. In summary, it is apparent that social attitudes are affecting the susceptibility of Indigenous women to violence within Canadian society. Investigation into the differences between the circumstances of homicides of female Indigenous victims and other victim groups could allow for the identification of how different social attitudes instilled by social structures might be manifesting in the bodies of different victim groups as interpersonal violence. Thus, it might be possible to infer if social structures are contributing to the disproportionate targeting of Indigenous women, as suggested by Indigenous spokespersons across academic and political spheres.

2.2 Contextualizing the MMIWG Crisis using a Indigenous Tribalist Theory

Given that this research is intended to provide insight into issues affecting the well-being of Indigenous communities across Canada, efforts were made to decolonize the research approach so that the methods and contributions are compatible with Indigenous ways of understanding (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013). The case selection criteria and the data analysis approach outlined in the following chapter were chosen to allow for scientific rigor and methodological validity within the Western academy; however, these methods were undertaken to answer a

research question that is both cultural and societal in nature and is meant to inform the status of Indigenous women. Thus, the MMIWG crisis was contextualized within the perspectives of Indigenous theories derived from a number of Indigenous scholars. By incorporating the experiences of Indigenous peoples into the understanding of historic and contemporary violence towards Indigenous women, this project was able to determine how the MMIWG crisis is rooted in structural violence (as supported by Indigenous tribalist frameworks), and if/how this structural violence appears as unique forms of interpersonal violence.

In short, Indigenous ‘tribalism’ is best described as a group of perspectives that understand issues through the lenses of Indigenous value systems. There are difficulties in using this term, as it can be ambiguous, and at times has been used to describe derogatory attitudes and actions (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), but the way that this term can embody the visions and goals of Indigenous activists calls for its reclamation. There are several universally accepted versions of Indigenous worldviews and ways of identifying themselves, often described as variants or blends of feminisms and tribalisms (Breitfuß, 2018). While they are all diverse, the philosophical approaches employed by many Indigenous women embody several concepts of mainstream feminisms, but are more accurately described as ‘tribalism,’ as this term considers that many Indigenous women are more focused on their responsibility to the survivance of their cultures and nations rather than the issue of sex-based ‘sameness,’ rights, and gender oppression (Mihsuah, 2003; Anderson, 2010, pp. 81). Furthermore, Indigenous women might not necessarily identify with mainstream feminist perspectives because the concepts within contemporary feminism was already an aspect of traditional tribal culture which placed Indigenous women at the core structure of the community. In essence, Indigenous tribalisms are centered around reclaiming and asserting one’s tribal rights, roles, and responsibilities to

improve community-wellbeing. Indigenous women are empowered while pursuing tribal-oriented social, economic, political, and spiritual goals. While Indigenous tribalisms include several concepts of mainstream feminisms, these views and practices empower Indigenous women in a way that allows them to work towards the betterment of their nations. By explaining the differences in the priorities between contemporary feminisms and Indigenous tribalisms, Indigenous scholars have decolonized settler understandings of mainstream feminism (Mihesuah, 2003).

In regards to the MMIWG crisis, many Indigenous scholars and activists contextualize this violence as the intentional disempowerment of Indigenous women; who were traditionally revered and contribute in the literal birthing and cultural continuance of Indigenous nations, to allow for the colonization of Indigenous peoples and lands. Although Indigenous tribalism cannot be encompassed or defined by one view due to the diverse and equally valid identities and experiences of Indigenous women (Mihesuah, 2003), many Indigenous women recognize and address the issue of colonially-imposed social reorganization of gender roles and the devaluation of Indigenous women (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 2-5). The goals of these women, within home communities and academic spheres, tend to be tribally-oriented rather than focused on gender rights, while positioning Indigenous women as the hearts and backbones of their nations in the sense that they are vital to the functioning and spirit of their communities and nations (Castellano, 2009, pp. 203-246; Anderson, 2009, pp. 99-123).

To clarify the use of the term in this work, 'Indigenous activist tribalism,' simply referred to as 'Indigenous tribalism' hereafter, describes a motivation to pursue the socioeconomic, political, and cultural presence, inclusion and equality of one's nation within and alongside the activities of the colonial nation in which it is included. In this context, Indigenous tribalism

encourages members of the nation to assume and exercise their individual and collective rights and responsibilities to move towards the betterment of their nations in order to encourage healing and move towards survivance in an effort to work towards peaceful nation to nation coexistence. The rights and responsibilities of the members are often informed by the nation's traditional understanding of their relatedness to the greater community and world, which often evolve over time and circumstance. Based on this definition, the use of the term 'tribalist' is meant to describe a person or perspective that prioritizes these goals. In this work, 'Indigenous tribalist framework' introduces, supports and describes the 'Indigenous tribalist theory' that is comprised of understandings used to explain the phenomena of violence towards Indigenous women. It is important to understand that here, 'tribalism' and 'tribalist' are not meant to describe actions of discrimination or animosity based on group differences in ways that the term has traditionally been used (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

Using the lenses of Indigenous tribalist theory, this research project contextualizes violence towards Indigenous women within the broader issues of systemic and structural colonial violence. With this understanding in mind, the research considers how structural violence can manifest as unique forms of interpersonal violence that can be detected by statistical measures. The following sections will outline how, according to Indigenous tribalist theory, Indigenous women have been systematically disempowered throughout Canada's colonial history, and how this disempowerment continues to affect their contemporary experiences.

2.3 The Systematic Disempowerment of Indigenous Women

Across Indigenous literature, Indigenous scholars and activists assert that the disproportionate violence directed towards Indigenous women is rooted in Canada's colonial history (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 65-87). This view is not to be confused with the belief that

violence *originated* within colonial endeavors, as Indigenous women acknowledge the existence of violence in pre-colonial Indigenous societies; however, it is recognized that the strict anti-violence policies and matrilineal/matriarchal organizations common to many Indigenous tribes protected women. In essence, Indigenous activists recognize that pre-colonial Indigenous societies had the same capacity for the social ‘isms’ as contemporary Canadian society, but many traditional societies operated within social systems that balanced oppressive forces (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 68-69; Anderson, 2000). With this understanding, many Indigenous peoples assert that the contemporary MMIWG crisis is the result of colonially-imposed disruptions in traditional gender harmonies that have disempowered Indigenous women in combination with the introduction of multiple risk factors via colonization. The following section will outline how the traditional identities, roles, and agencies of Indigenous women have been and continue to be disempowered throughout Canada’s colonial history.

Indigenous women have established that feminism was a way of life in traditional Indigenous societies (Anderson, 2010, pp. 82). While many Indigenous tribes did practice gendered division of labour, the societies functioned on the basis of gender equality, as male and female roles were complimentary within systems of gender harmony and thus were considered to be equally important rather than dichotomous (Harper, 2009, pp. 176; Tsosie, 2010, pp. 31-32; Mihesuah, 2003). Pre-colonial Indigenous societies were generally tolerant of transcending gender roles, which tended to be reflected by the spiritual content of each culture (Mihesuah, 2003; Tsosie, 2010, pp. 31-32). One such gendered role was that of the mother. Although each Indigenous culture is unique, the concept of ‘empowered motherhood’ was the norm across many societies (Anderson, 2010, pp. 83). Within tribes, mothers and women evoked power rather than sentimentality because of their ability to create life within societies that equated

kinship with citizenship, and thus, the rights of Indigenous women to political and socioeconomic agencies were inherent (Anderson, 2000; Donaldson, 2010, pp. 52). In summary, Indigenous women were highly revered for their ability to give a spiritual being physical form, an ability that allowed for their political, social, and economic agency. For example, while maintaining roles as educators, nurturers, and providers in commonly egalitarian social systems, some Indigenous women controlled tribal dynamics by selecting leaders and making high profile decisions, such as initiating or calling off war. Furthermore, Indigenous women owned property and controlled the means of production within their communities (Voyageur, 2016, pp. 131-133). Because many Indigenous societies ensured that women were economically stable via the support of the community, many Indigenous women were not forced to remain in undesired marriages and could leave husbands who were failing to provide or behaving inadequately (Anderson, 2000).

Indigenous scholars and activists have extensively reflected on how the Canadian government has disrupted traditional systems that empowered Indigenous women in order to fulfill colonial goals. Over time, these traditional systems have been replaced with those that position Indigenous women at vulnerable, lowly intersections in social hierarchies. Indigenous women assert that the contemporary crisis of MMIWG is the “direct by-product of dominant social systems of oppression, such as colonialism, racism, and patriarchy, that hierarchically order the social world and ensure the distribution of citizenship” (Bourgeois, 2018; 66). Despite the popular myth regarding Canada’s ‘peaceful’ history (Regan, 2010), scholars and activists contend that these disruptions in Indigenous social systems and the disempowerment of Indigenous women were deliberate, systematic, and necessary for the successful colonization of the Americas. There are several female scholars who directly connect the current deplorable

conditions of Indigenous women and communities to the targeting of the family unit throughout the colonial process (Anderson, 2010, pp. 81-91; Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 1-17; Hargreaves, 2017), which some believe began as early as Indigenous-European contact (Harper, 2009, pp. 177). Indigenous tribalist literature explicitly outlines the disempowerment of Indigenous women by their removal from positions of political, social, and economic power, the forced reorganization of gender roles, and the management of their bodies and sexuality to bring Indigenous nations under colonial control (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 1, 5). Authors argue that the changes associated with colonialism have challenged, changed, and in some ways, nearly eradicated the social, political, and spiritual statuses held by women in tribal societies, which contributed to, and continues to perpetuate, the social issues faced by Indigenous nations and the women within them (Mihsuah, 2003). One of the most direct methods by which Indigenous women have been directly systematically disempowered includes the colonial instillation of the Indian Act.

The 1876 Indian Act has been perhaps one of the most detrimental legislations to the status of Indigenous women. Written with the values of patriarchy, Christianity, and colonialism at the utmost priority (Harper, 2009, pp. 177; Barker, 2008; Mihsuah, 2003), the Indian Act served to transform empowered Indigenous women into politically silent, domestically obedient, and fully assimilated Christian women. The document introduced “Christianization” and “civilization” programs to make men the heads of households and women their subservient (Barker, 2008). While restructuring the domestic sphere to reflect European values and in turn, causing the internalization of sexism (Mihsuah, 2003), the act disarmed Indigenous women politically. The Indian Act denied Indigenous women the right to vote, become professionals, enter into contracts, and hold political office (Harper, 2009, pp. 178; Anderson, 2009, pp. 100-

101; Hargreaves, 2017), thereby politically elevating Indigenous men over women (Barker, 2008). Furthermore, the Act disenfranchised and dispossessed Indigenous women, and in this way, was similar to the 1887 General Allotment Act of the United States. This American Act privatized reservation land, giving more to men than women (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 5). Together, these actions infringed on the ability of Indigenous women to participate in politics and the economy and thereby contributed to their forced poverty and social, political, and economic marginalization. As though these forms of challenges were not enough to disempower Indigenous women, the Indian Act also encroached on their legal status as 'Indians' and their ability to pass on this identity to descendants.

The Indian Act directly defined and interfered with the identities of Indigenous peoples. The legislation imposed male lineages by determining the legal Indian status (and the rights and services afforded) of an Indigenous woman on the basis of her marriage to a status Indian man. According to these laws, if a woman with Indian status married a non-status man or divorced her status-holding husband, she would lose her status, be unable to pass Indian status onto her children, lose her rights to live on the reserve with her family and community, and lose access to support and services the government provides to status Indians (Harper, 2009, pp. 177-179; Hargreaves, 2017). While socially severing these women and all of her descendants from their home communities, the Indian Act caused significant financial losses to Indigenous women, contributing to the socio-economic marginalization that Indigenous women continue to face, as Indigenous women are more than twice as likely as non-Indigenous women to live in poverty; a social factor that is regularly identified as a contributor to violence (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 72).

The injustices of the Indian Act were meant to be addressed in Bill C-31, but the changes to the legislation have not resolved the issue of Indian status and its inheritance. This

discrimination is maintained by the fact that the Bill has created two forms of Indian status, one which allows for transmission of the status to children, and one that does not. By enforcing a law that ultimately dilutes nations, the Act and the Bill are intended to destroy Indigenous nations using non-Indigenous laws and language, making the discrimination it imposes more difficult for Indigenous peoples to challenge (Suzack, 2010, pp. 129-131). Furthermore, by transforming tribal kinship laws based on community, cultural knowledge and connections (Mihsuah, 2003), introducing the reserve system, and reorganizing community structure (Anderson, 2009, pp. 100-101), the Indian Act “paved the way in formalizing the societal attitudes and behaviours that condone, accept, and perpetuate the marginalization of Aboriginal women, and ultimately, their victimization” (Harper, 2009, pp. 194). The Indian Act is consistent with the U.S. government’s direct targeting of Indigenous women by damaging kinship systems, which has purposefully eradicated female-dominated clan-systems to instill patriarchal values in order to facilitate colonization (Mihsuah, 2003).

Alongside the Indian Act’s contribution to the Christianization, missionization, and the disempowerment of Indigenous peoples, institutions designed to reorganize tribal gender roles to reflect European values were extensively operated in colonial North American society. These included all-female schools that encouraged the imitation of settler women so that Indigenous girls could learn to be “true women” (Mihsuah, 2003; 63), such as the Cherokee Female Seminary. This institution was created when “Cherokee’s women’s roles became less important as settler men began to influence Cherokee’s social and religious values” (Mihsuah, 2003; 74). Wesley-Esquimaux (2009, pp. 16) has described the process of missionization used to instill patriarchy into North American societies as a method to address the threat that the empowerment of Indigenous women had to European hierarchies. Residential schools were another form of

government-sponsored institutions partnering with Canadian Christian churches that reorganized gender roles as a method to disempower Indigenous women and consequentially placed them in precarious societal positions via such disempowerment and common exposure to trauma (Hargreaves, 2017; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 73-74). This reorganization was part of the government's attempt to quickly assimilate Indigenous peoples into settler society comprised of nuclear family units that removed several types of agencies common to Indigenous women (Anderson, 2000; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 68). In addition, the physical, sexual, and psychological abuse within these schools caused these forms of violence to be internalized within Indigenous families and communities, a dark legacy that is commonly described as intergenerational trauma.

Institutions did not only function to reorganize the gender roles that traditionally afforded Indigenous women equality to men; they also severed Indigenous children from parents to allow for the assimilation of Indigenous children into white settler society by restricting the ability of Indigenous mothers to pass on language, culture, and tradition. For example, between 1920 and 1951, the attendance of Indigenous children to residential schools, which were often boarding schools, was compulsory, thereby limiting the ability of Indigenous women to parent their children and pass on valuable teachings about traditional complimentary gender roles (Burnett & Read, 2012; Smith, 2015; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 73). The Sixties and Millennial Scoops have maintained the inability of Indigenous women to sustain cultural continuance through parenting via the forced removal of thousands of Indigenous children from their homes, often into settler foster or adoption homes (Hargreaves, 2017; Vowel, 2016). Research indicates that currently, there are more Indigenous children under the care of the Canadian government due to child apprehensions than there were at the height of the Residential School System. Indigenous

children comprise nearly half of the children in Canadian foster care systems and are 12 times as likely as non-Indigenous children to be wardens of the state (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 74-75).

Because the empowerment of Indigenous women threatened the gendered and racialized norms of patriarchy and white supremacy, and thus, the colonial project, Indigenous women have become and remain targets of harm and exploitation of their bodies and sexuality (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 65-87; Smith, 2015). Smith (2015) argues that because Indigenous women have the ability to produce the next generation, they have become targets of the state's project to eliminate Indigenous nations. It is in this context that sexual violence has been used as a political tool for the conquering of Indigenous nations throughout colonialism. Even more direct than removing children from the homes of their families, colonial governments have infringed on the reproductive rights of Indigenous women by their enforced mass sterilization via healthcare services, the criminalization of pregnancy, and the provisions of dangerous, experimental contraceptives to uninformed Indigenous women (Mihsuah, 2003; Smith, 2015). Forced abortions on residential school students have been exposed and demonstrate how through 'educational' institutions, governments and church organizations have directly tried to inhibit the birthing of Indigenous children (Anderson, 2000). Not only has this invasive and inhumane form of control restricted the ability of Indigenous women to literally birth nations, but when performed, has removed their sacred source of maternal authority, respect, and agency based within tribal kinship laws. The interference in the reproductive and parenting rights of Indigenous women has worsened the effects of their political, cultural, and economic disempowerment, and together, these effects have made Indigenous women more vulnerable to violence (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 5). This point is demonstrated by research findings indicating that many of the MMIWG had either been placed in the foster care system or had their

children apprehended, suggesting that the child welfare system is a contributing factor to violence faced by Indigenous women (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 75).

The attacks on the bodies and sexualities of Indigenous women went beyond limiting their parenting and reproductive rights to prevent the growth of nations, but also functioned to strip Indigenous women from their positions of equality by exploiting and demonizing their sexuality. From Canada's early colonial beginnings and within Canada's neocolonial present, negative images of the bodies and sexualities of Indigenous women have been extensively promoted. The use of sexual violence as a mechanism of Canadian politics has led Indigenous communities to internalize perspectives that Indigenous women are highly sexualized 'squaws,' a derogatory term that embodies negative sexual innuendos and normalizes their violence against these women (Anderson, 2000; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 76; Monchalin, 2016; Smith, 2015). The state has promoted a belief that Indigenous women are hypersexualized beings that are less than human, and in doing so, has contributed to rendering Indigenous women and girls more susceptible to violence. As a result, the struggle of Indigenous peoples not only includes the effects of multiple risk factors introduced to Indigenous communities throughout colonialism, but also the fact that traditional ways of recognizing and respecting women have been undermined and damaged (Monchalin, 2016).

The marginalization and victimization of Indigenous women has been firmly established via cultural facets, such as by manipulating their perceived sexuality, which is known to be an integral aspect of colonization (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 5). Although not a formalized protocol, Indigenous women were sexualized by high-ranking persons during the colonial period. Marriages, and by association, sexual relationships, were often made to establish cultural and economic ties between settler and Indigenous communities (Harper, 2009, pp. 177). Despite

peaceful intentions, these relations removed Indigenous women from social systems that fostered their empowerment and placed them within patriarchal households and communities by essentially bartering Indigenous women's bodies and agencies for community economic stability on the premise of the women being solely domestic and sexual objects to please settler men. The sexualization of Indigenous women by non-Indigenous men occurred when members of the Department of Indian Affairs would take hostage of these women and hold them as sex slaves. At times, rations were withheld from communities unless young Indigenous women were provided for sex. In the Northwest Territories alone, 45% of government officials were known to be in predatory sexual relationships with Indigenous women (Anderson, 2000; Bourgeois, 2018; Good, 2018). This chapter in Canadian history demonstrates how Indigenous women were forced into sex-for-food situations; essentially the survival sex trade, unwillingly via colonial systems that allowed for the systematic control over the distribution of resources to these women.

In addition to being sexually exploited for the purposes of securing cultural and economic relationships and resources, Indigenous women have consistently been portrayed within a binary sexual profile; either the romanticized, vanishing, settler-loving and helpful 'Pocahontas'-type or as a promiscuous and licentious 'squaw drudge,' but always as sexually available, exploitable, and disposable to the settler male (Anderson, 2000; Smith, 2015; Hargreaves, 2017; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 76-79). The latter image was deliberately promoted by the Canadian nation-state and press in the late 1800s, a portrayal that allowed for the justification of the physical and sexual abuse of Indigenous women and the colonial oppression against Indigenous peoples (Anderson, 2000; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 76-79). The perceived oversexualization of Indigenous women has created a perception for many men, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, that Indigenous femininity does not exist, only Indigenous sensuality (Anderson, 2000). This distorted view allows for and

encourages the sexual objectification and dehumanization of Indigenous women. Furthermore, the portrayal of this group as sexually violable presents a double objectification of Indigenous women, first as women, and secondly, as *Indigenous* women. In this double objectification, racism reaffirms the original objectification of women, which already perpetuates sexual violence. Thus, the portrayal of Indigenous women as “squaws” renders all Indigenous women susceptible to multiple forms of violence, including sexual violence.

Due to the portrayal of Indigenous women as sexually immoral, there were times that restrictions were put in place on the relationships between settler men and Indigenous women so as to prevent the ‘demoralization’ of men. These efforts supported the marginalization of Indigenous women and the development and continuance of the demonization of their sexuality. Policies became increasingly segregationist towards Indigenous peoples, often on the account that Indigenous women were “dissolute, dangerous, and sinister” (Dean, 2015). Examples of segregationist policies towards Indigenous women include the pass system, where Indigenous women required a pass from Indian Agents to travel outside of reservations. A central rationale for this system included the desire to keep Indigenous women out of towns, as they were believed to be traveling to towns for the purposes of prostitution. Just as the Indian Act outlawed alcohol; but only for Indigenous peoples, the Indian Act also specially addressed Indigenous-related prostitution. In the early 1880s, white settlers were prohibited from allowing Indigenous women onto their property or in their homes. By 1886, it became illegal for Indigenous women to keep, frequent, or be found in a ‘disorderly’ house, whereas white men caught in the same situation had to be proven to be a frequenter of such activities to be prosecuted (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 77-78). This legislation was reaffirmed but restricted to Status Indians within the Criminal Code in 1892, when Aboriginal prostitution was considered an offence against morality. Such

laws made it easier to convict Indigenous women of prostitution than non-Indigenous counterparts and founded lasting associations between Indigenous women and the sex trade in the minds of settler society. These associations are maintained in contemporary society and are often used to justify violence that Indigenous women continue to experience.

In conclusion, formal and informal deliberate methods of disempowering Indigenous women in legal, political, economic, socio-cultural and sexual facets have ultimately collided to result in the devaluation and marginalization of Indigenous women, resulting in “a multiple jeopardy for Aboriginal women who face individual and institutional discrimination, and disadvantages on the basis of race, gender, and class” (Harper, 2009; 180). Indigenous women were intentionally and systematically dispossessed, disempowered, and assimilated to undermine the political and familial structures through which they were empowered; and therefore, were a threat to colonial and patriarchal values. Through these processes, colonial governments have created the contemporary issue of violence towards Indigenous women that continues to affect vulnerable women, survivors, families, and nations (Barker, 2008; Hargreaves, 2017).

2.4 Contemporary Issues Faced by Indigenous Women

Together, the colonial legislations, institutions, and cultural impositions described previously have combined to marginalize Indigenous women, and in doing so, have contributed to their heightened vulnerability to violence. Consistent with heightened victimization of Indigenous women exposed by the statistics released by the RCMP (2014), status Indian women in Canada are up to five times more likely to die of violence, and American counterparts are over two times more likely to be victims of rape (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 5). Unfortunately, contemporary Indigenous women not only face the adversity of disproportionate violent and

sexual victimization, but are also continuing to fight against political, justice, and law enforcement systems that enable their harm by responding apathetically.

Despite the growing literature outlining the colonial processes that have contributed to the disproportionate violent targeting of Indigenous women, the issue still tends to be reduced to that of increased crime amongst Indigenous peoples by politicians. According to former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, “Canada has no history of colonialism” (Hargreaves, 2017), and therefore, the Conservative government has discounted any historical or contemporary responsibility of the state for the current issue. Even more directly, he has stated, “I think we should not view this as a sociological phenomenon. We should view it as a crime...It is a crime against innocent people, and it needs to be addressed as such” (Ditchburn, 2014). Thus, while the violence directed towards Indigenous women is concerning, the lack of political will to address the issue and its general absence from the dominant discourse is equally disturbing (Hargreaves, 2017). The state’s complicity in the violence directed towards Indigenous women is demonstrated by the (in)actions of the Canadian legal system when addressing cases of violence towards Indigenous women and the resulting failures to protect vulnerable women and administer justice when it is due (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 76). Perhaps one of the most recent examples of apathy towards the horrendous crimes committed against Indigenous women includes the homicide of Cindy Gladue and (in)justice administered to the killer.

The remains of Gladue, a 36-year old Cree mother of three children, were found in the bathtub of an Edmonton motel in June, 2011, after she bled to death following what offender Bradley Barton described as a night of rough consensual sex (Parons 2017a, 2017b; Simons 2017). Gladue had been paid for sexual services on the first night of their encounter, and then murdered the second (Cormier 2015). The medical examiner had discovered an 11-centimeter

cut to Gladue's vaginal wall that had been caused by a sharp object, nearly affecting the full length of her vagina (Parsons 2017a, 2017b, Simon 2017). This violence is similar to that inflicted upon countless other Indigenous women, such as Helen Betty Osbourne and the victims of Robert Pickton in that the murders were sexual in nature (Harper, 2009, pp. 182-183). The sexualized killings suggest that the bodies of Indigenous women are inherently violable and disposable, consistent with the concerns raised by Indigenous scholars (Smith, 2015; Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 77-79). While expert witnesses state that the trauma to Gladue's vagina could only have been caused by a sharp object (Simons, 2017); the defence attributed the injury to blunt force caused by Barton thrusting his hand inside Gladue and claimed that he never meant to cause her injury or death (Cormier). Clearly, the findings from the medical examiner deviate from his self-serving excuses, as evidence of his interest in violent porn featuring the torture of women and the gruesome wounds on Gladue (Cormier, 2015) suggest that to Barton, she was simply an exploitable and disposable object on which to enact his sadistic fantasies. The details of the criminal acts of Barton reflect the broader, dangerous, and dehumanizing societal issues within the perception of Indigenous women's bodies and sexuality that allowed for this crime, and many others to occur (Harper, 2009, pp. 182-183).

The offences to Gladue continued beyond her death at the hands of Barton and into the administration of justice (or lack thereof) for her murder. During the trial, "Gladue's vagina was preserved and presented to the jury during the trial as an exhibit...Gladue was consistently dehumanized and stereotyped throughout the trial" (Parsons, 2017a). For example, the judge repeatedly used the terms "native women" and "native girls" who he implicitly equated with "prostitutes" by using the all of the terms to describe Gladue (Parsons, 2017a, b). The unnecessary *exhibition* of Gladue's mutilated vagina within the courtroom is reflective of the

lack of integrity and respect held for the bodies of Indigenous women and therefore is a continuance of the attack on her body and sexuality (Smith, 2015). Furthermore, numerous incorrect instructions were made to the jury throughout the trial that were based on myths and stereotypes regarding sexual assault, consent, manslaughter, and motive (Cormier, 2015; Parsons, 2017a, b). Trial Judge Robert Graesser incorrectly stated that Gladue's consent on the first night of their encounter "could be used to support a finding of honest but mistaken belief in consent" for later nights (Cormier, 2015), and wrongfully assumed that Gladue consented to Barton's sexual acts the night of her death (Simons, 2017). He failed to inform the jury about its ability to find Barton guilty of manslaughter and reveal evidence of his interest in violent pornography (Cormier, 2015; Parsons, 2017b). The extent to which Graesser erred suggests that he did not want to hold Barton responsible for the sexualized murder of Cindy Gladue. Barton's acquittal of first-degree murder and manslaughter charges has been appealed, and he is finally undergoing a second trial for his role in Gladue's death, almost nine years after her murder (Parsons, 2017a; Simons, 2017; Bernard, 2019).

The apathy and errors involved in Barton's trial mirrors the general apathy involved in Helen Betty Osbourne's murder investigation. Although locals knew the identity of Osbourne's killers, they did not inform the police and for this reason, the perpetrators were not brought to trial until 16 years following her death (Harper, 2009, pp. 182-183). The investigations and trials of Osbourne and Gladue's murderers demonstrate the difficulties that are often faced when bringing justice to the offenders of Indigenous women. The discussion in the wake of Barton's heinous act has focused on the issue of sexual consent (Cormier, 2015), but has largely ignored the issues of racism and the resulting dehumanization of victims (Smith, 2015) and the roles of officials in the obstruction of justice. The absence of this dialogue illustrates the failure of

mainstream feminisms to fully address the issues faced by women of colour (Miheuah, 2003), as settler women are advocating for rights to accept sexual partners, while women of colour are still fighting for the ability to say ‘no’ and avoid rape (Behrendt, 1993). Taken together, Barton’s trial “reflected broader problems with the Canadian justice system’s failure to keep pace with laws involving sexual offences” (French, 2017), consistent with the findings of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry stating that racism against Indigenous peoples within the justice system is treated with general apathy (Harper, 2009, pp. 182-183).

The inactions observed by Canadian political and legal systems extend to police forces, which have been criticized for criminalizing women in the Vancouver Downtown Eastside, refusing to accept missing persons reports, being racist and discriminatory to families, and inadequately investigating cases (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 76). A recent example of this includes when a male RCMP officer asked a 17-year-old Indigenous woman reporting a sexual assault if she was “turned on” by the attack, “even maybe...subconsciously?” He asked her if she realized that the offender might have to go to jail and that she could “completely ruin someone’s life.” The officer continued to state that she “didn’t put up much of a fight” (Sterritt & Proctor, 2019), and in doing so, misplaces guilt onto the victim for her experience. At the time the statement was taken, the young woman was in the foster care system, and no foster parent or social worker was present when she was questioned. The multiple patterns of abuse in this situation are apparent, as the officer questions her about what she wants to accomplish by telling people, and the woman explained her need for support because she had been previously molested by her grandfather.

The apathy and victim-blaming in the above case is similar to that experienced in the case of a rape complainant. In 2014, former judge Robin Camp acquitted Alexander Wagar of sexually assaulting a homeless 19-year old woman. Throughout the trial, Camp referred to the

complainant as “the accused” (Heidenreich, 2018). He told the young woman that “pain and sex sometimes go together” and asked why she didn’t just “keep your knees together” or “sink your bottom” into the bathroom sink to avoid rape (Crawford, 2017; Blatchford, 2016). Robin Camp has been reinstated into the Law Society of Alberta, and the accused was acquitted after another trial was ordered (Anderson, 2018). Overall, these cases demonstrate the combined failures of the foster care system and police forces in protecting Indigenous women, providing them the support needed to recover from sexual violence, and in pursuing the administration of justice. Thus, while Canadian society has formally criminalized Indigenous female sexuality as previously described, it has proven indifferent towards sexual offences against this group (Bourgeois, 2018, pp. 65-87).

While the above cases reflect how Indigenous women have been marginalized in both life and death, there are several instances where violence has been internalized within Indigenous communities. Due to colonial influences, Indigenous women are no longer seen as political, social, and economic agents that contribute to nations. The complex Indigenous leaders who have been politically influential, such as Winnemucca, have been reduced to uni-dimensional, naïve, colonially-serving women that mirror the story of Pocahontas (Zackodnick, 2010, pp. 110). The political roles that Indigenous women do maintain are not recognized, leaving the mythologized versions of Sacajawea; who assisted in the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and Pocahontas; whose affiliation with the Jamestown settlement has been heavily romanticized, as the only Indigenous female ‘role models’ (Miheesuah, 2003). The absence of discourse involving politically active Indigenous women undermines the political, social, and economic positions of influence they traditionally held and continue to maintain. Furthermore, representations of Indigenous women continue to be “one-dimensional, pathologizing, and stereotypical,” while

their own voices have been pushed to the margins of dominant discourse (Hargreaves, 2017). It is clear that when Indigenous women attempt to re-emerge from the margins of colonial society by breaking their political silence, they are directly disempowered via state and hegemonic forces.

By politically empowering Indigenous men over Indigenous women via the Indian Act, colonial governments have created lasting tensions between these groups. For example, when Indigenous women partially reversed the 1876 Indian Act criterion for Indian status via Bill C-31, these efforts were challenged by Indigenous men in positions of power and authority, as they accused the women of being selfish for wanting the same rights as the men. By attacking Indigenous women for their desire for political equality, Indigenous men associated the women with the mainstream feminist movement and the connected stigmas of being anti-Indian (Barker, 2008). When the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) formed in response to gender equalities in the Indian Act, the organization was mis-understood/labeled as antagonistic to the Indigenous politic for addressing the issue of sexual violence and gender discrimination (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 7-8). This political suppression of Indigenous women by Indigenous men is an example of hegemony, as the men have uncritically adopted patriarchal values and by asserting them to suppress the women, they contribute to the oppression of Indigenous peoples as a whole (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009, pp. 15). Hegemonic practices have been adopted by Indigenous men when discussing well-known Indigenous female figures. For example, Sherman Alexie's uni-dimensional portrayal of Sacajawea as solely colonial-serving ignores the complexity that her situation might have involved (Hilden & Lee, 2010, pp. 63) and continues to frame her as a politically passive and naively helpful character. Anderson has identified the issue of internalized sexism in interviews with female chiefs, as males tend to be

critical and intimidated by women who assert leadership and authoritative voice (2009, pp. 117). Perhaps one of the most high-profile homicide cases demonstrating the state and hegemonic silencing of Indigenous women in positions of leadership includes that of Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash.

Pictou-Aquash was an active member within the American Indian Movement (AIM), and quickly rose to the highest ranks of leadership (Mihsuah, 2003). Her activities with AIM kept her under the observation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and her strong female character and high position within AIM caused her to be viewed with jealousy from other members. When paranoia peaked between the Pine Ridge Reservation, AIM, and the FBI, Anna Mae was one of many accused of being an FBI informer by AIM members. She was later interrogated by the FBI following the deaths of two FBI agents and assured that she would be killed if she did not cooperate. This threat is a blatant demonstration of the state's targeting of Indigenous women leading communities to challenge the colonial government and their associated systems. When human remains were found on the Pine Ridge Reservation, analyses revealed they were the remains of Pictou-Aquash, who had been raped and killed execution-style via a close-range shot to the base of the head. While the exact details of the homicide remain unknown, it is a widely-held and well-supported belief that the FBI framed her as an informant to engineer her assassination by already suspicious and jealous AIM members to weaken the Indigenous political movement (Mihsuah, 2003).

Pictou-Aquash's life and death in the Indigenous political resurgence demonstrate how both the state and Indigenous communities target Indigenous female leaders. The threats to Pictou-Aquash and her false framing as an informant by the FBI demonstrate the deliberate targeting of a strong, politically active and influential Indigenous woman by government

intelligence agencies in order to weaken the political pursuits of Indigenous nations challenging colonialism. Furthermore, the readiness of AIM members to dispose of her on the basis of rumours is indicative of the disregard that contemporary Indigenous communities have for females who are politically dedicated to their communities. The readiness to assassinate Pictou-Aquash might have been affected by jealousy and rivalry that AIM members held for her character and rank, a plausible explanation which would be yet another instance of the lateral violence and the hegemonic adoption of practices that maintain the suppression of one's own group. Finally, the rape of Pictou-Aquash prior to her murder signifies a violation upon her body and the sacred source of her authority and respect based on kinship laws. This violation could be read as not only sexualized crime, but also as a direct and extreme symbolic challenge to Pictou-Aquash's political and social authority as an Indigenous woman within a colonial society.

The cases of Gladue, the 17 year old sexual assault victim, and Pictou-Aquash demonstrate how Indigenous women have been systematically victimized and disempowered throughout colonialism as a direct strategy in order to bring Indigenous nations under colonial control. This process has involved legislative, political, economic, cultural, and sexual facets of systematic disempowerment, and has created lasting consequences for Indigenous women. As a result, Indigenous women are more likely to be victims of homicide and sexual violence than non-Indigenous counterparts, and despite the contextualization of this issue by Indigenous activists and scholars, it continues to be misunderstood and misrepresented as heightened crime by conservative government officials. While these acts tend to be heinous in nature, apathy from the justice system and police force enables violence towards Indigenous women, who are repeatedly stereotyped throughout the trials of their offenders. Those women who do survive are no longer seen as political agents, and those who try to assert leadership and authority as women

of their nations are silenced by either, and sometimes both, internal hegemonic factors or facets of the colonial government that are threatened by their political will. Therefore, the current status of Indigenous women within modern Canadian society, including their disproportionate violent targeting within the contexts of the MMIWG crisis, can be directly traced to their deliberate and systematic disempowerment by the Canadian government in its practice to develop and maintain a colonized Canadian nation state.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, Indigenous women tend to be targeted for homicidal violence at disproportionately high rates across Canada. While the victimization of non-Indigenous women has been declining over the years, the rate of murders of Indigenous women has been maintained. Despite the attention that this crisis has been afforded within political platforms, activist agendas, scholarly works, and in the media, Indigenous women continue to be victimized. Review of literature written by Indigenous activists and scholars allows for the MMIWG crisis to be understood as a traumatic legacy inherited from Canada's colonial past, which involved severe and detrimental disruptions to traditional political, socioeconomic, and spiritual systems that functioned to empower Indigenous women. This empowerment allowed for their general protection, well-being, and gave them the ability to contribute to the literal growth and cultural continuance of their nations. Because Indigenous women carry such a valuable role in the survivance of Indigenous nations, it was beneficial for colonial powers to systematically remove them from positions of influence. This intentional disempowerment was achieved via political, social, and economic targeting that has resulted in dangerous historic and contemporary realities for Indigenous women. Today, Indigenous women remain at the margins of society and are expected to cope within dysfunctional social systems while managing the vulnerabilities that

befall their position within sexist and racist hierarchies. It is with this theory supported by Indigenous tribalist frameworks that the MMIWG crisis has been contextualized as structural violence. A statistical comparative analysis of homicidal violence between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups will inform as to if this structural violence can be detected as interpersonal violence, and if so, which other populations might be experiencing violent victimization consequential to structural violence.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Overview of Project

Media reports from reputable sources and the “Awkward Silence” databased constructed by Dr. Maryanne Pearce (2013a, b) are used to develop a study sample and associate female homicide victims with Indigenous or non-Indigenous ancestral groups. Data from court transcripts accessed from the publicly-available Canadian Legal Information Institute (CanLII), Lexis Advance Quicklaw, and WestlawNextCanada databases are reviewed to analyze the circumstances of homicides against Indigenous female, Caucasian female, females of Colour, and general male victims. Quantitative statistical analyses allow for the determination of which underlying themes of victim and offender profiles, circumstances of the homicides, and legal outcome are dominant within homicides involving victims from each of the four demographic groups. As explained in the previous chapter, interpersonal violence specific to Indigenous women is expected to be the derivative of structural violence. With this perspective in mind, themes in homicidal tendencies are compared between victim groups to understand if, and how, structural violence manifests as interpersonal violence, and if trends in interpersonal violence can then indicate structural violence affecting other populations in Canada.

3.2 Ethics

This research is conducted with the approval of the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board (Ethics Identification: Pro00078829) and is free of conflict of interest. Despite the publicly-accessible nature of the files analyzed, this research anonymizes the data included in order to minimize the trauma to surviving family members and respect the privacy of those involved and affected by homicide. Out of respect for the families of victims and to minimize stress to survivors, the researcher did not seek to contact next of kin, families, or offenders in any

form. Because this research project seeks to analyze how victims of various sex and ancestral populations are treated in violent interactions ending in homicide, this research presents group data rather than individual case studies using statistical tests described below. While these statistical tests are appropriate for the determination of thematic differences, the use of these tests provides the added benefit of protecting the identities of the individuals involved in the homicides by analyzing data aggregately rather than as individual case studies. Although the data analyzed in this study is obtained from open source material, results are presented as anonymized and aggregate data to reduce trauma to survivors and family members.

3.3 Case Selection Criteria

While the discussion about the disproportionate violence towards Indigenous women includes both missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, this study only considers cases involving homicide for several reasons. Because thousands of individuals are missing in Canada each day, many of whom are safely located within a relatively short time frame, it is difficult to accurately establish the population of individuals who are missing, especially those who have disappeared under suspicious circumstances (RCMP, 2014). Additionally, cases of currently missing Indigenous women are difficult to accurately study, as they generally lack knowledge of the specific case details needed for accurate and thorough analysis. Thirdly, this study only includes cases of homicide rather than attempted murder so that all offenders had the equal status of being convicted murderers and the fates of the victims were equal in death. This equalization factor permits for the study of structures that contribute to vulnerability to homicide, which reflects an extreme impact of social structures upon the human existence. Focusing on extreme human behaviour is appropriate for this research, as it provides findings that directly apply to criminal actions affecting the daily lives of victims and might inform the development

of prevention and intervention programs that address such extremes; therefore, this study is limited to cases of confirmed homicide.

Only cases of culpable homicide will be considered in this study. The Criminal Code of Canada states that “A person commits homicide when, directly or indirectly, by any means, he causes the death of a human being” (Government of Canada, 2020, para. 222(1)). Unlike non-culpable homicide, culpable homicide is an offence, which includes “murder or manslaughter or infanticide” (Government of Canada, 2020, para. 222(4)). The code states that a person commits culpable homicide when they cause the death of a human being by an unlawful act, criminal negligence, by causing that human being, via threats, fear of violence, or deception, to do anything that causes their death, or by wilfully frightening that person in the case of children or sick persons (Government of Canada, 2020, para. 222(5a-d)). Hereafter, culpable homicide will simply be referred to as ‘homicide.’

This research project requires access to court transcripts that involve homicides towards victims that belong to each of the four sex and ancestral categories: Indigenous women, Caucasian women, women of Colour, and the general male population. These demographic groups have been chosen for analysis because of the connections made between colonization and violence towards Indigenous women in academic research (Smith, 2015). As suggested by Smith, Indigenous women are caught in the dangerous intersections of sexist and racist hierarchies that have been established by colonial powers. By analyzing how common patterns in the murders of Indigenous women compare to other victim groups within these intersected hierarchies, themes in the social perception of Indigenous women are determined, which provide insight regarding the factors driving the disproportionate violence towards Indigenous women.

Media files from reputable sources and the “An Awkward Silence” database (Pearce, 2013b) are used to develop a sample of homicide victims. Because the Pearce (2013a,b) database was created during the fulfillment of a doctoral study, and therefore was subject to review, and makes accessible the case details of 3, 329 women, including 824 Indigenous women, it is the most extensive resource to use for recruiting cases. This database contains information collected from websites, online police files, newspapers, government and non-governmental reports, missing women posters and other open-source information and includes cases from 1946 to 2013. The following were all selected for inclusion into her database: all women/girls listed as murdered or missing, all sex workers listed as murdered or missing (all genders), all missing women/girls in Canada, all murders of women/girls, all unidentified remains of women/girls/undetermined sex found in Canada. Pearce did not make assumptions on ethnicity based on photographs or surnames, and instead relied on available information.

Information regarding the ancestral affiliation within the above sources is referenced to assign female victims to ancestral population groups. In order to develop an appropriate sample size and produce results comparable to the report released by the RCMP (2014) providing a comprehensive overview of the targeting of Indigenous women in Canada, any cases with sufficient details and having occurred after the 1970s are included. This parameter allows for a direct analysis of the violence involved in the MMIWG crisis, for which there are comprehensive descriptive statistics concerning violence similar to this time range (RCMP, 2014). In order to limit the bias associated with the recruitment process, eligible homicide cases for each victim group are sorted first by province and then by surname. Originally, the research was intended to focus on patterns within Albertan society; however, limitations in the data available for this region require the researcher to expand the geographical range included. Thus, data collection

begins in Alberta and expands to British Columbia and then Saskatchewan in an effort to maintain a focus on Western Canada. If 50 cases are not available from these provinces, data from progressively more eastern provinces are included until either 50 cases are reviewed for each population, or until all of the accessible court transcripts from the Canadian provinces have been reviewed. Within the set of cases for each province and victim group, recruitment of cases follows in an alphabetical order to prevent the biased selection of homicide cases.

It should be noted that if the murder of one victim is connected to another whose ancestral affiliation could be identified, that case is included in this study. For this reason, the Indigenous female victim group includes over 50 victims. Because complex homicides can involve multiple offenders and victims, each with diverse motives and case details, the death of one homicide victim is considered one case. Thus, cases can include multiple offenders, but are limited to the death of one individual. In total, 183 cases are analyzed in this study (52 Indigenous women, 42 women of Colour, 39 Caucasian women, and 50 males), and data is obtained from 1,060 court transcripts and media files. The following chapter provides a basic analysis as to what case data could be located within these files.

The legal sentence ruled does not necessarily reflect the psychological profile of the offender; therefore, all homicide cases are included for analysis regardless of the legal outcome. Furthermore, the inclusion of homicide cases regardless of sentence outcome allows for the examination of differences in aggressive behaviour (Salfati, 2000). Cases include both domestic and stranger killings in order to properly reflect the violence that occurs within Canadian society and to allow for the determination of thematic differences in cases of victim selection. The inclusion of both of these types of homicide is intended to allow for an understanding of attitudes towards members of different gender and racial groups both inside and outside of personal

relationships. Unlike other studies that consider types of aggression in homicide cases (Salfati, 2000), this study considers both single and multiple homicide cases. Including cases of single and multiple homicides allows for the analysis of differences in the involvement of repeat offenders and serial offenders across murders affecting victims of different sex and ancestral statuses. Likewise, the analysis includes cases that were sexual and non-sexual in nature to allow for an understanding as to whether or not certain demographic groups are more likely to be viewed as ‘prey’ by sexual offenders in comparison to other groups. This inclusion considers that sexual violence might occur as a colonial tool towards Indigenous women, as suggested by Smith (2015). In summary, the opportunity to analyze domestic versus stranger killings, single versus multiple homicides, and non-sexual versus sexual homicides across sex and ancestral victim groups provides an opportunity to determine which, if any, populations are considered exploitable and disposable by dangerous offenders in Canada. Lastly, the analysis includes cases where offenders are older and younger than the age of 18 years. The identities of young offenders are often concealed, but the inclusion of anonymous and aggregately analyzed data did not compromise their privacy. Similarly, the research includes cases of victims of any age to inform the understanding of the attitudes of offenders towards vulnerable populations like children and seniors.

3.4 Obtaining Forensic Case Data

Court transcripts involving homicide towards victims of the stated demographic groups are accessed from the CanLII, Lexis Advance Quicklaw, and WestlawNextCanada databases which are available to the public. Court transcripts are downloaded as Word Documents or PDF files, and web pages containing media reports are downloaded as PDF files using the NCapture extension by the NVivo 12 software program. These files are imported into the NVivo 12

(version 12.3.0) software program to be reviewed and coded for relevant case details. Table 3.1 describes the case details that are collected from the transcripts, media reports and the “An Awkward Silence Database” (Pearce, 2013b) and the criteria used to determine the inclusion and recording of case details.

Table 3.1. Details collected from media reports, the “An Awkward Silence Database,” and court transcripts and the criteria used to for their inclusion.

Detail	Criteria (Recorded As)
Victim Profile	
Victim Name	Names recorded as complete as possible, only included to compile comprehensive cases using various files
Date of Death	Exact dates and estimates to compile comprehensive cases using various files
Victim Sex	Recorded to allow for comparison of violence based on victim sex (Male or Female)
Victim Age	Recorded to allow for comparison of violent targeting based on victim age across populations; if not stated explicitly in documents, age at death was calculated using date of birth and date of death when possible
Victim Ancestry	Recorded to allow for comparison of themes of violence affecting members of various populations; detail obtained from the “An Awkward Silence” database; not recorded for male victims (Indigenous, Caucasian, Woman of Colour)
Victim as Known Sex Worker?	Recorded to allow for comparison of violent targeting of individuals in the sex trade across populations; determined using explicit statements in files stating that the individual worked in the sex trade (Sex Worker or No Mention as Sex Worker)
Victim Intoxicated?	Recorded to allow for comparison of potential heightened vulnerability of victims across populations; based on explicit statements in the files stating that the individual consumed drugs or alcohol prior to death (Victim Intoxicated or No Mention of Victim Intoxicated)
Victim-Offender Relationship	
Recorded to compare types of violence across victim groups (Acquaintance, Friends, Spousal, Other or Former Intimate, Other Family, Strangers, Unknown)	
Number of Offenders	
Recorded to compare the direction of group violence upon individuals across populations	
Offender Profile	
Offender Names	Names recorded as complete as possible, only included to compile comprehensive cases using various files
Offender Age at the Time of Offence	Recorded to compare age of offenders targeting members of various populations to understand differences in youth, adult, and senior offences; if not stated explicitly in documents, age at the time of offence was calculated using date of birth and date of offence when possible
Offender Sex	Recorded to allow for comparison of violence based on offender sex (Male or Female)
Offender Ancestry	Recorded to allow for determination of which populations are violently targeting members of certain populations; detail determined from presence or absence of statements in files explicitly indicating or suggesting ancestral affiliation (Not Mentioned as Indigenous, Possibly Indigenous, or Indigenous)

Offender Intoxicated?	Recorded to allow for a comparison of the involvement of intoxicating substances and possibly impaired judgment in offences across victim populations (Offender Intoxicated, Offender Not Intoxicated, Not Known if Offender was Intoxicated)
Previous Sex or Violence Related Charges or Convictions?	Recorded to allow for a comparison of likelihood for offenders with violent histories to target members of certain populations; details taken from explicit statements in the coded files (None Found or Yes)
Previous Sexually-Related Charges or Convictions?	Recorded to compare the reoffending of sex offenders in the violent targeting of members of certain populations; details taken from explicit statements in the coded files (None Found or Yes)
Offender Motive	Recorded to compare reasons for killing across victim populations; when not stated explicitly, motive was deduced from circumstances of the crime (Argument; Financial or Personal Gain; Frustration, Anger or Despair; Jealousy; Revenge; Sexual, Sadistic, Power, or Pleasure; Other; No Apparent Motive)
Expression of Remorse, Guilt, or Emotional Response?	Recorded to compare homicides where offenders were consciously emotionally affected by their actions and expressed this in some form; when not stated explicitly within files, this detail was informed by the recorded post-offence behaviour of the offender (Shown, Not Shown, or Unknown)
Offender Charge	Recorded to compare initial charges across populations and how these charges upheld following convictions
Offender Conviction	Recorded to compare the intentionality and deliberation of homicides involving members of different populations, and in certain instances, how the remains of the victim were treated postmortem
Offender Sentence	Recorded to compare the punishment given to offenders who killed victims of different populations
Circumstances of Homicide	
Cause of Death	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations (Physical Beating; Shooting; Smoke Inhalation or Burns; Stabbing or Slitting; Strangulation, Suffocation, or Drowning; Other)
Weapon	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations
Trauma Types	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations; included instances of rape and postmortem trauma (Blast, Blunt Force, Gunfire or Projectile, Perimortem Burning, or Sharp)
Trauma Locations	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations; included instances of rape and postmortem trauma (Abdomen, Anus or Genitalia, Arms, Back, Chest, Face, Feet, General Body, Hands, Head, Legs, or Neck)
Multiple or Single Killing Method	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations; detail based on the number of types of cause of death involved (Single Killing Method, Multiple Killing Methods, or Unknown)
Evidence of Ligature, Restraint, or Confinement During Life	Recorded to compare to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations in terms of kidnapping and predation (No, Yes, or Unknown)
Evidence of Blindfolding	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations in terms of dehumanization (No, Yes, or Unknown)
Evidence of Sexual Activity by Perpetrator	Recorded to compare rates of sexual violence affecting certain populations; included kissing, consensual and paid sexual activities; cases involving any of the following factors were considered sexual in nature: victim's lack of attire, exposure of sexual body parts on the victim, positioning of the victim's body in a sexual manner, evidence of insertion of foreign objects into any cavities of the victim, evidence of sexual intercourse, evidence of a substitute sexual activity, interest, or fantasy (Ressler, 1988; Ressler et al., 1986; No, Yes, or Unknown)

Evidence of Torture	Recorded to compare the nature of violence affecting members of different populations (No, Yes, or Unknown)
Evidence of Postmortem Mutilation	Recorded to compare the treatment of victim remains by offenders across victim populations; included dismemberment and burning (No, Yes, or Unknown)
Evidence of Kidnapping	Recorded to compare the kidnapping of victims under 18 years of age (No, Yes, or Unknown)
Community of Homicide	Recorded to compare the geographical locations of homicidal violence affecting members of different populations
Location of Homicide	Recorded to compare the categorical locations of violence affecting members of different populations (Reserve; Rural Corporate or Commercial; Rural Hotel or Motel; Rural Land; Rural Residence; Rural Vehicle, Public Transport, Parking Lot or Street; Urban Corporate or Commercial; Urban Hotel or Motel; Urban Land; Urban Residence; Urban Vehicle, Public Transport, Parking Lot or Street; Urban Water; Other; Unknown)
Remains or Live Victim Transported by Offender?	Recorded to compare the transportation of victims and remains between locations across victim groups
Effort to Burn or Conceal Remains?	Recorded to allow for a comparison of the treatment of victim remains by offenders across victim populations (Not Burnt or Concealed; Effort to Conceal Remains, Effort to Burn Remains, Effort to Burn and Conceal Remains, Unknown)
Connection to Other Homicides?	Recorded to allow for a comparison of serial offenders affecting members of different populations; any other homicide-related charges or convictions held by the offender in a case were included

The above criteria have been selected because of the significance these factors hold in identifying established homicide themes within criminal psychology (Feshbach, 1964; Salfati, 2000; Beauregard & Proulx, 2002) and because of their relevance in comparing the nature of violence across populations in the current study. When conflicting information is presented across the files, the information included in court transcripts is considered to likely be more accurate than the information presented by media files, and therefore is privileged over other information. When convictions were appealed, the most recent convictions are coded to prevent severe limitations in the data available for analysis. As the cases are being reviewed and coded, the case details are entered into a Data Collection Form within the Microsoft Excel program.

3.5 Statistical Analysis

Statistical analyses of the data collected involves two steps, which are both conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 24.0.0.0.) software. Each

variable is tested for significant differences across victim groups using one-way ANOVA tests and the chi-square test for independence. Because these tests are commonly used to identify statistical significance values within datasets, they are deemed as appropriate in detecting subtle, but significant, differences in homicide case details between the victim groups. After individual variables are analyzed, the cooccurrence of variables is visualized using statistical tools to understand how variables commonly occurring in the homicides of each group coalesce into major themes of violence. To achieve this visualization, data collected within the Data Collection Form is analyzed using the nonmetric multidimensional scaling (MDS) procedure, smallest space analysis (SSA). Using SSA, the underlying themes in the offences to the bodies of the victims and the other specified investigative details (Table 3.1) are determined by analyzing the relationships between all variables under study. Thus, SSA is run for each population to consider the themes in population-specific homicides in order to identify how violence affecting Indigenous women compares to violence affecting other populations. Then a fifth plot is created to understand which victim groups experienced themes of violence more similar, and which groups experienced natures of violence more distinct. The remainder of this section will describe how SSA works and how it can be applied in forensic research.

Multidimensional scaling is a family of analytical methods used in the interpretation of the relationships between variables and it is primarily concerned with representation. This statistical tool measures the empirical relationships of data within geometric space (Ding, 2018). The method is usually used to spatially portray data to allow for the visualization of what the data indicate. Solutions produced by MDS models consist of configurations of data points, or object points, representing individual variables in a common space of small number and dimensions, and for this reason, is often called smallest space analysis (SSA), particularly when

the Euclidean distance model is used (Ding, 2018). This model is useful because a wide range of data and measures are acceptable inputs, and any data that are measures of similarity or dissimilarity can be used in MDS modeling. Secondly, the sample size for MDS analysis can range from a few subjects to a few hundred. This leniency is due to the fact that this test is more of a descriptive, rather than a value of statistical significance (Ding, 2018).

Smallest space analysis provides the spatial representation of the relationships between each variable with every other variable, allowing for the visualization of variables that tend to co-occur (Salfati, 2000; Bloombaum, 1970). This analysis quantifies the relationships between variables via association coefficients. The rank order of the coefficients is then represented graphically as distances in geometric space. The greater the association between two variables, the closer together those points will be on a spatial plot (Bloombaum, 1970; Ding, 2018). Thus, variables that often occur together across homicide cases will maintain spatial proximity, allowing for patterns and themes in the offences against the bodies of different sex and ancestral groups to be visualized graphically. The coefficient of alienation provides an assessment of the measure of fit of the spatial representation found in the matrix. The better the fit, the lower the value of the coefficient of alienation. Multidimensional scaling uses stress measures, where the higher the measure, the worse the fit, where 0 describes a perfect fit and 1 describes the worst possible fit (Ding, 2018). Stress values increase as variables increase (Ding, 2018). Kruskal S1 values can be interpreted as the percentage of variance in disparities between variables that cannot be explained by the model. Values of 0.00 are perfect, 0.025 are excellent, 0.05 are good, 0.10 are fair, and 0.20 are considered poor.

Because MDS is a visual tool, interpretation should focus on the general clustering patterns within regions of the plot, via the cluster-pattern approach (Ding, 2018). This

interpretation is an alternative to the more traditional dimensional interpretation approach, where the location of variables is analyzed and dimensions are assigned to the configuration (Ding, 2018). Interpretation of MDS plots can be subjective, as there is no clear consensus for analysis, but interpretations of solution configurations tend to focus on finding patterns in the clusters of variables rather than by interpreting dimensions, as is more commonly done (Ding, 2018).

Smallest space analysis is the most appropriate statistical method to employ in this research given that the alternate hypothesis is based on the idea that factors commonly occurring together will be indicative of underlying themes in the murders of different populations. Recently, MDS has been used as an exploratory tool in the analysis of latent profiles. This technique uses MDS models to identify major patterns in behaviour (Ding, 2018). MDS analysis has proven useful when applied in pattern hypothesis testing, where a hypothesis is compared with data and the similarity between the two is assessed (Ding, 2018). More specifically, MDS has been successfully used in similar studies investigating themes in expressive and instrumental aggression (Salfati, 2000), emotion and personality (Plutchick & Conte, 1997), and topics in homicide (Salfati & Canter, 1999), and therefore can confidently be utilized in this investigation.

3.6 Selecting a Theoretical Framework

As indicated previously, this research contextualizes the MMIWG crisis as a consequence of colonialism via Indigenous tribalist theory in order to consider how structural violence manifests as interpersonal violence. This relationship has been investigated by carefully selecting cases subjected to statistical analysis. This combination of Western and Indigenous research methodology is employed to help to establish a balance and respect for different, yet equally valid approaches to exploring an issue that affects Canada as a multi-racial and multi-cultural society. Additionally, this approach allows for the research to be conducted by, for, and with

Indigenous peoples (Wilson, 2008) as much as is respectfully possible, while maintaining the language of the Western academy. This approach is intended to provoke dialogue regarding gendered and racialized violence throughout Canada despite the challenges of epistemological differences.

Vine Deloria Jr. once wrote, “I can see no useful purpose for any additional research or writing on Indians, other than as a form of entertainment” (Mihsuah, 2003). With this statement and the consideration of the trauma that anthropological research has brought to Indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013) in mind, it is important to consider the intent and design behind any research considering Indigenous peoples. Like Mihsuah, “I should not produce a manuscript about my tribe or another tribe unless it is useful to them, and I will not write about historic Native women unless the project benefits their descendants” (6, 2003). In keeping with these tribal ethics, this research employs practices of academic integrity and responsibility because while there are political and socioeconomic issues affecting Indigenous peoples that can no longer be ignored (Mihsuah, 2003), it is equally important to engage in this dialogue in such a way that is respectful to and considerate of victims and survivors for the purposes of healing and to support the goals of Indigenous nations as reconciliation requires. One way that this form of academic integrity and respect can be maintained is by giving voice to survivors and the deceased by integrating their perspectives into the current dialogue, such as by using Indigenous tribalist theory to understand and contextualize the violence they continue to experience.

An introduction to Indigenous tribalist theory is provided in the previous chapter. There are many reasons why this research question privileges the application of Indigenous tribalist theory over the employ of mainstream feminist theory. Indigenous writers caution against the application of settler theory to analyze Indigenous experiences (Mihsuah, 2003), and for

thoroughly-supported reasons. The prioritization of community well-being distinguishes Indigenous tribalisms from settler feminisms, which fail to consider issues pertaining to Indigenous women that derive from colonial processes (Huhndorf & Suzack, 2010, pp. 2). In short, it is inappropriate to apply mainstream feminist theory to the experiences of Indigenous women because their experience is unique in the sense that they are not only affected by the hierarchy of sex but are also challenged by colonially-imposed racial hierarchies. Therefore, it is impossible for settler feminist theory to fully comprehend or appreciate the issues faced, priorities made, and pursuits undertaken by Indigenous women. In addition, many Indigenous women are not interested in mainstream feminisms because settler women have benefited from the oppression of Indigenous women (Mihsuah, 2003), and have actively participated in the disempowerment of Indigenous peoples. Examples of their contributions to oppression include their support of 'pro-civilization' movements, the failure to acknowledge the political successes of coloured feminists unless they served the needs of settler women, and the exclusion of coloured women from feminist groups (Zackodnick, 2010, pp. 110).

While there are many reasons to reject the application of mainstream feminisms in this context, there are several reasons to apply Indigenous tribalist perspectives. Choosing to identify as an Indigenous tribalist allows for the unification of women and men in the pursuit of improvement for Indigenous nations, as opposed to the division that can result from identifying solely as a feminist and possibly becoming misunderstood as being antagonistic to men or Indigenous rights (Mihsuah, 2003). Furthermore, it is appropriate to apply Indigenous tribalist theory to understand the issue of violence against Indigenous women because it allows for a more holistic contextualization of the issue based on relevant life experience and traditional understandings of the body, sex, and community, (Mihsuah, 2003), as opposed to solely

understanding the issue as heightened crime based on a reductionist perspective (Ditchburn, 2014). In the absence of holistic contextualization, awareness of disproportionate violence to Indigenous women can reinforce colonial values and misunderstandings, including stereotypes of Indigenous male aggression and Indigenous female passivity (Mihe-suah, 2003); therefore, awareness of this issue gains little, if any progress, in the absence of an appropriate theoretical framework to provide relevant contextualization.

Given that Indigenous women belong to the community of MMIWG survivors, it would be inappropriate and dismissive to ignore and fail to incorporate their understandings into this work, as these individuals have actively vocalized their struggles and needs and best understand their challenges via lived and second-hand experience. By applying Indigenous tribalist theory to interpret the issue of violence towards Indigenous women, this research empowers Indigenous women by acknowledging and integrating their perspectives and experiences into a critical, constructive, and academic dialogue about their past, present, and future experiences.

While considering the research question and theoretical understanding employed are of critical importance, it is also crucial that individuals assess their own responsibility to engage with colonially-derived issues. According to Regan, all Canadian citizens are ultimately responsible for the past and present actions of the government and the consequences that result (2010). Along similar lines, Dean suggests that in considering our ‘implicatedness’ to the issue of violence against Indigenous women, we can begin to move beyond the role of a spectator and towards accepting responsibility for the injustices inflicted (2015). As a *Néhiyaw-iskwéw* (Cree woman) with European ancestry, the researcher considers using her anthropological and experiential skillset to decolonize current understandings of violence towards Indigenous women as fulfilling part of her responsibility to reconciliation. Such an endeavor will involve the

integration of western methodology (through academic writing), and Indigenous epistemology (through the integration of Indigenous tribalist contextualization of the MMIWG crisis), to develop a constructive, critical, and inclusive dialogue about how structural violence continues to affect Indigenous peoples. This endeavor is in line with the Indigenous belief that Rainbow Children, who are mixed in ancestry and diverse in perspectives, have roles in bridging the divisions that exist between peoples of the world. With this approach at hand, it is imperative to begin the decolonization of the understanding of violence towards Indigenous women with knowledge of their roles, responsibilities, and rights within their traditional societies and how these have changed throughout colonization.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Availability of Data

Of the female victims listed in the Pearce (2013b) database as having Indigenous (Aboriginal, First Nations, Metis, or Inuit), Caucasian and other ancestral origins and whose murders have since resulted in legal convictions, 133 of those cases have court transcripts available for review on the case law sites considered. Fifty-two of those cases are those pertaining to the victimization of Indigenous females, whose homicides occurred between 1980 and 2011 in Alberta and British Columbia. Only 42 cases pertaining to females of Colour are available for review; these include homicides that had occurred between 1991 and 2012 in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Manitoba. Thirty-nine homicide cases involving Caucasian female victims are included and involve females who had been murdered between 1990 and 2010 in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Quebec, and the Yukon Territories. Fifty cases of male homicides that were identified in media reports have data available on the case law sites for review. These cases had taken place between 1976 and 2017 in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. In total 183 cases are reviewed, each having a single victim, but involving between one and six offenders. In some circumstances, a single offender was involved in the murders of up to 10 victims included in this study. A total of 1,060 files are reviewed in this analysis, comprised of 827 court transcripts and 233 digital news articles.

Because the data collected within this study originates from open-sourced material within publicly-available court transcripts and news articles, it was deemed necessary to consider the proportion of data that is available for each variable considered. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Amount of case data available for review within 827 publicly-accessible court transcripts and 233 media files reviewed in this study.

Variable	Known Count	Unknown Count	Total Count	Proportion Known (%)
<i>Victim Profile</i>				
Name	180	0	183	100
Date of death	183	0	183	100
Sex	183	0	183	100
Ancestry	183	0	183	100
Age	161	22	183	88.0
Mentioned as sex worker	181	2	183	99.0
Possibly intoxicated	181	2	183	99.0
<i>Offender Profile</i>				
Number of offenders	177	6	183	96.7
Name or identifier (in case of young offenders)	257	0	257	100
Sex	256	1	257	99.6
Ancestry	253	4	257	98.4
Age	217	40	257	84.4
Victim-offender relationship	223	34	257	86.7
Previous sex or violence related charges or convictions	257	0	257	100
Previous sex related charges or convictions	257	0	257	100
Remorseful response	151	106	257	58.8*
Possibly intoxicated	230	27	257	89.5
<i>Details of Offence</i>				
Motive	238	19	257	92.6
Cause of death	167	16	183	91.3
Weapon	167	16	183	91.3
Trauma types and locations	169	14	183	92.3
Multiple versus single killing method	166	17	183	90.7
Evidence of ligature, restraint or confinement	167	16	183	91.3
Evidence of blindfolding	171	12	183	93.4
Evidence of sexual activity	179	4	183	97.8
Evidence of torture	178	5	183	92.3
Evidence of postmortem mutilation	171	12	183	93.4
Kidnapping	182	1	183	99.5
Community of homicide	182	1	183	99.5
Location of homicide	173	10	183	94.5
Live victim or remains transported	181	2	183	98.9
Effort to burn or conceal human remains	180	3	183	98.4
Charge	245	12	257	95.3
Conviction	257	0	257	100
Sentence	247	10	257	96.1
Connections to other homicide related charges or convictions	183	0	183	100

*Variables for which <80% of the data across all cases could be found

Overall, 94.4% of the data sought after is located within the primary sources. The only variable for which less than 80% of the data could be found is the expression of remorse by the offender, and so that variable is not further analyzed in this study. The consistently high proportions of data found across nearly all of the considered variables demonstrate the availability of several relevant forensic case details within publicly available sources. The findings for each variable are compared across groups using chi-square and one-way ANOVA tests. The findings of these statistical comparisons are presented in the following three sections. See the cross tabulated data for each variable in the Appendix.

4.2 Victim and Offender Profiles

Table 4.2. Summary of statistical results for all variables pertaining to the victim and offender profiles compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups.

Variable	Chi Square Test		Symmetric Measures	ANOVA
	Pearson Chi Square	Likelihood Ratio	Cramer's V (Significance)	Between groups significance
<i>Victim Profile</i>				
Age group/mean age	0.565 ^{AV}	0.414	0.215 (0.565)	0.188
Mentioned as sex worker	0.001** ^{AV}	0.000**	0.301 (0.001)	-
Possibly intoxicated	0.000**	0.000**	0.408 (0.000)	-
<i>Offender Profile</i>				
Number of offenders	0.004* ^{AV}	0.001**	0.251 (0.004)	-
Sex	0.411	0.426	0.106 (0.411)	-
Ancestry	0.000**	0.000**	0.283 (0.000)	-
Age group/mean age	0.227 ^{AV}	0.232	0.184 (0.227)	0.104
Victim-offender relationship	0.000 ^{AV} **	0.000**	0.397 (0.000)	-
Previous sex or violence related charges or convictions	0.000**	0.000**	0.350 (0.000)	-
Previous sex related charges or convictions	0.000** ^{AV}	0.000**	0.290 (0.000)	-
Possibly intoxicated	0.000**	0.000**	0.294 (0.000)	-

^{AV}=Assumptions violated

*p<0.05

**p<0.01

Table 4.2 presents the results of statistical comparisons of factors concerning the victim and offender profiles between the four groups. Significant differences are not found in the age groups or mean age of the victims across the groups analyzed; however, the significance values for the victims mentioned as having worked in the sex trade or having consumed intoxicating

substances at the time of death allow for the rejection of the null hypothesis that these variables are independent of victim sex and ancestry. The Cramer’s V values for these values are greater than 0.30, suggesting that the relationships between these variables and victim group are strong.

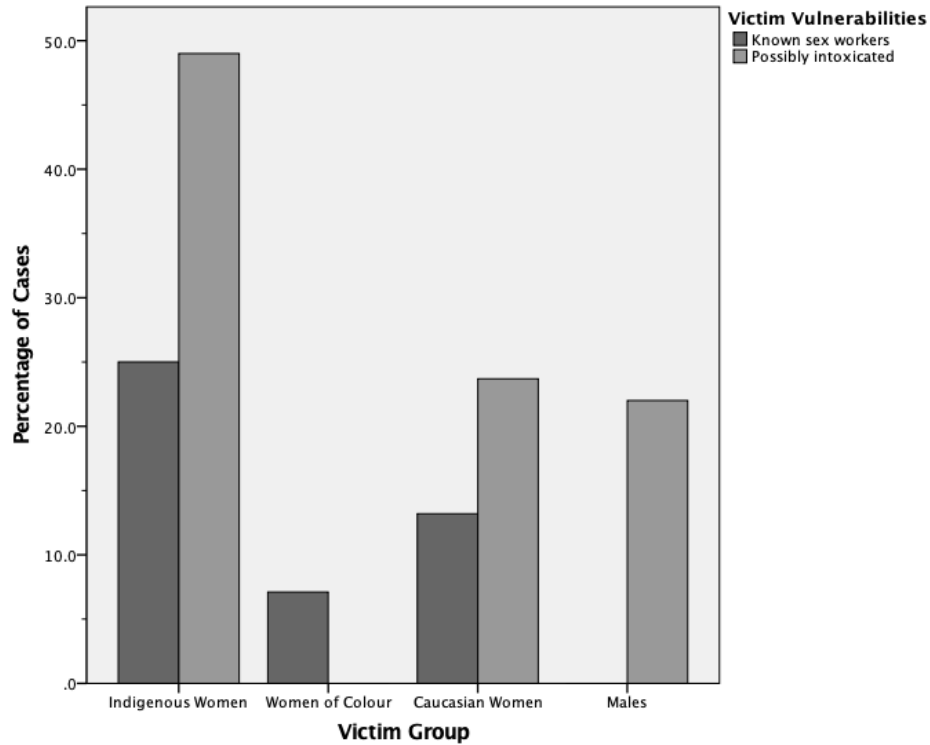


Figure 4.1. Differences in the percentage of victims who were known sex workers or possibly intoxicated at the time death.

The data presented in Figure 4.1 illustrates that Indigenous female victims are more likely than victims of other groups to have been known sex workers (25.0%) and have consumed intoxicating substances at the time of death (49.0%) more often than victims of other origins. Comparably, only 13.2% of Caucasian women and 7.1% of the women of Colour are known to have worked in the sex trade. None of the male victims were known sex workers. Caucasian women and males are almost equally likely to have been intoxicated at the time of death, with the proportions of possibly intoxicated victims at 23.7% and 22.0%, respectively, whereas none of the women of Colour were intoxicated. When interpreting the results regarding these

variables, it is important that the participation of victims in the sex trade and the consumption of intoxicants is relevant in terms of vulnerability and is not meant to attribute blame to the victims.

As presented in Table 4.2, the ages and sexes of offenders does not differ based on victim sex and ancestry; however, several significant differences in other factors of the offender profiles are found. Moderately strong relationships are found between victim group and the number of offenders convicted. Male victims are more likely to have been killed by multiple offenders than every other group, as only 56.8% of cases involved a single offender (see Appendix). Indigenous women are most likely to have been murdered by a single individual, as 94.2% of these cases involved a single offender. Homicides against women of Colour and Caucasian women tend to involve similar numbers of offenders, as most of these victims were killed by a single individual (78.6% and 82.1%, respectively), with only a few cases involving multiple perpetrators.

Significant differences are found in the offender ancestry, and this relationship is shown to be moderately strong. Indigenous women are most likely to be killed by Indigenous offenders at a rate of 30.9% (see Appendix). Males are murdered by Indigenous perpetrators at a rate of 15.1%, followed by women of Colour and Caucasian women at 5.2% and 4.3%, respectively. These rates are likely explained by the differences in the victim-offender relationships between the victim groups, as presented in Figure 4.2. After combining the acquaintance, friends, family, spousal, and other or former intimate groups, a cumulative total of 46.3% of offenders against Indigenous women are involved in their lives and community, and in many cases, these are other Indigenous people (most of the 30.9%, see Appendix). It is important to consider the proportion of Indigenous offenders and the relationships of victims to these offenders to address the common statement that most of the offenders against Indigenous women are Indigenous men. This statement is often made in defence against claims that the MMIWG crisis is rooted in the

colonial history of Canadian society. It is important to recognize that 53.7% of offenders against Indigenous women are strangers, and only 30.9% of the offenders are found to be Indigenous, who are very likely to comprise offender groups other than strangers. Thus, many of the killers of Indigenous women are non-Indigenous strangers. When considering spousal violence, Indigenous women are less likely to be killed by a spouse than women of Colour (18.5%, 30.0%, respectively). In addition, they are the least likely of victims to be killed by friends and family. To summarize, while many deaths of Indigenous women are caused by Indigenous men, this is because Indigenous women tend to associate with other Indigenous people, just as Caucasian people often associate with other Caucasian people. But even after these relationships are accounted for, many of the murders of Indigenous women involve non-Indigenous strangers.

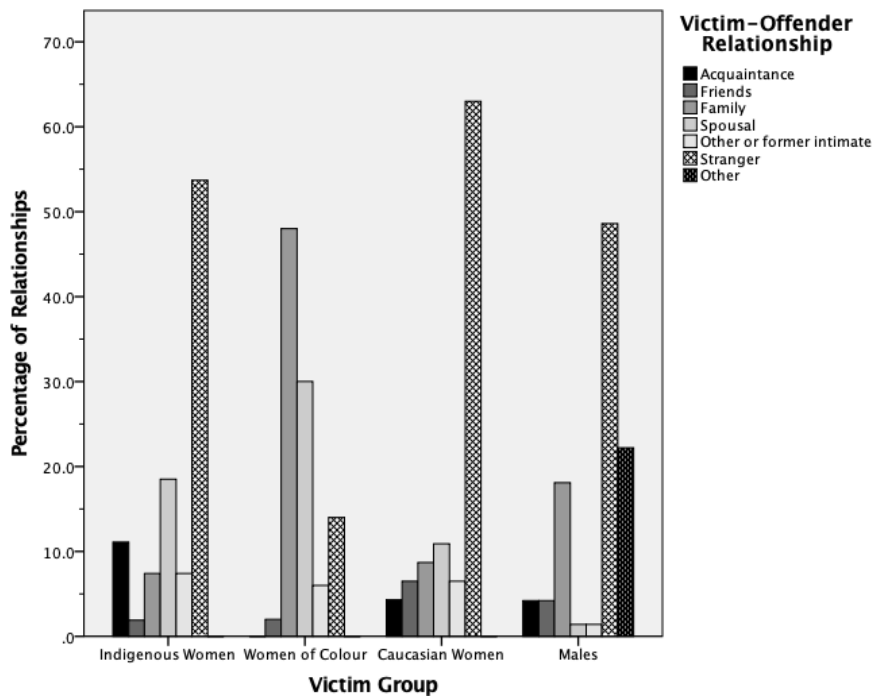


Figure 4.2. Differences in the proportions of relationships between victims and offenders across victim groups.

Of all victim-offender relationships analyzed, the acquaintance, friends, and other or former intimate variables are found to be independent of the victim group variable (Table 4.2).

The family, spousal, stranger, and ‘other’ categories are not found to be independent of the victim sex and ancestrally-based groups, and the association between victim-offender relationships and the groups is strong. Of all the groups, women of Colour are most likely to be killed by a family member (48.0%) or spouse (30.0%), and are the least likely to have been killed by a stranger (14.0%), whereas murders by strangers are the leading relationship found in the murders of Indigenous women (53.7%), Caucasian women (63.0%), and males (48.6%). Spousal and acquaintance relationships between victims and offenders are common in murders against Indigenous women. Males are most likely to be murdered by members of the ‘other’ category at a rate of 22.0%, whereas none of the other victim groups were murdered by members of this group. ‘Other’ relationships included roommates, coworkers, classmates, gang affiliates and members of the drug trade.

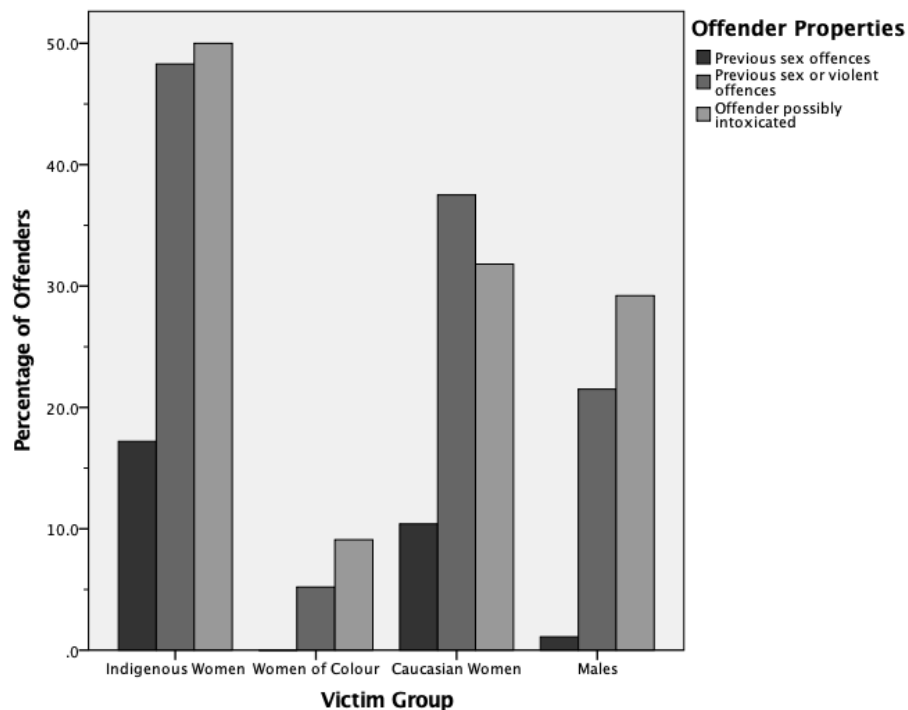


Figure 4.3. Differences in the proportions of offenders who had sex or sex and violent-related charges or convictions prior to committing homicide or who committed homicide after having consumed intoxicating substances.

Results of the analysis indicate that offenders having previous sex or violent-related charges or convictions, or sex related charges or convictions alone is dependent on the victim group (Table 4.2), and that these associations are strong and moderate, respectively. Similarly, the occurrence of offenders having consumed intoxicating substances is found to be dependent on the victim group, with a moderate association between these variables (Table 4.2). Figure 4.3 presents the proportions of these variables across the victim groups. Offenders against Indigenous women are the most likely to already have previous sex offences, previous sex or violent offences, and consume intoxicating substances prior to committing homicide. In contrast, the offenders against women of Colour are the least likely to demonstrate each of these three variables, whereas offenders against the other two groups are similar to each other in that they display these factors moderately.

4.3 Details of Homicides

Table 4.3. Summary of statistical results for all variables pertaining to the offence compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups.

Variable	Chi Square Test		Symmetric Measures
	Pearson Chi Square	Likelihood Ratio	Cramer's V (Significance)
<i>Motive</i>			
Argument	0.597	0.585	0.089 (0.597)
Financial or personal gain	0.000**	0.000**	0.424 (0.000)
Frustration, anger or despair	0.108	0.104	0.160 (0.108)
Jealousy	0.227 ^{AV}	0.241	0.135 (0.227)
Revenge	0.062 ^{AV}	0.031	0.176 (0.062)
Sexual, sadistic, power, or pleasure	0.000**	0.000**	0.421 (0.000)
Other motive	0.030*	0.038*	0.194 (0.030)
No apparent motive	0.010**	0.017*	0.219 (0.010)
<i>Cause of death</i>			
Physical beating	0.020*	0.020*	0.243 (0.020)
Shooting	0.000**	0.000**	0.386 (0.000)
Smoke inhalation or burns	0.233 ^{AV}	0.185	0.160 (0.233)
Stabbing	0.004**	0.004**	0.281 (0.004)
Strangulation, suffocation, or drowning	0.006**	0.003**	0.274 (0.006)
Other cause of death	0.247 ^{AV}	0.152	0.158 (0.247)
<i>Trauma types</i>			
Blunt force	0.001**	0.001**	0.302 (0.001)
Gunfire or projectile	0.000**	0.000**	0.348 (0.000)

Table 4.3 continued

Perimortem burning	0.811 ^{AV}	0.814	0.075 (0.811)
Sharp force	0.012*	0.011*	0.255 (0.012)
Other trauma type	0.673 ^{AV}	0.523	0.095 (0.673)
<i>Trauma locations</i>			
Abdomen	0.356	0.355	0.148 (0.356)
Anus or genitalia	0.002**	0.001**	0.315 (0.002)
Arms	0.553	0.562	0.119 (0.553)
Back	0.609	0.596	0.112 (0.609)
Chest	0.609	0.608	0.112 (0.609)
Face	0.324	0.298	0.154 (0.324)
Feet	0.487 ^{AV}	0.480	0.129 (0.487)
General body	0.339 ^{AV}	0.249	0.151 (0.339)
Hands	0.511 ^{AV}	0.484	0.125 (0.511)
Head	0.428	0.426	0.137 (0.428)
Legs	0.640 ^{AV}	0.643	0.107 (0.640)
Neck	0.001**	0.001**	0.341 (0.001)
Other location	0.986 ^{AV}	0.986	0.031 (0.986)
<i>Homicide Details</i>			
Use of weapon	0.003**	0.004**	0.287 (0.003)
Multiple versus single killing method	0.219	0.224	0.163 (0.219)
Evidence of ligature, restraint or confinement	0.347	0.339	0.141 (0.347)
Evidence of blindfolding	0.318 ^{AV}	0.387	0.143 (0.318)
Evidence of sexual activity	0.000**	0.000**	0.449 (0.000)
Evidence of torture	0.028 ^{AV}	0.006**	0.226 (0.028)
Evidence of postmortem mutilation	0.957	0.955	0.043 (0.957)
Kidnapping	0.221	0.165	0.156 (0.221)
Location of homicide	0.016 ^{AV}	0.003**	0.333 (0.016)
Live victim or remains transported	0.004**	0.003**	0.269 (0.004)
Effort to burn or conceal human remains	0.079	0.073	0.194 (0.079)

^{AV}=Assumptions violated

*p<0.05

**p<0.01

As shown in Table 4.3, several factors pertaining to the details of the homicides are found to be dependent on the victim groups. Most types of motives are not represented differently across victim groups, with the exception of financial or personal gain (FPG); sexual, sadistic, power or pleasure (SSPP), ‘other’ motives, or no apparent motive found. As illustrated in Figure 4.4, males are most likely to have been killed for the FPG (44.8%) of others, which is far greater than that of other groups. Indigenous women and Caucasian women are both most likely to be killed due to SSPP motives (44.2% and 40.4%, respectively). The murders of women of Colour are most likely to be motivated by other factors (34.6%), which include: discipline, wanting to

end relationships or not wanting to be left by a partner, avoiding penalty for fear of a live victim reporting their behaviour, disgust towards transsexuality, being unable to care for a child, not wanting to care for illegitimate children, and several honour killings. Caucasian women tend to be more likely than victims of other groups to be killed without motives pertaining directly to them, but rather are casualties of violence between others (no apparent motive, 17.0%). Strong associations are found between the FPG and SSPP motives and the victim groups (Table 4.2).

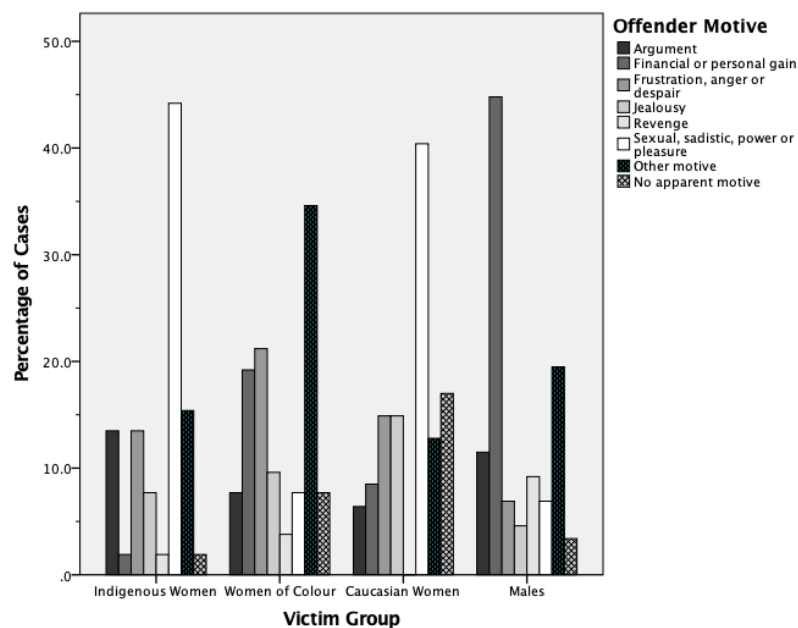


Figure 4.4. Percentage of cases in which offenders were motivated by various factors to commit homicide against victims of diverse sex and ancestral origins.

Differences between causes of death are all found to be dependent on victim group, with the exception of smoke inhalation or burns and the other category (Table 4.2). All other associations are found to be moderate or strong (shooting). Figure 4.5 demonstrates that Indigenous women were equally likely to have died by physical beating or stabbing (45.2%). Males are most likely to have been shot (53.2%), which occurred at much greater rates than seen in other groups. All three groups of women suffered strangulation, suffocation, or drowning at

much greater rates (26.2% to 39.0%) than males (8.5%). This cause of death is most common to women of Colour.

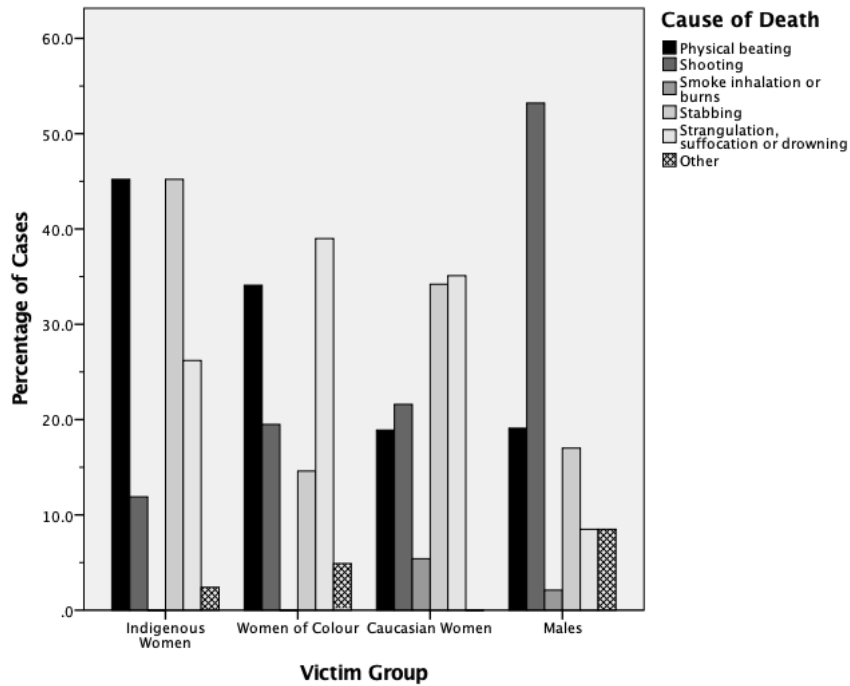


Figure 4.5. Percentage of cases in which victims of sex and ancestrally based groups were killed by different methods.

Differences in the causes of death across the groups are reflected in the types of trauma suffered by each victim group. Table 4.2 indicates that the occurrence of blunt, gunfire or projectile, and sharp force trauma types are found to be dependent on victim group and that these variables are moderately (sharp force) and strongly associated with victim sex and ancestry. Figure 4.6 indicates that Indigenous women and women of Colour are more likely to have suffered blunt force trauma than the other groups, although blunt force trauma is the most common trauma type amongst all female groups. Males are most likely to suffer gunfire or projectile trauma, and sharp force trauma most was most commonly suffered by Indigenous women.

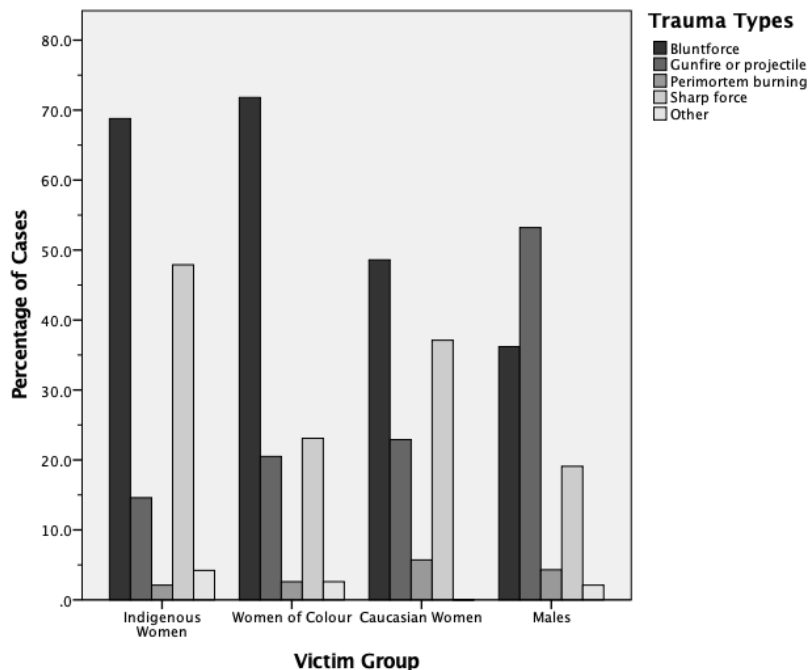


Figure 4.6. Percentage of cases in which victims of sex and ancestrally based groups suffered various forms of trauma at their time of death.

Results presented in Table 4.3 indicate that of the trauma locations recorded, only trauma to the anus or genitalia and neck are found to be dependent on victim group. Trauma to the anus or genitalia is most common in Indigenous women (37.2%), followed by Caucasian women (32.3%), males (13.2%), and women of Colour (5.7%). Trauma to the neck is greatest in Caucasian women (67.7%), followed by women of Colour (45.7%), Indigenous women (32.6%), and then males (21.1%). These results and the proportions of trauma to other locations are illustrated in Figure 4.7. Table 4.3 indicates that the use of a weapon is dependent on victim group, and was most common in the homicides of Indigenous women (92.7%, see Appendix), followed by males (91.3%). This factor occurred in 78.9% of the homicides of Caucasian women and was least common in those of women of Colour (65.9%).

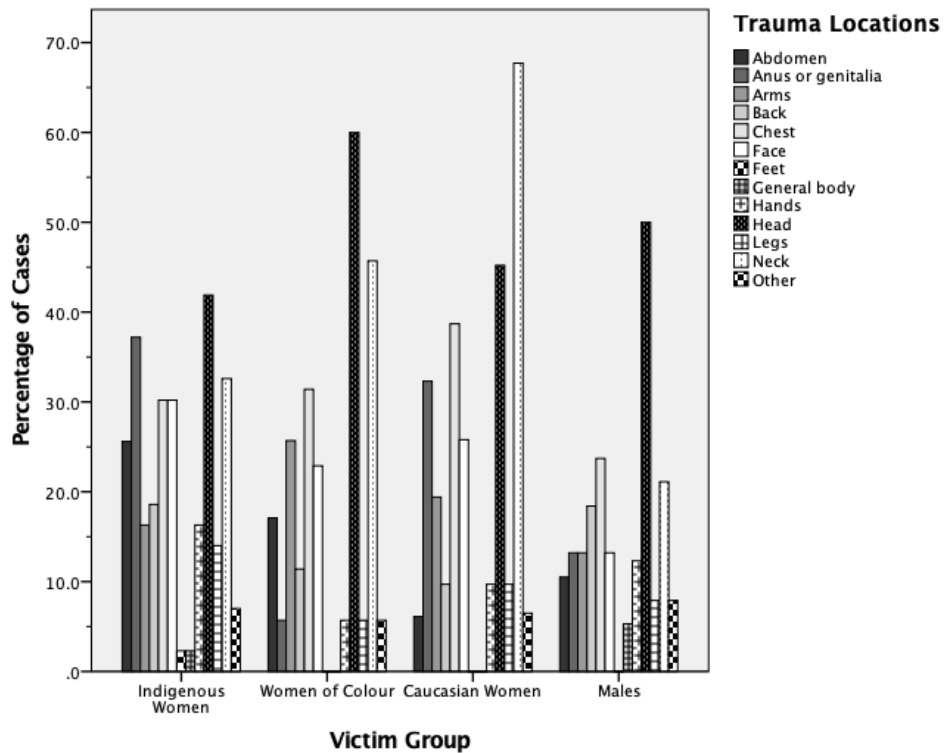


Figure 4.7. Percentage of cases in which victims of sex and ancestrally based groups suffered trauma to various locations across the body.

This study coded cases for the evidence of ligature, restraint, confinement; blindfolding, sexual activity, torture, postmortem mutilation, and kidnapping. As per the results presented in Table 4.3, only the occurrences of sexual activity and torture are dependent on victim group and had strong and moderate associations with victim sex and ancestry, respectively. Figure 4.8 shows that rates of sexual activity and torture are highest in cases involving Indigenous female victims (49.0%, 18.8%, respectively). Sexual murders occur moderately in the homicides of Caucasian women (38.9%) and are less likely in those of women of Colour (7.1%) and males (6.0%). Caucasian women and males experience torture at moderate rates (7.9%, 12.0%), and none of the cases involving women of Colour investigated in this study involve torture at the time of death.

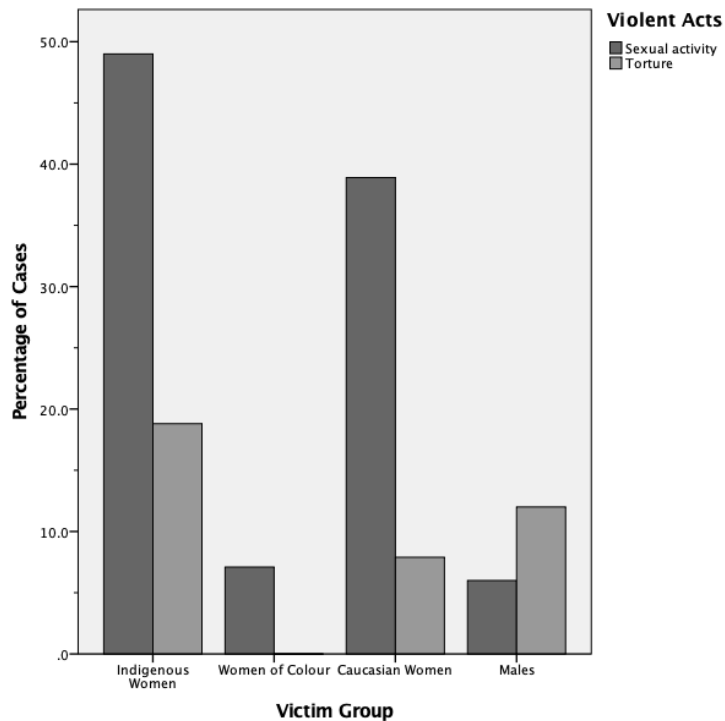


Figure 4.8. Percentage of cases in which the homicides of victims of sex and ancestrally based groups involved sexual activity or torture.

When considering the locations of the homicides, the results presented in Table 4.3 indicate that this factor is dependent on victim group. Figure 4.9 demonstrates that the main difference between the locations of the homicides is the tendency for homicides to occur in urban residences in all groups, with the exception of Indigenous women. In contrast, Indigenous women tend to be killed in rural and reserves at a greater rate than the other groups. Other notable differences include the tendency for women of Colour to be killed in rural areas near water, but not in rural residences, in comparison to victims of other sex and ancestral groups. Table 4.3 also indicates that significant differences are found in the transportation of live victims and human remains. This occurred most commonly in cases that involve Indigenous women (54.9%), moderately in cases concerning women of Colour (40.5%) and Caucasian women (46.2%), and less often in the homicides of male victims (20.4%, see Appendix).

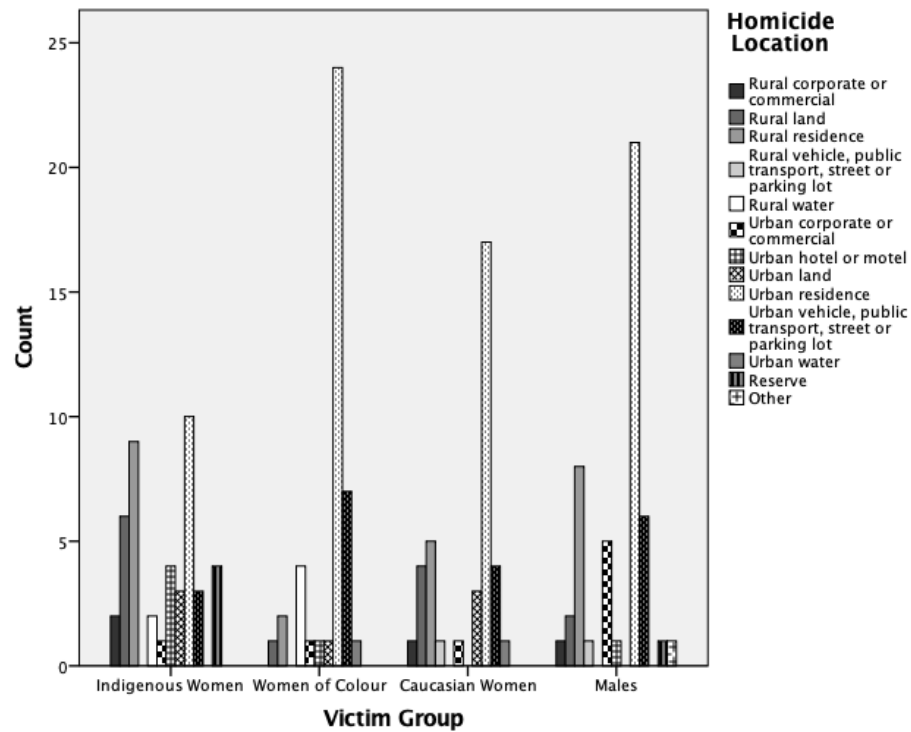


Figure 4.9. Number of homicide cases in which victims of diverse sex and ancestrally based groups were murdered in various locations.

4.4 Legal Outcome

Table 4.4. Summary of statistical results for all variables pertaining to the legal outcome compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups.

Variable	Chi Square Test		Symmetric Measures
	Pearson Chi Square	Likelihood Ratio	Cramer's V (Significance)
<i>Conviction</i>			
Manslaughter	0.442	0.462	0.102 (0.442)
Second degree murder	0.085	0.078	0.160 (0.085)
First degree murder	0.641	0.638	0.081 (0.641)
Sexual assault	0.008** ^{AV}	0.002**	0.216 (0.008)
Indignity to body or interfering with human remains	0.313 ^{AV}	0.137	0.118 (0.313)
Kidnapping	0.010** ^{AV}	0.004**	0.209 (0.010)
Other convictions	0.026*	0.010**	0.190 (0.026)
<i>Sentence</i>			
	0.106 ^{AV}	0.036*	0.223 (0.106)
<i>Connections to other homicide related charges or convictions</i>			
	0.015*	0.015*	0.238 (0.015)

^{AV}=Assumptions violated

*p<0.05

**p<0.01

As shown in Table 4.4, sexual assault and kidnapping convictions are found to be dependent on victim group. Sexual assault convictions are most common in cases involving Caucasian women (8.3%) and Indigenous women (6.9%) and are not found in cases involving women of Colour and males (Figure 4.10). Because Figure 4.8 demonstrates that some of the victims across all groups were murdered in an event connected to sexual activity with the offender, this statistic is not a reliable representation of sexual homicides across victim groups. Figure 4.10 demonstrates that offenders against Caucasian women are most likely to have been convicted of kidnapping (8.3%), followed by offenders against Indigenous women (5.2%). Similar to sexual assault convictions, evidence of kidnapping is found across all victim groups (see Appendix). These findings indicate that offenders are not always convicted against every illegal action. Offenders against males are most likely of all offenders to have been convicted with ‘other’ offences, including gun-related offences, conspiracy to commit murder, and fleeing from a motor vehicle accident.

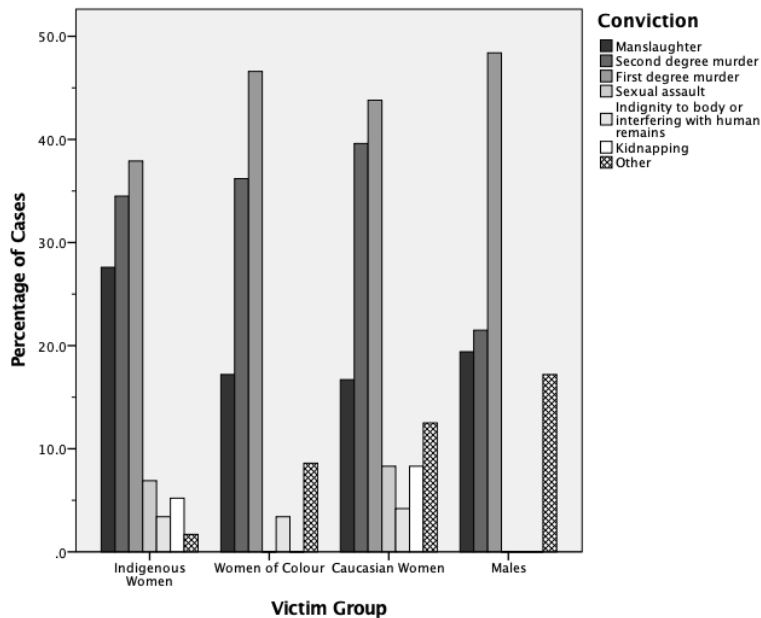


Figure 4.10. Homicide cases involving victims of diverse sex and ancestral groups that resulted in legal convictions.

Results presented in Table 4.4 indicate that sentences given to offenders are likely not independent of victim group. As demonstrated in Figure 4.11, the maximum sentence given to offenders was most likely to be life in prison without parole eligibility for 25 years. This tendency can be attributed to the high rates of first-degree murder convictions attributed to offenders of all groups (Figure 4.10). Notable differences include the greater tendency for offenders of males to be imprisoned for 2-5 years and greater than 10 years. Offenders of Indigenous women are less commonly imprisoned for life with 15-20 years of parole ineligibility.

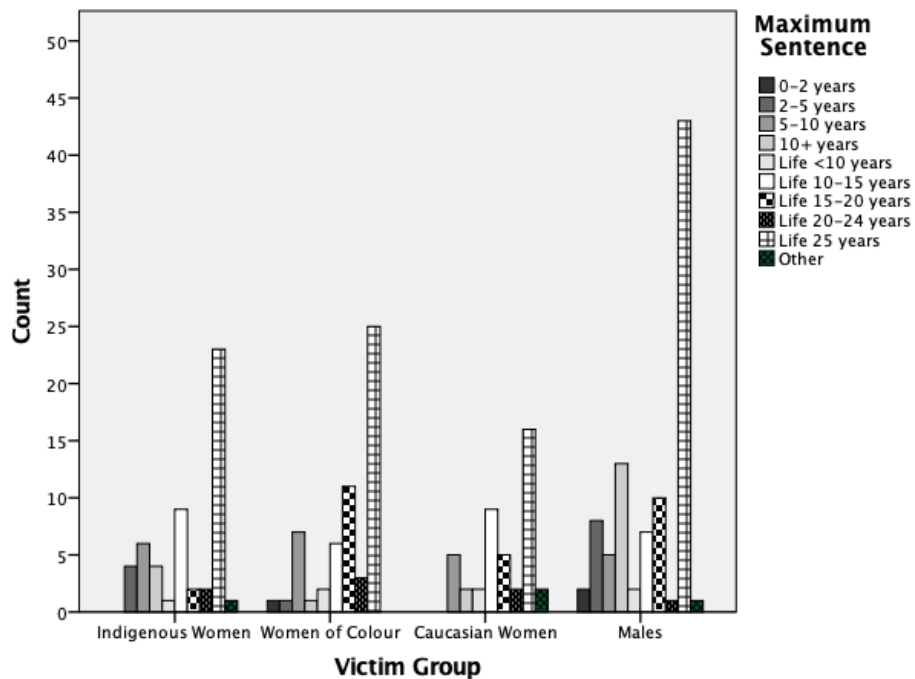


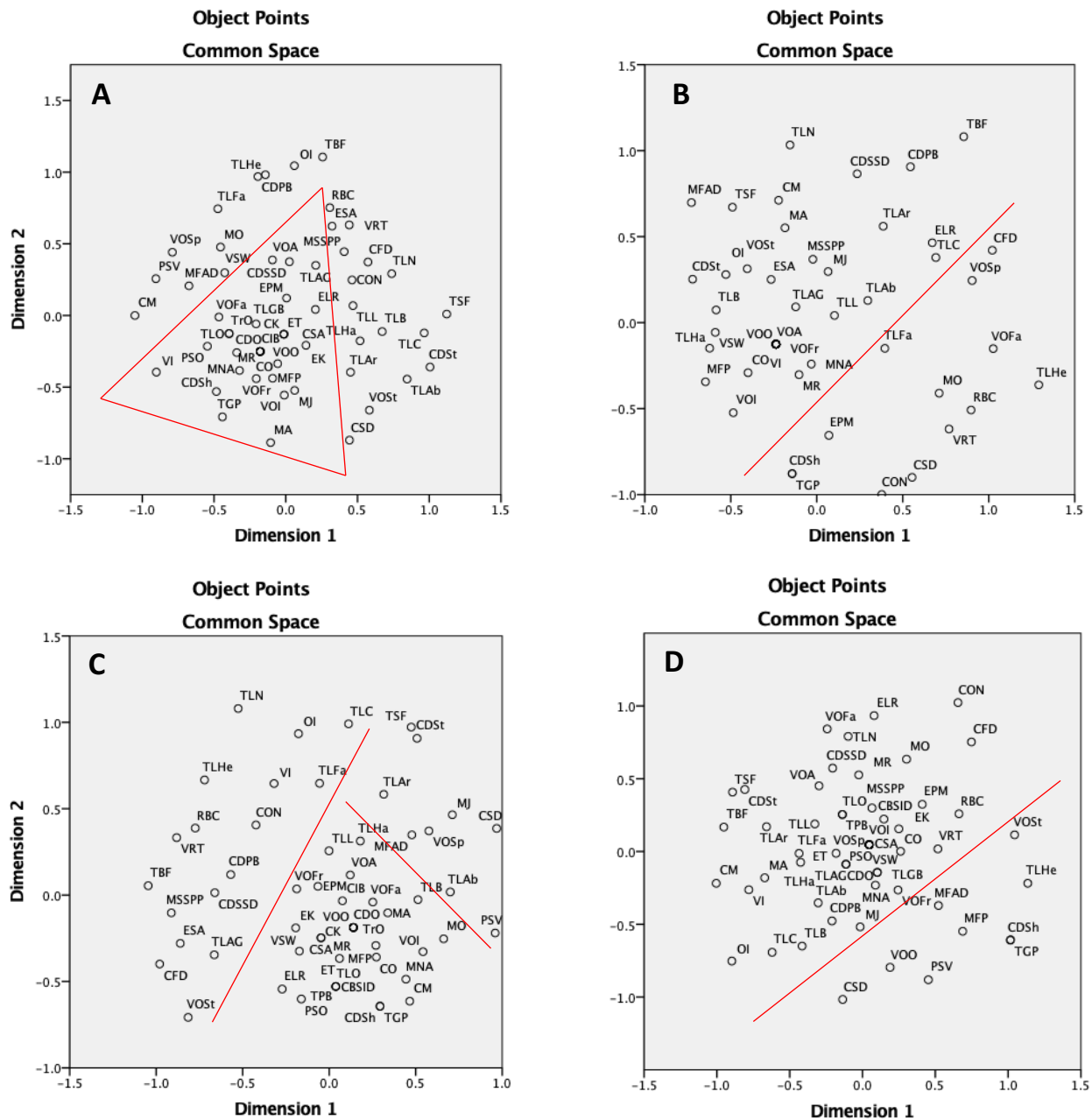
Figure 4.11. Maximum sentences handed to homicide offenders.

4.5 Thematic Comparisons

Following the analysis of individual variables across victim groups, MDS plots are created to visualize the cooccurrence of major variables and understand differences in homicidal

behavioural themes by victim group. These plots are presented in Figure 4.12. Analysis of individual variables revealed that homicidal violence towards Indigenous women often involves sexual predation on victims who tend to be vulnerable to violence. That is, these victims are more likely than others to work in the sex trade and be under the influence of intoxicants at the time of death. Offenders of Indigenous women tend to be strangers, spouses, and acquaintances, and are more likely to be under the influence of intoxicants and have committed sex and/or violent-related offences prior. Dominant motives include SSPP drives, an argument, feelings or FAD, or other reasons. Causes of death often involve physical beatings and stabbing, and therefore, blunt and sharp force trauma to the head, anus or genitalia, neck, chest, and face tends to dominate the lethal trauma profiles within this group. These offenders are most likely to use a weapon, and sexual activity or torture against victims is most common in this group. Homicides against Indigenous women tend to occur in urban residences, followed by rural areas, and victims or remains are transported more often.

Figure 4.12A illustrates that the variables common to the murders of Indigenous women tend to occur within two themes positioned on either side of the less frequently observed factors within the red triangle. Spatial relationships in the plot indicate that major variables in these homicides tend to occur within two general themes; 1) the intentional, sometimes deliberate, sexually motivated predation on vulnerable women by strangers often resulting in stabbing with concealment efforts, and 2) unintentional violence between spouses motivated by feelings of frustration, anger, or despair that have been amplified by the effects of intoxication, resulting in beatings. This plot does not present a perfect representation of the thematic violence towards Indigenous women (stress I = 0.28325), although it does aid in the understanding of how the dominant variables cooccur thematically within the homicides of Indigenous women.



Legend

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>CDO = Cause of death other
 CDPB = Cause of death physical beating
 CDSh = Cause of death shooting
 CDSDD = Cause of death strangulation, suffocation or drowning
 CFD = Conviction first degree murder
 CIB = Conviction indignity to body or related
 CK = Conviction kidnapping
 CM = Conviction manslaughter
 CO = Conviction other
 CON = Connections to other homicides
 CSA = Conviction sexual assault
 CSD = Conviction second degree murder
 EB = Evidence of blindfolding
 EK = Evidence of kidnapping
 ELR = Evidence of ligature, restraint or confinement
 EPM = Evidence of postmortem mutilation
 ESA = Evidence of sexual activity
 ET = Evidence of torture
 MA = Motive argument
 MFAD = Motive frustration anger or despair</p> | <p>MFP = Motive financial or personal gain
 MJ = Motive jealousy
 MNA = Motive none apparent
 MO = Motive other
 MR = Motive revenge
 MSSPP = Motive sexual, sadistic, power or pleasure
 OI = Offender intoxicated
 PSO = Previous sex offences
 PSV = Previous sex or violent offences
 RBC = Remains burnt or concealed
 TBF = Trauma blunt force
 TGP = Trauma gunfire or projectile
 TLAB = Trauma location abdomen
 TLAG = Trauma location Anus or genitalia
 TLAr = Trauma location arms
 TLB = Trauma location back
 TLC = Trauma location chest
 TLFa = Trauma location face
 TLFe = Trauma location feet
 TLGB = Trauma location general body</p> | <p>TLHa = Trauma location hands
 TLHe = Trauma location head
 TLL = Trauma location legs
 TLN = Trauma location neck
 TLO = Trauma location other
 TPB = Trauma perimortem burning
 TSF = Trauma sharp force
 TrO = Trauma other
 VI = Victim intoxicated
 VOA = Victim and offender acquaintances
 VOFa = Victim and offender family
 VOFr = Victim and offender friends
 VOI = Victim and offender other or former intimate
 VOO = Victim and offender other
 VOSp = Victim and offender spouses
 VOSst = Victim and offender strangers
 VRT = Victim of remains transported
 VSW = Victim as sex worker</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Figure 4.12. Multidimensional scaling plots for binary variables pertaining to the homicides of A) Indigenous women, B) women of Colour, C) Caucasian women, and D) males. Lines were superimposed onto the graphs to aid in the visualization of variables that coalesce into major themes of homicidal violence for each group.

Violence towards women of Colour follows a theme unique to all other groups, as they are the least likely of all female groups to be involved in the sex trade, and the least likely of all victims to be intoxicated at the time of death. As opposed to other groups who are at most risk from strangers, these women are vulnerable to violence due to their close relationships with offenders in the form of spousal or familial relationships. Offenders of these victims are the least likely to have previous offences related to sex or violent crime or be intoxicated during the offence. Dominant motives observed in these offenders are of the 'other' category (dominantly comprised of honour killings), and the FAD and FPG categories. Causes of death tend to be the most manual, as the women are often strangled, suffocated, drowned, or beaten, and use of a weapon is least likely against this group. This violence registers in the bodies of victims as blunt and sharp force trauma to the head, neck, chest, face, and arms. Sexual activity and torture are the least commonly observed against women of Colour. These homicides tend to occur at urban residences and areas associated with transportation, and the victims and remains of these women are transported moderately. As indicated in Figure 4.12B, several of these dominant variables share in spatial proximity, indicating a strong theme of spousal and family violence resulting in intentional murder. These murders tend to be motivated by unique factors, and efforts are often undertaken to conceal the familial nature of the violence.

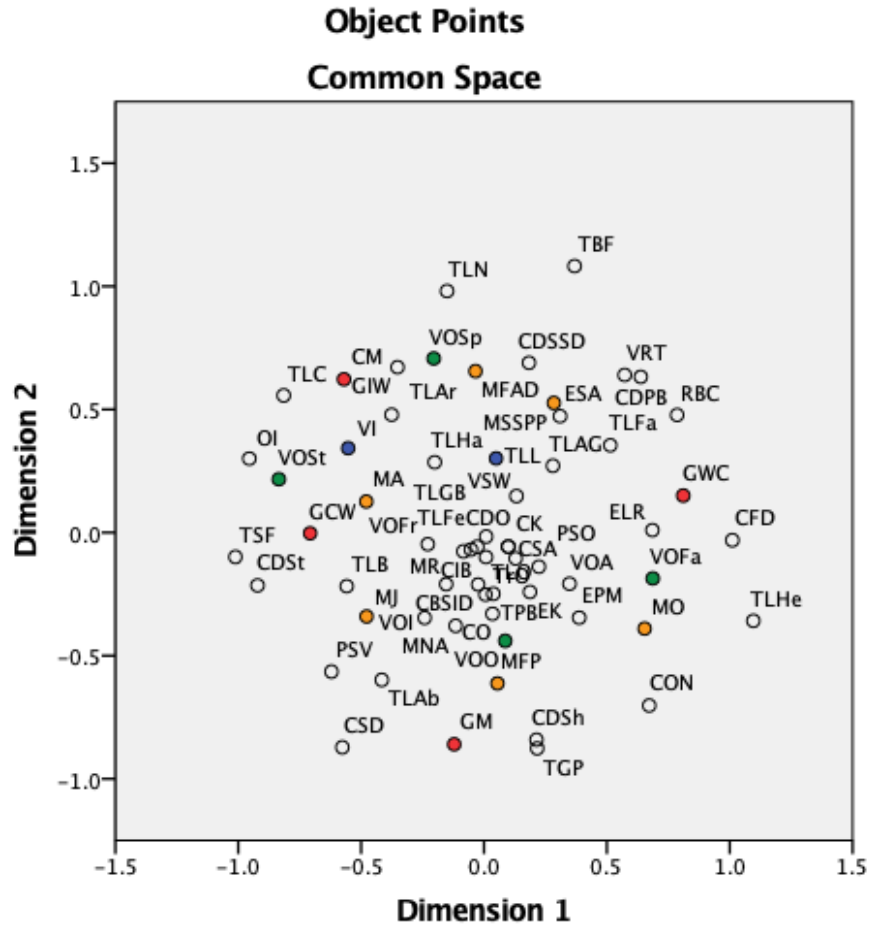
Several of the major variables observed in violence towards Indigenous women are commonly observed in the homicides of Caucasian women, as these victims are the second most likely to be sex workers and are moderately likely to be intoxicated at the time of death. Offenders of Caucasian women are the second most likely to have committed previous sex or violent offences and be intoxicated at the time of the offence. Like all groups, with the exception of women of Colour, this group is primarily victimized by strangers, but this is followed by

spousal and family violence. Dominant motives include SSPP, no apparent motive (the victim is an unintentional casualty of violence between others), FAD, and jealousy. Main causes of death include stabbing and strangulation, suffocation, or drowning, and therefore, blunt and sharp force trauma are often inflicted to the neck, head, chest, face, and anus or genitalia. Weapons are used moderately, and sexual activity is the second most common in this group of homicides. Murders tend to occur in rural and urban residences, rural land, and areas of urban transport. Offenders transport victims and remains moderately. Figure 4.12C clearly presents two separate areas where variables common to the murders of Caucasian women cluster together away from variables observed less frequently. While one area indicates a cluster of variables relating to very manual and sexualized murders of vulnerable women that were proven to be intentional and deliberate, the second theme indicates intentional, but not deliberate, spousal violence motivated by FAD and jealousy. These confrontations tend to result in lethal stabbings.

Individual analysis of variables by victim group indicate that violence towards males tends to follow a theme distinct from those common to female victims. Male victims are unlikely to be sex workers but are moderately likely to be intoxicated. While the offenders are most commonly strangers to the victims, ‘other’ forms of relationships are second most common, followed by familial ties. The most common motive to kill males includes FPG, followed by other motives and arguments, respectively. The homicides of males are the most likely to involve multiple offenders, and offenders are not often likely to have committed previous sex or violent offences. Violence towards males is unique in that it often involves shooting, and therefore blunt force and gunfire trauma is common to the head, chest, neck and back. Use of a weapon and torture is the second most common in these homicides, while evidence of sexual activity is least commonly observed in this group. Homicides most often occur in residences, areas of urban

transport, and in urban corporate or commercial areas. Victims and their remains are the least likely to be transported, and offenders of this group are the most likely to be convicted of offences belonging to the ‘other’ category. This often involves conspiracy to murder and gun-related offences. This unique theme of violence is apparent in Figure 4.12D, where victim-offender relationships of the stranger and other categories are removed from the cluster of less-commonly occurring variables. Rather, these variables share in spatial proximity with FAD and FPG motives, second degree murder convictions, and variables related to shooting.

As described above, it seems that of all victim groups compared, homicidal violence towards Indigenous and Caucasian women are most similar, while violence towards women of Colour and males are unique from every other group. As indicated in Figure 4.13, Indigenous and Caucasian women share spatial proximity and are both adjacent to variables indicative of victim vulnerability, such as victim intoxication and participation in the sex trade. These victim group variables are also adjacent to victim-offender stranger and spousal relationships, and motives related to FAD, arguments, and SSPP. The jealousy motive is not adjacent to Indigenous women but shares spatial proximity with the Caucasian women group variable. In contrast, the Women of Colour variable occupies a separate area of the plot, nearest to the victim-offender familial relationship and the other motives variables. The male victim variable occupies the bottom of the plot, and clusters with the FPG and other motives and victim-offender family and other relationships variables. While all of the MDS plots have high levels of stress (stress I > 0.20, see Appendix), they have illustrated how the variables analyzed generally cooccur within individual groups, and within the entire sample of homicidal violence reviewed, to demonstrate how unique themes of violence are observed in each victim group.



Legend

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>CDO = Cause of death other
 CDPB = Cause of death physical beating
 CDSH = Cause of death shooting
 CDSSD = Cause of death strangulation, suffocation or drowning
 CFD = Conviction first degree murder
 CIB = Conviction indignity to body or related
 CK = Conviction kidnapping
 CM = Conviction manslaughter
 CO = Conviction other
 CON = Connections to other homicides
 CSA = Conviction sexual assault
 CSD = Conviction second degree murder
 EB = Evidence of blindfolding
 EK = Evidence of kidnapping
 ELR = Evidence of ligature, restraint or confinement
 EPM = Evidence of postmortem mutilation
 ESA = Evidence of sexual activity
 ET = Evidence of torture
 GCW = Group Caucasian women
 GIW = Group Indigenous women
 GM = Group males
 GWC = Group women of Colour</p> | <p>MA = Motive argument
 MFAD = Motive frustration anger or despair
 MFP = Motive financial or personal gain
 MJ = Motive jealousy
 MNA = Motive none apparent
 MO = Motive other
 MR = Motive revenge
 MSSPP = Motive sexual, sadistic, power or pleasure
 OI = Offender intoxicated
 PSO = Previous sex offences
 PSV = Previous sex or violent offences
 RBC = Remains burnt or concealed
 TBF = Trauma blunt force
 TGP = Trauma gunfire or projectile
 TLab = Trauma location abdomen
 TLAG = Trauma location Anus or genitalia
 TLA_r = Trauma location arms
 TLB = Trauma location back
 TLC = Trauma location chest
 TLFa = Trauma location face
 TLFe = Trauma location feet
 TLGB = Trauma location general body</p> | <p>TLHa = Trauma location hands
 TLHe = Trauma location head
 TLL = Trauma location legs
 TLN = Trauma location neck
 TLO = Trauma location other
 TPB = Trauma perimortem burning
 TSF = Trauma sharp force
 TrO = Trauma other
 VI = Victim intoxicated
 VOA = Victim and offender acquaintances
 VOFa = Victim and offender family
 VOFr = Victim and offender friends
 VOI = Victim and offender other or former intimate
 VOO = Victim and offender other
 VOSp = Victim and offender spouses
 VOS_t = Victim and offender strangers
 VRT = Victim of remains transported
 VSW = Victim as sex worker</p> |
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Figure 4.13. Multidimensional scaling plot for binary variables pertaining to the homicides of all victims considered in this study. Victim group variables are highlighted in red, and dominant motives are orange, common victim-offender relationships are in green, and victim vulnerabilities are in blue.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Provided the knowledge that Indigenous women and girls are disproportionately targeted for homicide (RCMP, 2014), and that the nature of violence towards Indigenous women and girls is rooted in colonial structures that are maintained into modernity, this research project sought to determine how structural violence has manifested within interpersonal violence by analyzing the victim and offender profiles, circumstances of homicides, and legal outcomes pertaining to the murders of Indigenous women and girls. After comparing this data with that obtained from homicide cases involving other women of Colour, Caucasian women, and males, subtle differences and major differences in dominant themes of violent behaviour were found between these groups. The following sections will review the major findings pertaining to each victim group and consider how these findings compare to the current academic dialogue regarding homicidal violence for each sex and ancestrally based population considered. Then these sections are followed by a discussion as to how these variations in violent behaviour might be explained by an integration of structural and cultural perspectives that are sensitive to the oppression experienced by groups that are outside of the Caucasian-male populace that tends to be pedestaled within a patriarchal and colonial society (Smith, 2015).

5.1 Violence towards Indigenous Women

The results of this study indicate that violence towards Indigenous women tends to follow two main themes. Intentional, and sometimes deliberate predation towards Indigenous women by strangers is a dominant pattern of homicidal violence to this group, often resulting in sharp force trauma and concealment of the remains. The second major theme discovered was unintentional violence between spouses arising from an argument or feelings of frustration, anger, or despair that had been amplified by the consumption of intoxicating substances. This violence tends to

result in physical beatings that end in lethality. In addition to unveiling these dominant themes of violence, this study found that Indigenous females are the most likely of victims to have worked in the sex trade or have been under the influence of intoxicants at the time of death. Offenders against Indigenous women are the most likely to have previous sex or violence-related charges or convictions before committing the homicide. When considering that the homicides against these women are the most likely to involve a weapon, sexual activity and torture, and that the offenders are the most likely to be intoxicated at the time of the offence, these results suggest that Indigenous women present a dual vulnerability due to their 1) marginalization that increases participation in the sex trade and consumption of intoxicants, and 2) targeting by particularly dangerous offenders.

The findings of this study are consistent with the results of other studies reporting on violence against Indigenous women in Canada. Several studies indicate that Indigenous women present multiple risk factors for violence, such as being a growing population younger in age and having a greater tendency to be unmarried and unemployed. It is suggested that these factors contribute to the disproportionate victimization of Indigenous women, as they are 16 times more likely to fall victim to these circumstances than Caucasian women and account for 24% of female homicide victims (RCMP, 2014; NIMMIWG, 2019; Sinha, 2013). Studies indicate that Indigenous women are particularly vulnerable to violence due to the use of intoxicants prior to homicide and the increased likelihood of victims working in the sex trade (RCMP, 2014; NIMMIWG, 2019).

Consistent with the findings of this research, the RCMP (2014) has found that most homicides committed against Indigenous women and girls are committed by men, most of whom knew their victims as an acquaintance or spouse. Of these homicides, 32% of women were

physically beaten, 31% were stabbed, 16% were shot, 13% died from SSD (strangulation, suffocation, or drowning), and 3% died due to SIB (smoke inhalation or burns). Victims were usually killed in residences (68%), and offenders tended to be males with an average age of 30 years, an age consistent with the findings of this research (31.08 years, see Appendix). The report indicates that 71% of offenders against Indigenous women had a criminal record, and 53% of these included violent offences of unspecified types. These offenders consumed intoxicants prior to the homicidal event in 71% of cases (50% in this study).

Data from the RCMP (2014) indicate that 29% of homicides are the result of spousal violence, 23% of offenders are other family members, 10% are other intimate partners, 30% are acquaintances, and only 8% are strangers. The RCMP found that known histories of family violence are a precursor to murder in 62% of Indigenous female homicide cases. Their report states that 40% of killings were motivated by an argument or quarrel, 20% by feelings of FAD (frustration, anger, or despair), but only 10% were sexually motivated, whereas this study found that sex was a dominant motivator of violence towards Indigenous women. This data greatly differs from the findings of the present research, which conclude that over half of offenders against Indigenous women are strangers and spousal violence accounts for less than 20% of homicidal violence. This discrepancy might be attributed to a bias in which cases are uploaded to publicly available case-law databanks. It is possible that the demand for access to certain cases influences the uploading of these documents, and that the demand for information related to stranger killings outweighs that involving spousal violence. The findings presented by the NIMMIWG (2019) also indicate a high prevalence of sexual violence to Indigenous peoples, as in some communities, 90% of the sexually exploited youth are Indigenous, even when Indigenous peoples comprise less than 10% of the population. Unfortunately, most of the

Indigenous women who are trafficked or exploited have been abused in their early years of life, and for this reason, are particularly vulnerable to violent targeting due to their marginalization. According to the findings of the NIMMIWG (2019), Indigenous women and girls tend to be disproportionately victimized even after the risk factors associated with high-risk lifestyles are accounted for. In essence, just being an Indigenous woman is a risk factor for experiencing violence.

The completion of this graduate research project follows in the footsteps of the publication of the final report released by the NIMMIWG (2019). The inquiry collaborated with over 2,380 people, 428 family members and survivors and involved 15 community hearings. The mandate of the inquiry was to report on 1) the systemic causes of all forms of violence, underlying social causes, and particular vulnerabilities, and 2) institutional policies and practices implemented in response to violence affecting Indigenous women and girls. Additionally, the inquiry was mandated to make recommendations on concrete and effective action that can function to remove systemic causes of violence and to increase safety for Indigenous women and girls, while suggesting ways that victims and survivors can be honoured and commemorated. Given the broad objectives of the inquiry and the extensive access to data and truths that were permitted to the nation-wide project, this research is not meant to compete with or challenge the findings presented in the final report. Rather, this study sought to discover if and how violence against specific groups rooted in societal structures, as identified by Indigenous activists, scholars, and the NIMMIWG in relation to Indigenous women and girls (2019), manifests in the body as lethal violence and in the circumstances of homicide.

Although the inquiry did not conduct an extensive review on the details of physical trauma suffered by Indigenous women or conduct an extensive statistical analysis regarding the

details of homicidal violence towards members of this group, the inquiry did reveal commonalities in the patterns of violence that tend to affect Indigenous women and girls. The final report of the NIMMIWG (2019) has established that rates of domestic/family and stranger violence are high, and Indigenous women are seven times more likely to be targeted by serial killers. Indigenous women are three times more likely to be sexually assaulted than non-Indigenous women, and most women and children trafficked in Canada are Indigenous. Taken together, this data suggests that 1) spousal and family violence, and 2) the heightened nature of sexual lethal violence towards Indigenous women and girls found in this research is consistent with the experiences that survivors and families of deceased are reporting.

The inquiry exposed many of the sources contributing to the heightened, and unique, violence affecting Indigenous women and girls. The final report (NIMMIWG, 2019) states that violence towards Indigenous women is rooted in historic and contemporary colonialism that continues to be enforced by four pathways. These pathways are 1) the historic, intergenerational, and multigenerational trauma; 2) socioeconomic marginalization, 3) maintaining the status quo and the lack of institutional will, and 4) ignoring the agency and expertise of Indigenous women, girls, and gender-diverse individuals. The final report extensively reviews how many of the societal structures within Canada were designed to and continue to disempower and marginalize Indigenous women within a society that has demonized their bodies and sexuality. Overall, the report maintains that the issue of violence towards Indigenous women and girls is a human rights issue involving violations to the rights of culture, health, security, and justice, and that effective strategies to end the violence must extend beyond public policy and should involve changes in international and domestic law (NIMMIWG, 2019). These conclusions are directly consistent

with the dialogue put forward by a vast community of Indigenous academics and activists, as outlined in a previous chapter of this report.

More specifically, the inquiry reports that colonial and gendered oppression was structurally enacted against Indigenous peoples in many ways, but also encouraged through public displays sanctioning their abuse (NIMMIWG, 2019). For example, missionaries often tried to direct Indigenous people about how women should be treated. This occurred when Jesuit priests would host gatherings to teach Indigenous men to beat women and children. During these events, women were tied to posts, beaten, whipped, and deprived of food (NIMMIWG, 2019). Furthermore, their traditional roles as healers or midwives within the community were condemned as evil and superstitious. The inquiry presented several truths exposing how colonial structures functioned to exert control over Indigenous women, such as by demonizing their bodies and sexualities through efforts as extreme as forced sterilization. This physical abuse and control was enacted by government workers, and exposure of such misconduct often was met with indifference. The report has established that there continues to be little, if any, response by law enforcement and judicial structures within Canadian society when Indigenous women face violence. For this reason, it can be understood that Canadian society enables offenders to reoffend without fear of detection and accountability.

Overall, the findings of the inquiry suggest that the economic and social marginalization rooted in early policies and the encouragement and indifference of interpersonal violence against Indigenous women is a primary cause of contemporary violence towards Indigenous women and girls (NIMMIWG, 2019). This conclusion is directly consistent with the truths presented by activists and academics previously outlined. Given the extensive structural and sexual violence that has and continues to oppress Indigenous women, the disproportionate, highly sexual

targeting of vulnerable Indigenous women by strangers and the internalization of spousal violence amplified by the effects of substance abuse is a reasonable finding of this study. Having detected the dominant themes of homicidal violence that are often described by Indigenous survivors and linked to systemic violence by Indigenous tribalist theory, it can be determined that this method has successfully observed the manifestation of systemic violence as homicidal patterns via statistical analysis.

5.2 Violence towards Caucasian Women

The results of this study indicate that Caucasian women are the second most likely of all victim groups to be sex workers and are equally as likely as men to be intoxicated at the time of their murder. Caucasian women are 1) the second most likely to be killed by offenders who have previously been charged or convicted of a sex or violence-related crime, and 2) be intoxicated at the time of offence. Essentially, the dual vulnerability regarding victim and offender tendencies that is observed in Indigenous women is also present in Caucasian women, but at a reduced rate. It is possible that the observed, but reduced, expression of this dual vulnerability is related to the somewhat elevated position that Caucasian women hold over Indigenous women within the race and sex-based stratifications in modern Canadian society. Put more explicitly, while Caucasian women do experience oppressions due to their sex-status, these might be somewhat reduced in comparison to the oppressive forces experienced by Indigenous women due to their ancestral affiliation. This finding might explain why the dominant themes of violence against Indigenous women and Caucasian women are generally similar in nature while accounting for the heightened rates of homicide and sexual violence in the first group as compared to the latter.

Caucasian women are most likely to be killed by strangers, spouses and family members who tend to act alone. Like Indigenous women, dominant motives of perpetrators to kill were

related to sex and feelings of FAD. Violence to Caucasian women differed from that against Indigenous women in that homicides were more commonly motivated by jealousy or that motives to kill that particular victim could not be established. Rather, Caucasian female victims were more likely to be the casualty of violence between other individuals in comparison to members of other groups. Causes of death to Caucasian women tended to involve stabbings (32.4%, see Appendix), but unlike Indigenous women, were caused by SSD at a slightly higher rate (35.1%, see Appendix). Thus, while the cause of death remains manual in nature, it appears to be more deliberate than a physical beating fueled and then amplified by arguments and intoxication. While still prevalent, sexual activity was less common in homicides against Caucasian women than in Indigenous women. Overall, dominant variables tend to comprise two main themes of violence against Caucasian women. First, manual and sexualized murders of women proven to have been intentional and deliberate, and second, the intentional, but not deliberate, spousal violence motivated by FAD and jealousy resulting in stabbings.

Comparisons between the findings of this research to published data regarding violence towards Caucasian women is complicated by the scarcity of existing publications pertaining to the victimization of this group, as most research on homicidal violence available either generalizes women or focuses on minority groups; therefore, the most relevant data available originates from the RCMP (2014) report where violence against Indigenous women was compared with violence against non-Indigenous women; however, it cannot be assured that these non-Indigenous women are Caucasian. In this report, the RCMP found that 27% of non-Indigenous women died from stabbings, and 26% died from shooting, whereas 17% were beaten. Though these proportions for cause of death are fairly similar to the findings presented in this research, the RCMP did not present high rates of death caused by SSD.

Like Indigenous women, non-Indigenous women were most likely to have been killed in a residence. RCMP (2014) data indicate that most of the relationships between the victims and offenders were spousal in nature (41%), followed by other familial relationships (24%), acquaintances (19%), and stranger relationships (7%). This data differs largely from the findings of this study, where 63% of murders against Caucasian women were caused by a stranger, followed by spouses (10.9%). It is possible that the differences observed in the victim-offender relationships regarding Indigenous and non-Indigenous women presented by this research and the RCMP (2014) report are due to differences in sampling size. Alternatively, these differences might be reflective of the nature of cases that tend to be uploaded to case law databases for review by the public, as previously suggested.

The RCMP (2014) report indicates that most of the murderers are males with an average age of 36 years, a finding that is older than the mean age of offenders against Caucasian women found in this study (28.98 years, see Appendix). Available data has shown that 45% of the offenders of non-Indigenous women had a criminal record, and 27% of the offenders had committed violent offences prior to homicide. Of the offenders, 31% had consumed intoxicating substances. These figures are comparable to those found by this study, which found that 37.5% committed sex or violence-related offences and 31.8% had consumed intoxicants. Dominant motives for killing non-Indigenous women include feelings of FAD (30%), arguments or quarrels (23%) and jealousy (13%). The rates of sexual motives found by the RCMP (2014) are considerably low (6%) in comparison with the results of this research (40.4%). RCMP data indicate that non-Indigenous victims are less likely to use intoxicants prior to homicide (20%) or work in the sex trade (5%), and that data is consistent with the findings of this study in relation to Caucasian women (23.7%, 13.2%).

5.3 Violence towards Women of Colour

According to the results of this research, women of Colour are the least likely of female victims to be intoxicated or work in the sex trade. Like most victim groups, offenders against these victims tended to act alone and were the least likely of all to have been charged or convicted of sex or violence-related offences prior to committing homicide. Similarly, these offenders were the least likely to have been intoxicated at the time of the offence. In essence, the dual vulnerabilities due to victim and offender behaviour patterns observed in Indigenous and Caucasian women seem to be dramatically reduced in the cases involving women of Colour. This does not mean that a select portion of this group was protected from a very distinct form of lethal violence that proved all too common against this group.

Like the other female victims, women of Colour tended to be killed by manual methods, including SSD and physical beating. What separated women of Colour from other female victims was the motive for killing and the relationship between the victim and offender. Unlike every other victim group analyzed, women of Colour were most likely to be killed by family members and were the least likely of all victims to be killed by a stranger. Primary motives for killing these women included 'other' (34.6%, see Appendix), FAD (21.2%, see Appendix), or FPG (financial or personal gain, 19.2%, see Appendix). These deaths tended not to be sexual in nature and were most common in an urban residence.

Further investigation into motives falling into the 'other' category revealed a common theme, as several of the murders within this category were committed in the name of family 'honour'. Though the present study did not investigate differences in the natures of violence between the several ethnic groups included within the women of Colour group, multiple South

Asian victims and offenders comprised this group, and of these, many of the homicide cases involved 'other' motives related to issues of restoring family honour.

There are fewer statistics available on violence in immigrant families (Agnew, 2009), and so these results contribute to the already contradictory data available. According to Papp (2010), there is ample research indicating that in non-Western, patriarchal societies that commonly abide by codes of honour and shame, men tend to have rigid control over women, resulting in higher rates of spousal violence than observed in Western host communities. Meanwhile, others assert that immigrant women present a lower risk for suffering spousal violence to Canadian-born women (Sinha, 2013; Ogrodnik, 2011). Despite the uncertainty in the rates of spousal violence towards this population, a review of published literature has found that honour killings are a growing concern amongst immigrant families.

Agnew (2009) has suggested that sometimes, differences in normative gender behaviour between external cultures and Canadian practices can create tension within the households of immigrant families. Similar to the threats of Indigenous female empowerment to patriarchal Eurocentric colonial society, women's rights and liberties in Canada present a threat to the elevated positions of men originating from several other countries with more rigid patriarchal structures. This tension can occur or be inflated when immigrant women want to adjust to lifestyles that present more 'Canadian' gender norms and partners resist change because loss of patriarchal values can lead to feelings of disempowerment. Because of the prevalence of culturally informed gender roles that differ from Canadian culture, immigrant women who find personal achievement and validation via education, employment, or are otherwise empowered are at higher risk for violence (Kalaichandran, 2018, Papp, 2010). This finding is consistent with the observation that domestic violence is more prevalent against immigrant women who have

been in Canada for greater periods of time and become acculturated, had emigrated at an older age, were employed or educated, and whose partners were unemployed (Papp, 2010). This trend is likely attributable to the fact that these forms of empowerment decrease a woman's dependency on her male partner and threaten his control (Agnew, 2009).

At times, resistance to female empowerment and changes in household dynamics becomes violent, and when considered from early and integrative feminist perspectives, violence can be understood as a form of control (Agnew, 2009; McPhail et al., 2007). Unfortunately, violence tends to only be one form of control in households experiencing these tensions. Studies indicate that under these circumstances, some men prevent their wives from forming relationships in the new country and monitor or eliminate their wife's old relationships with family and friends in the original country, and thus, women become isolated. Wives might not be allowed to work, study or train and therefore are made to be entirely economically dependent on their husbands. This control can extend to their physical appearances, and some women are spied on to ensure that they are adhering to what the man believes is proper wifely conduct. Furthermore, some men even manipulate their wife's relationship with her children in order to maintain power (Agnew, 2009).

At times, violent exertions of control can become homicidal in the form of 'honour' killings. This is an ancient, culturally driven practice that is condoned and enacted by family members and those within the community (Papp, 2010). While male relatives are usually the perpetrators, older female relatives are often complicit in the act. 'Honour' killings are intended to cleanse the family name and restore honour after a family has been shamed by a woman's behaviour. In cases where 'honour' killings have occurred, a girl or woman has usually refused to abide by rules made by the male head of the family or rejects his choice of a partner for her.

Following this, the family patriarch deems himself shamed in the eyes of the community by his inability to control his family, and so her punishment by the hands of her male kin is considered necessary. The punishment she suffers is considered to be the fault of her own actions, and even if other family members are saddened by the reprimand, they do not interfere. There have been multiple cases of ‘honour’ killings in Canada, and these are known to have been motivated by the following reasons: women stayed out late, wore makeup or Western clothing, wanted or tried to leave an abusive husband, refused arranged marriages, dated or socialized with a person outside of the community, or either had or were suspecting of having sexual activity outside of marriage, even in cases of rape.

Though ‘honour’ killings are considered to be culturally motivated (Papp, 2010), review of existing literature indicates that multiple risk factors and structures within Canada reinforce this type of violence experienced by immigrant women. It is apparent that having immigrant status increases a person’s vulnerability to domestic violence because of heightened levels of social isolation, language barriers, poverty, unemployment, economic disparity, racism, and lack of trust in police and judicial systems (Kalaichandran, 2018; Agnew, 2009). Other risk factors known to increase an immigrant woman’s susceptibility to violence include the centralization of authority, being distanced from relations, gender relations being unequal within the home, feelings of insecurity due to resettlement, and a lack of understanding their rights and services available to them (Agnew, 2009; Papp, 2010). These vulnerabilities to violence are then unintentionally reinforced by social systems, such as the immigration and welfare systems. For example, some women have stated that they chose not to report violence for fear that they or their sponsor would be arrested or deported (Agnew, 2009; Papp, 2010). In other cases, women did not report violence because they fear that they will be charged. This concern is due to a trend

in the charging of a wife and a husband, or only a wife, which might be attributed to police members and the courts not being attentive to issues related to self-defence (Agnew, 2009).

In addition to structural barriers, some immigrant women believe that it is their responsibility to create success within a marriage and bringing shame to the family or tarnishing the family reputation would result in failure of the marriage (Kalaichandran, 2018). Furthermore, many women are concerned that reporting violence can result in the separation of a family, which is particularly concerning when children are involved (Agnew, 2009). In essence, the multi-leveled forms of systemic marginalization and the internalization of detrimental cultural values experienced by immigrant women is similar in effect to that faced by Indigenous women. Pushed to the political, social, and economic margins by social systems that 1) prioritize Caucasian patriarchy, and 2) fail to recognize the need to protect persons vulnerable due to harmful cultural norms, these women are often left without the support or resources to allow for their own independence; which reinforces their reliance on potentially abusive partners.

Although murders related to codes of family honour presented dominantly within the women of Colour victim group, it is understood that not all of the families included in this sample were comprised of immigrant families who were affected by this belief system. While issues of family honour might not explain the victimization of the non-immigrant victims who were women of Colour, it is possible that certain aspects of the structural barriers described; such as poverty, unemployment, economic disparity, racism, and isolation might still apply to these families. While the present study sought to understand how the intersections of sex and ancestry affect homicidal victimization in Canadian society, the scope of the project did not allow for a closer look at the different types of victimization within non-white/Indigenous female groups. It would be beneficial for future research to consider how this population, including the immigrant

versus non-immigrant subgroups, experiences violence in Canada that might be enabled by social structures.

5.4 Violence towards Males

According to the results of this research, male victims of homicide in Canada were the least likely of victims to be sex workers and were moderately likely to be intoxicated. Offenders against males were less likely to have previous sex or violence-related charges or convictions before committing homicide and to be intoxicated at the time of the offence. Males were usually killed by strangers, ‘other’ offenders, and family members, and were the most likely of all victims to be killed by multiple offenders. Murders against male victims were unique from those against women because the dominant motive included FPG, ‘other’, and arguments. Primary causes of death included shooting, and while sexual activity to victims was least common amongst this group, these victims were tortured at the second highest rate. Like homicides involving other victims, those against males tended to occur in residences. While not coded for explicitly during this research, there was a high prevalence of gang-related violence within the homicide cases involving male victims.

Review of existing data indicates that the themes regarding violence towards males found by this research is consistent with previous findings, as there appears to be a rise in homicides related to gang activity. For example, 8.7% of all homicides between 1995 and 2004 were gang-related, and these rates doubled by 2005, when 16% of all homicides were gang-related (Vaillancourt, 2008). Vaillancourt reports that between 2004 and 2008, 24% of Canadian male homicides were known to be or were suspected of being gang-related, as compared to 3% of homicides involving females. Most of this violence is committed with guns, as 68% of the gang-related homicides in 2005 were committed with a firearm (Dauvergne & Li, 2005). Similar

studies indicate that 38% of males are killed with firearms, compared to 20% of women killed by shootings (Vaillancourt, 2008). Research has found that male victimization peaks around 25-29 years, and male victims are more likely than females to be under the influence of intoxicants (66% versus 34%, Dauvergne & Li, 2005).

In relation to spousal and family violence, Vaillancourt (2008) reports that men are more likely to be killed by someone other than a spouse, as 40% of homicides against males were committed by friends or acquaintances and 15% were committed by strangers. These results are similar to those presented by Sinha (2013), who found that intimate partners only account for 12% of perpetrators against men, while strangers (39%) and friends and acquaintances (40%) are the main offenders. These findings do differ from the results of this study, where strangers, ‘others’ or family members were main perpetrators. According to existing data, 20% of males are killed for the settling of accounts and 7% are killed for revenge, which tends to be drug or gang-related (Vaillancourt, 2008). Ogrodnik (2011) found that perpetrators of family violence against senior men tend to be grown children, usually a son. This tendency was observed multiple times in male homicides and was usually motivated by FPG. Overall, the findings of the present study indicate that males tend to be killed for reasons related to FPG in the contexts of gang-related activity, organized crime, or within family-disputes regarding finances. These results are consistent with existing research regarding homicidal violence affecting the male population in Canadian society.

5.5 Positioning the Findings within a Theoretical Framework

The results of this study point to stark differences in homicidal violence affecting victims of diverse sex and ancestral affiliations within Canada. These findings suggest that the individuals involved in these homicides might experience unique factors that influence the types

of violence enacted. When studying violence directed by/against victims of sex and ancestrally based groups, researchers must be careful not to reinforce stereotypes and sexist or racist projections. This calls for a discussion on how to respectfully accept the presence of violent patterns that tend to arise within particular communities and a need to address the problem (Agnew, 2009). In fear of being called out, many activists and advocates choose not to challenge communities to examine their own cultures, traditions, and norms and consider how these practices might perpetuate violence. Although ideals of multiculturalism are well-meaning, these values can prevent the necessary analysis of harmful traditions. While the admission is uncomfortable, Canadians need to acknowledge the prevalence of violence within its communities so that its source can be successfully countered (Agnew, 2009; Papp, 2010).

The findings of unique sex and ancestrally based violence presented by this research are similar to the findings of research in the United States of America that indicate disproportionately high levels of violence amongst minority groups. Over the years, there have been efforts to explain violence on the basis of group attributes or by the influence of social environments on members of a group. While existing literature does not discount the importance of these efforts, these frameworks have since been deemed as having narrow conceptions of race and racial inequality (Bruce & Roscigno, 2003, pp. 238). In order to understand how the issue of ‘race’ and violence needs to be addressed in a respectful and sensitive manner, it is important to understand how this issue has been contextualized in the past and how more recent dialogue is using an updated framework that is more considerate to differences in opportunity and inequalities.

Existing research on the issue of ‘race’ and violence tends to fall into three general categories and includes those using biocriminal, cultural, and structural interpretations (Bruce &

Roscigno, 2003, pp. 239-240). Despite being considered outdated and controversial, biocriminal perspectives on 'race' have persisted in academia as recent as the 1990s. This framework suggests that biological factors influence levels of interpersonal violence between groups. Under this view, "inferior" groups are considered physiologically deficient and violence is understood to be a by-product of heritage. Contemporary biocriminalists also incorporate societal factors into this schema. The biocriminal perspective fails to recognize that race is a social construction that designs and reinforces inequalities in economic, political, and social spheres. Although biocriminal perspectives are marginal in academic literature, the views remain prevalent in public discourse and therefore are worth mentioning and discounting.

Secondly, cultural perspectives provide another framework for understanding the intersections of 'race' and violence (Bruce & Roscigno, 2003, pp. 239-242). These views consider normative attributes that are understood to be specific to an ethnic or racial group. Violent behaviour is contextualized as a result of culture where criminality and violence are considered acceptable. In short, this theory suggests that value systems between ethnic or racial groups are qualitatively different and the breakdown of institutions and detachment results in higher levels of criminal activity and violence. These perspectives suggest that violence is rooted in communities and in doing so, fails to address how norms, the deterioration of institutions, and structural features in a community might interact to contribute to violence.

The limitations of biocriminal and cultural perspectives in explaining associations found between 'race' and violence have been largely addressed by the development of structural perspectives (Bruce & Roscigno, 2003, pp. 239-242, 248). Under these frameworks, violence experienced by poor and minority groups is contextualized within the disadvantaged material conditions in which they live. Because this group of perspectives considers relationships between

material conditions within locality and violence, the focus on violence is shifted from internal group characteristics towards a group's status and material reality within societies organized by sex, class and racial hierarchies. Structural perspectives position disproportionate rates of within-group violence as the result of harsh economic conditions faced by a population in combination with residential segregation. Some researchers suggest that after prioritizing the structural approach, consideration of a cultural or normative dimension can help to understand how tangible disadvantages can manifest in daily interactions between individuals. This integration of perspectives can be achieved when cultural and normative tendencies are understood as a manifestation of societal processes and the conditions of the society in which one lives. Essentially, culture is a set of tools and responses to the interpretation of one's circumstance, and their methods of coping with those circumstances. For example, violence that is often interpreted as a group attribute can instead be a response to normative condition, such as poverty or discrimination that might collectively affect a residentially segregated populace.

An integrated approach between the structural and cultural perspectives has been used to deconstruct previous dialogues about 'race' and violence. Research investigating societal stratification suggests that increasing minority populations can be perceived as a political and/or economical threat to majority groups. To maintain an advantageous social position, members of dominant groups can develop practices that reinforce the disadvantageous conditions experienced by minority group members (Bruce & Roscigno, 2003, pp. 244). More specifically, research indicates that structural poverty is associated with homicide (Johnson & Chanhatisilpa, 2003, 107). Furthermore, increases in poverty and other structural disadvantages have been shown to manifest as increases in homicidal violence, regardless of ethnicity (Martinez, 2003, pp. 33-41; Johnson & Chanhatisilpa, 2003, 91). Rose and McClain (2003, pp. 3-21) and

Martinez (2003, pp. 107) purport that there might be differences in the victimization of non-white individuals, and this is likely tied to differences in their structural and material realities. According to Titterington and Damphousse (2003, 87-88), the rates of Caucasian homicides have maintained steadily throughout times of economic distress, whereas the slow progress of communities in addressing disadvantageous conditions experienced by minority groups can account for higher rates of lethal violence.

In earlier chapters, an explanation was provided regarding the contextualization of the MMIWG crisis as a derivative of structural violence via Indigenous tribalism theory. Because Indigenous tribalisms consider how colonial processes have disrupted political, socioeconomic and spiritual Indigenous systems to allow for assimilatory endeavours; which has in turn caused multi-leveled forms of marginalization towards Indigenous women resultant in their disproportionate vulnerability to violent targeting, this theory fits within the structural perspectives used to understand relationships between race and violence. Though Indigenous tribalism theory cannot be applied to understand violence towards other women of Colour in the exact same way due to differences in cultural norms and circumstantial differences (i.e. not all countries of origin traditionally revered women, and some women choose to immigrate to pursue a more egalitarian society), the general concepts of the prioritization of Caucasian patriarchy remain relevant. Thus, while Indigenous tribalism theory does fit under the umbrella of structural perspectives, it is not the best framework to contextualize violence towards other women of Colour. Rather, the broader frameworks of structural violence are better suited to understand their vulnerabilities to violent victimization.

The evidence for the influence of structural violence and the role of normative responses to disadvantaged conditions on the heightened rates of interpersonal violence provide a plausible

explanation for the sex and ancestrally based themes in violence detected within this research. As illustrated in Figures 4.12 and 4.13 within the Results section, violence towards males is thematically distinct from that affecting all female groups. Generally, motives to kill women and girls are largely sexual in nature, and this type of violence is nearly absent from cases involving males. Given that most homicides are committed by males, it is possible that the culture of Canada tends not to encourage sexual violence towards males because this behaviour is inconsistent with the heterosexual norms that persist in North American society. Also structural and culturally reactive explanations might clarify the prevalence of spousal violence against women, where its prevalence is minor in violence against men. Because patriarchy is foundational within Canadian society, and thus, women are more likely to depend on men than the reverse alternative, men tend to have various forms of control, including violent control (Agnew, 2009), that can quickly become homicidal. It is possible that these structural and cultural tendencies account for the improbability that female partners will kill their male spouse. Rather, the results suggest that men are more likely to control other men in violent, but non-sexual methods to reinforce control over money and territory, such as within gang and drug activities and other subcultures of organized crime.

The interactions of structure, culture, and violence extend beyond the status of sex and appear to affect women with diverse ancestral affiliations in distinct ways. Data portrayed in Figures 4.12 and 4.13 suggest that of the female victim groups, Indigenous and Caucasian women suffer homicidal violence in ways more similar than that experienced by women of Colour. While spousal violence is a common issue affecting all of the female groups, the dominant threat of sexualized stranger violence against the former groups tends to be reduced in cases where women of Colour are victimized. The differences in violence affecting Indigenous

women and Caucasian women tend to be subtle and reflect issues of proportion rather than distinction. Essentially, the reduction of dual vulnerabilities due to the victim and offender tendencies described earlier tends to manifest in Caucasian women as a reduction in the rates of homicide, rates at which marginalized women are victimized, rates at which Caucasian women tend to be preyed upon by particularly violent offenders, and are killed by their spouses. Thus, it appears that historical and contemporary structures within Canadian society, as outlined by the NIMMIWG (2019) and reviewed earlier in this research, have privileged the safety of Caucasian women over Indigenous women. In contrast, Indigenous women suffer from the effects of structural poverty and other forms of marginalization, and therefore, are more likely to maintain abusive relationships for financial security or engage in survival sex work, which can introduce women to addiction. Together, these dual victim vulnerabilities make these women more available to offenders who are dangerous and possibly predatory, rendering Indigenous women more susceptible to homicidal violence than the former group.

Finally, the integration of structural and cultural perspectives provides a clear explanation as to why homicidal violence affecting women of Colour tends to be so distinct from violence affecting other female groups. Violence affecting women of Colour tends to be primarily enacted by family and spousal relations relating to issues of family honour. Though this violence is known to be culturally driven, it is apparent that structures within Canadian society, such as the welfare and immigration systems, tend to reinforce the dependency that immigrant women have on their male partners. This dependency on male spouses can prevent immigrant women from leaving male partners who are overly oppressive and oppose their wife's acculturation to Canadian practices or personal empowerment. In extreme cases, as observed by the results of this study, this resistance becomes homicidal in the form of 'honour' killings. Though the honour-

driven theme of the violence affecting many within this group is very different from that affecting Indigenous women, the structural root/enablers of violence are the same. Similar to the root causes of violence towards Indigenous women, these structures have not been designed to protect immigrant women because colonial Canadian society places little value on this group. Just like Indigenous women, women of Colour occupy lowly statuses within sexist and racist hierarchies, and so, structures that allow for their existence in Canadian society do very little to ensure their well-being.

5.6 Limitations and Future Research

Despite the novel findings of this research and the overall consistency of the data to that presented by existing publications, this study is limited by several factors. The overall sample size of the study is relatively small, as only 38 to 52 cases were examined per victim group, comprising a total of 183 victim cases analyzed. While the sample size was determined by the limits of what was deemed attainable within the scope of a short-term graduate research project, the results of such a small analysis might not be representative of a much greater number of homicide cases nation-wide. Secondly, while the female cases were selected from an extensive list of victims based on data availability, no such list had been comprised for male homicide victims, and so these cases were simply based on what was located within news articles and by which of these cases could then be located in case law databases. This creates a bias for the selection of male homicide cases deemed ‘newsworthy’ over those that are perhaps less likely to be reported, and therefore, a certain type of violence might have been more likely to be included than others. Another bias includes the reliance on ancestral and gender classifications established by an outside researcher (Pearce, 2013a, b). While the existence of this data was convenient and

made this research possible, there is always the possibility that a deceased victim might not have identified with an ancestral or ethnic group in the way that the rest of society perceived.

In addition to issues related to sample size and case recruitment, there were extensive gaps in the data available within case law databases, as only 67% of the cases searched had court transcripts available on case law sites. There were multiple situations when transcripts could not be located, not all variables could be located in every case, or at times only a few transcripts were available that did not provide a complete summary of the case. Because of this, forensic information had to be supplemented with data located within media reports, which presents issues of reliability and accuracy. Even in cases when forensic data could be located within court transcripts, court proceedings do not necessarily provide accurate representations regarding the offence, as indicated by discrepancies in the cases analyzed that presented evidence of sexual activity yet did not result in sex-related criminal convictions.

In addition, certain variables proved difficult to code and classify due to either the lack of information or subjectivity. This issue was particularly difficult when considering the expression of guilt or remorse by the offender, which often was not included in court transcripts. When it was, it was often hard to determine if these expressions were genuine in text format, and in many cases, court officials and media representatives questioned the sincerity of the remorse expressed, which influenced the coding. Coding of this variable was complicated by the possible motivation for offenders to fake remorse in hopes of receiving a lighter sentence, or the possibility that they felt remorse but did not express it. For this reason, this variable was deemed unreliable for analysis and was not considered further. Also, coding for the intoxication of victims and offenders proved difficult for two reasons. First, the effects of intoxication can be misrepresented in court to suggest that an offender lacked motive to kill, and second, it is

difficult to know how much of a substance is required to intoxicate each individual enough to influence the violence enacted; therefore, the effects of intoxicants in each homicide had to be considered contextually on a case-by-case basis.

Provided the value of the information that can be attained from the analysis of forensic data, future studies should consider how the limitations of this research can be avoided or minimized in the research design. This would best be achieved by drawing a greater number of cases from larger datasets with standardized data entry protocol. In recent discussion with members of the RCMP, it was suggested that it would be beneficial to incorporate data managed within the ViCLAS (Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System) database, the Police Reporting and Occurrence System (PROS), the British Columbia Police Records Information Management Environment (BC PRIME), the Major Case Management Evidence and Reports (MCM E&R) system, and within Homicide Surveys into a project of this nature. While allowing for a larger sample size and access to complete, extensive datasets, the incorporation of such data would inform personnel in law enforcement and violence prevention programming as to how the nature of violence enacted upon Indigenous women might be related to their overrepresentation amongst victims of homicide and how other groups might be affected by specific forms of violence.

Access to data managed within the ViCLAS database would allow for the incorporation of standardized profile and crime-related data regarding homicides (RCMP, n.d), thereby increasing the efficiency and accuracy of data collection. Furthermore, the ViCLAS system will indicate if linkages have been made between cases, which would be important when considering the possible predation of serial offenders upon certain populations. Because reporting to ViCLAS is increasing and the data submitted to the system is subject to quality assurance

reviews, it would be appropriate to include this data into an extension of this project. However, because it is not yet mandatory for all cases to be reported within ViCLAS and a recent study has revealed low interobserver reliability of its included variables (Bennell et al., 2012), it would be inappropriate to rely solely on data managed within this system.

Due to the described issues regarding the ViCLAS system, it will be important to include data managed within Homicide Surveys into a future research project building on this study. Because the Homicide Survey collects police-reported data on multiple characteristics of all homicides and persons involved since 1961 (Statistics Canada, 2015), these reports will contain accurate versions of information otherwise sought in open-sourced data. These questionnaires are completed when homicides become known to police and the surveys include updated information regarding offenders. Due to the mandatory completion and consistent updating of the surveys, the inclusion of such data would address gaps in case data within ViCLAS and provide an objective sample of violent crime, thereby reducing the potential bias towards serial violent crime that might be obtained from data drawn solely from ViCLAS. Similarly, because the MCM E&R system allows for the storage of investigative material (RCMP, 2018) and the PROS and BC PRIME systems allow for the storage and update of case-related information, including that pertaining to court proceedings (RCMP, 2005), the inclusion of these systems would extensively enhance the cross-examination of data and permit access to court files that have not yet been uploaded to the legal databases currently accessible to the public.

Taken together, the inclusion of data managed within the ViCLAS, MCM E&R, PROS and BC PRIME databases and included in Homicide Surveys would allow for the thorough, robust and efficient cross-examination of case data while decreasing the risk of bias and inaccuracy associated with the reliance upon open-sourced data. The inclusion of data derived

from these sources in an extension of this work would improve the sample size, accuracy, academic rigor, and relevance of this study to the RCMP and other government agencies focused on violent crime prevention and intervention. It should be noted that the RCMP was willing to provide access to this information, but unfortunately, the time required to access these databases took longer than what the narrow temporal scope of a graduate program would allow.

Finally, comparing the findings of this study to published data proved difficult due to the lack of research available detailing the homicidal victimization of Caucasian women and males. With this observation in mind, future analysis on the occurrence of violent behaviour and homicides should continue to publish data regarding minority groups known to be particularly susceptible to victimization, but should not forget majority groups in their analysis, such as Caucasian women and males. While this study did not consider how themes in the homicidal victimization of men might differ by the ancestral affiliation of the victim, future research might consider if themes related to financial or personal gain and organized criminal activity persist after male victim cases are grouped by ancestry. If new themes arise after such an analysis is conducted, investigation into the influences of structure and culture on the material reality of diverse male populations might be warranted. This information, in combination with that obtained from this study should then be applied to rigorous, culturally-relevant, and community-specific violence prevention and intervention programming, similar to what the NIMMIWG (2019) has achieved in relation to violence affecting Indigenous women and girls in Canada.

5.7 Conclusion

This study sought to determine if major themes in Canadian homicidal violence differed by the sex and ancestral affiliation of the victims. Through a statistical analysis of forensic case data obtained from court transcripts and supplemented by media reports, this analysis has found

that distinct themes of violent behaviour can be found in the homicides affecting Indigenous women, women of Colour, Caucasian women, and males. An Indigenous tribalist theory informed by the research and truths expressed by Indigenous scholars, activists, and survivors situates historical and contemporary colonial structures as primary contributory factors in the ongoing violence that continues to affect Indigenous women. Taken together, the interpretive lens put forward by Indigenous tribalisms and the results of this study indicate that structural violence affecting sex and ancestrally based populations can manifest in these groups as unique forms of interpersonal homicidal violence.

While the null hypothesis of the study predicted that significant differences in the themes of homicidal violence would not be found between the victim groups analyzed, the alternate hypothesis predicted that themes, or proportions of themes, of homicidal violence affecting Indigenous women would be distinct from those affecting the other victim groups considered. Provided the findings that indicate heightened natures of sexualized predation on marginalized, vulnerable women by especially dangerous men, and the increased incidence of spousal homicides motivated by feelings of FAD, or an argument, the null hypothesis can be rejected, and the latter accepted. However, the relative similarity in the themes of violence affecting Indigenous women and Caucasian women was not expected. Rather than finding that homicides against these women are thematically distinct, this study found that the main difference in homicidal violence affecting these women is in the proportion of victims and in the prevalence of dominant sub-themes. Overall, the findings presented in this study are consistent with the observation that minority women in Canada tend to be more susceptible to violence because they have less immediate control over their lives than those women whose ancestors originated outside of Canada long before, or who are of European descent (Papp, 2010).

Although homicide reflects some of the most extreme human behaviour, there are multiple reasons why the study of homicidal violence is worthy when seeking to understand the complexities of societal dysfunction. Homicide has been understood as one of the most serious crimes. For this reason, it is more likely than other criminal acts to be thoroughly investigated by law enforcement agencies. The analysis of homicidal violence is important because of its severe impact on society and because it is considered a reliable measure of violence within a society (Dauvergne & Li, 2005). When considered alongside the extensive dialogue regarding MMIWG, the unique natures of violence affecting Indigenous women and girls found in this study indicate that structural violence does manifest in oppressed groups through interpersonal violence in distinct, and possibly detectable, forms. Thus, the analysis of trends in homicidal violence by sex and ancestrally based victim groups can be beneficial in pointing to structural systems within society that enact and reinforce violence. The identification of such patterns might then initiate dialogue regarding, and hopefully the correction of, societal structures and the resultant cultural responses to disadvantageous circumstances that contribute to violence affecting specific groups.

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Appendix

Cross Tabulated Data per Variable

Table A.1. Summary of count and proportional cross-tabulated data for all variables pertaining to the victim and offender profiles compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups. Percentages for each variable within each group are in brackets.

Variable	Indigenous Women	Women of Colour	Caucasian Women	Males
Victim Profile				
<i>Mean Age</i>	22.35*	28.33*	28.53*	27.78*
<i>Age Group</i>				
0-5 years	3 (6.5)	4 (10.0)	1 (2.9)	4 (9.8)
6-12 years	3 (6.5)	2 (5.0)	3 (8.8)	11 (6.8)
13-18 years	11 (23.9)	5 (12.5)	8 (23.5)	29 (18.0)
19-24 years	14 (30.4)	7 (17.5)	5 (14.7)	9 (22.0)
25-34 years	10 (21.7)	7 (17.5)	7 (20.6)	7 (17.1)
35-44 years	4 (8.7)	10 (25.0)	4 (11.8)	8 (19.5)
45-54 years	0 (0.0)	4 (10.0)	2 (5.9)	2 (4.9)
55-64 years	1 (2.2)	1 (2.5)	2 (5.9)	2 (4.9)
65 + years	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (5.9)	1 (2.4)
<i>Sex Worker Status</i>				
Not mentioned as sex worker	39 (75.0)	39 (92.9)	33 (86.8)	49 (100.0)
Mentioned as sex worker	13 (25.0)	3 (7.1)	5 (13.2)	0 (0.0)
<i>Intoxication Status</i>				
Not mentioned as intoxicated	26 (51.0)	42 (100.0)	29 (76.3)	39 (78.0)
Possibly intoxicated	25 (49.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (23.7)	11 (22.0)
Offender Profile				
<i>Number of offenders</i>				
1 offender	49 (94.2)	33 (78.6)	32 (82.1)	25 (56.8)
2 offenders	2 (3.8)	3 (7.1)	6 (15.4)	11 (25.0)
3 offenders	0 (0.0)	5 (11.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (9.1)
4 offenders	0 (0.0)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.6)	3 (6.8)
5 offenders	1 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
6 offenders	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.3)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	50 (86.2)	46 (80.7)	42 (87.5)	84 (90.3)
Female	8 (13.8)	11 (19.3)	6 (12.5)	9 (9.7)
<i>Ancestry</i>				
Not mentioned as Indigenous	38 (69.1)	55 (94.8)	45 (95.7)	79 (84.9)
Indigenous	17 (30.9)	3 (5.2)	2 (4.3)	14 (15.1)
<i>Mean Age</i>	22.35*	28.33*	28.53*	27.78*
<i>Age Group</i>				
6-12 years	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.6)
13-18 years	6 (11.8)	9 (18.0)	8 (20.0)	10 (13.2)
19-24 years	13 (25.5)	9 (18.0)	9 (22.5)	28 (36.8)
25-34 years	11 (21.6)	9 (18.0)	11 (27.5)	17 (22.4)
35-44 years	15 (29.4)	16 (32.0)	8 (20.0)	13 (17.1)
45-54 years	5 (9.8)	2 (4.0)	2 (5.0)	5 (6.6)
55-64 years	1 (2.0)	5 (10.0)	2 (5.0)	1 (1.3)
<i>Victim-Offender Relationship</i>				
Acquaintance	6 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.3)	3 (4.2)
Friends	1 (1.9)	1 (2.0)	3 (6.5)	3 (4.2)

Family	4 (7.4)	24 (48.0)	4 (8.7)	13 (18.1)
Spousal	10 (18.5)	15 (30.0)	5 (10.9)	1 (1.4)
Other or former intimate	4 (7.4)	3 (6.0)	3 (6.5)	1 (1.4)
Stranger	29 (53.7)	7 (14.0)	29 (63.0)	35 (48.6)
Other	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	16 (22.2)
<i>Previous Sex or Violence Related Charges or Convictions</i>				
None found	30 (51.7)	55 (94.8)	30 (52.5)	73 (78.5)
Found	28 (48.3)	3 (5.2)	18 (37.5)	20 (21.5)
<i>Previous Sex Related Charges or Convictions</i>				
None found	48 (82.8)	58 (100.0)	43 (89.6)	92 (89.9)
Found	10 (17.2)	0 (0.0)	5 (10.4)	1 (1.1)
<i>Intoxication Status</i>				
Not mentioned as intoxicated	21 (50.0)	50 (90.9)	30 (68.2)	63 (70.8)
Possibly intoxicated	21 (50.0)	5 (9.1)	14 (31.8)	26 29.2)

*= Mean

Table A.2. Summary of count and proportional cross-tabulated data for all variables pertaining to the offence compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups. Percentages for each variable within each group are in brackets.

Variable	Indigenous Women	Women of Colour	Caucasian Women	Males
<i>Motive</i>				
Argument	7 (13.5)	4 (7.7)	3 (6.4)	10 (11.5)
Financial or personal gain	1 (1.9)	10 (19.2)	4 (8.5)	39 (44.8)
Frustration, anger or despair	7 (13.5)	11 (21.2)	7 (14.9)	6 (6.9)
Jealousy	4 (7.7)	5 (9.6)	7 (14.9)	4 (4.6)
Revenge	1 (1.9)	2 (3.8)	0 (0.0)	8 (9.2)
Sexual, sadistic, power, or pleasure	23 (44.2)	4 (7.7)	19 (40.4)	6 (6.9)
Other motive	8 (15.4)	18 (34.6)	6 (12.8)	17 (19.5)
No apparent motive	1 (1.9)	4 (7.7)	8 (17.0)	3 (3.4)
<i>Cause of death</i>				
Physical beating	19 (45.2)	14 (34.1)	7 (18.2)	9 (19.1)
Shooting	5 (11.9)	8 (19.5)	8 (21.6)	25 (53.2)
Smoke inhalation or burns	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (5.4)	1 (2.1)
Stabbing	19 (45.2)	6 (14.6)	12 (32.4)	8 (17.0)
Strangulation, suffocation, or drowning	11 (26.2)	16 (39.0)	13 (35.1)	4 (8.5)
Other cause of death	1 (2.4)	2 (4.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (8.5)
<i>Trauma types</i>				
Blunt force	33 (68.8)	28 (71.8)	17 (48.6)	17 (36.2)
Gunfire or projectile	7 (14.6)	8 (20.7)	8 (22.9)	25 (53.2)
Perimortem burning	1 (2.1)	1 (2.6)	2 (5.7)	2 (4.3)
Sharp force	23 (47.9)	9 (23.1)	13 (37.1)	9 (19.1)
Other trauma type	2 (4.2)	1 (2.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.1)
<i>Trauma locations</i>				
Abdomen	11 (25.6)	6 (17.1)	5 (16.1)	4 (10.5)
Anus or genitalia	16 (37.2)	2 (5.7)	10 (32.3)	5 (13.2)
Arms	7 (16.3)	9 (25.7)	6 (19.4)	5 (13.2)
Back	8 (18.6)	4 (11.4)	3 (9.7)	7 (18.4)
Chest	13 (30.2)	11 (31.4)	12 (38.7)	9 (23.7)

Face	13 (30.2)	8 (22.9)	8 (25.8)	5 (13.2)
Feet	1 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
General body	1 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (5.3)
Hands	7 (16.3)	2 (5.7)	3 (9.7)	5 (13.2)
Head	18 (41.9)	21 (60.0)	14 (45.2)	19 (50.0)
Legs	6 (14.0)	2 (5.7)	3 (9.7)	3 (7.9)
Neck	14 (32.6)	16 (45.7)	21 (67.7)	8 (21.1)
Other location	3 (7.0)	2 (5.7)	2 (6.5)	3 (7.9)
<i>Homicide Details</i>				
Use of weapon	38 (92.7)	27 (65.9)	30 (78.9)	42 (91.3)
Single killing method	32 (76.2)	36 (87.8)	30 (83.3)	43 (91.5)
Multiple killing methods	10 (23.8)	5 (12.2)	6 (16.7)	4 (8.5)
Evidence of ligature, restraint or confinement	7 (17.1)	11 (26.2)	9 (25.0)	16 (34.0)
Evidence of blindfolding	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.6)	0 (0.0)
Evidence of sexual activity	25 (49.0)	3 (7.1)	14 (38.9)	3 (6.0)
Evidence of torture	9 (18.8)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.9)	6 (12.0)
Evidence of postmortem mutilation	8 (18.2)	6 (14.3)	7 (18.4)	8 (17.0)
Kidnapping	10 (19.2)	2 (4.8)	5 (13.2)	8 (16.0)
Live victim or remains transported	28 (54.9)	17 (40.5)	18 (46.2)	10 (20.4)
Effort to burn or conceal human remains	26 (51.0)	18 (42.9)	15 (40.5)	13 (26.0)
<i>Location of homicide</i>				
Rural corporate or commercial	2 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.7)	1 (2.1)
Rural land	6 (13.6)	1 (2.4)	4 (10.8)	2 (4.3)
Rural residence	9 (20.5)	2 (4.8)	5 (13.5)	8 (17.0)
Rural vehicle, public transport, street or parking lot	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.7)	1 (2.1)
Rural water	2 (4.5)	4 (9.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Urban corporate or commercial	1 (2.3)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.7)	5 (10.6)
Urban hotel or motel	4 (9.1)	1 (2.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.1)
Urban land	3 (6.8)	1 (2.4)	3 (8.1)	0 (0.0)
Urban residence	10 (22.7)	24 (57.1)	17 (45.9)	21 (44.7)
Urban vehicle, public transport, street or parking lot	3 (6.8)	7 (16.7)	4 (10.8)	6 (12.8)
Urban water	0 (0.0)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.7)	0 (0.0)
Reserve	4 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.1)
Other	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.1)

Table A.3. Summary of count and proportional cross-tabulated data for all variables pertaining to the legal outcome compared between sex and ancestrally-based victim groups. Percentages for each variable within each group are in brackets.

Variable	Indigenous Women	Women of Colour	Caucasian Women	Males
<i>Conviction</i>				
Manslaughter	16 (27.6)	10 (17.2)	8 (16.7)	18 (19.4)
Second degree murder	20 (34.5)	21 (36.2)	19 (39.6)	20 (21.5)
First degree murder	22 (37.9)	27 (46.6)	21 (43.8)	45 (48.4)
Sexual assault	4 (6.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (8.3)	0 (0.0)
Indignity to body or interfering with human remains	2 (3.4)	2 (3.4)	2 (4.2)	0 (0.0)
Kidnapping	3 (5.2)	0 (0.0)	4 (8.3)	0 (0.0)
Other convictions	1 (1.7)	5 (8.6)	6 (12.5)	16 (17.2)

<i>Sentence</i>				
0 – 2 years	0 (0.0)	1 (1.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.2)
2 – 5 years	4 (7.7)	1 (1.8)	0 (0.0)	8 (8.7)
5 – 10 years	6 (11.5)	7 (12.3)	5 (11.6)	5 (5.4)
10+ years	4 (7.7)	1 (1.8)	2 (4.7)	13 (14.1)
Life, <10 years until probation	1 (1.9)	2 (3.5)	2 (4.7)	2 (2.2)
Life, 10-15 years until probation	9 (17.3)	6 (10.5)	9 (20.9)	7 (7.6)
Life, 15-20 years until probation	2 (3.8)	11 (19.3)	5 (11.6)	10 (10.9)
Life, 20-24 years until probation	2 (3.8)	3 (5.3)	2 (4.7)	1 (1.1)
Life, 25 years until probation	23 (44.2)	25 (43.9)	16 (37.2)	43 (46.7)
Other	1 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.7)	1 (1.1)
<i>Connections to Other Homicide Related Charges or Convictions</i>				
Connections not found	32 (60.4)	28 (66.7)	23 (59.0)	18 (36.0)
Connections found	21 (39.6)	14 (33.3)	16 (41.0)	32 (64.0)

Table A.4. Multidimensional scaling plot stress values.

Figure	Stress I Value
13A	0.28325
13B	0.26443
13C	0.27518
13D	0.27052
14	0.31111