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Violence Against Indigenous Males in Canada with a Focus on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men

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Title: Violence Against Indigenous Males in Canada with a Focus on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men

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Research Question:

How can the issue of violence against Indigenous males in Canada and more specifically missing and murdered Indigenous men garner constructive reflection in the general public? That is, what would happen if we created on-line space to address the issue of, and raise awareness about, missing and murdered Indigenous men in Canada?

INTRODUCTION

In 2004, Amnesty International released the first comprehensive report on violence against Indigenous women called *No More Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada*. Since then, other organizations such as the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC, 2009) and various grassroots people and agencies have been raising awareness on the startling numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (MMIW). There is no shortage of research on violence against Indigenous women, which now includes at least three databases on MMIW: NWAC: Sisters in Spirit Report (2009); the work of Dr. Maryanne Pearce (2013); and the community-run database which is currently being compiled through a collaboration of three grassroots organizations: Violence No More, Families of Sisters in Spirit and the Native Youth Sexual Health Network. With the release of the latest statistics of MMIW, we know that

just over one thousand Indigenous women and girls in Canada have either disappeared without a trace or have been murdered in the past three decades (RCMP, 2014).

The literature review for this Major Research Project (MRP) documents research on violence against Indigenous women and leads to the following observation: if we look at the historical roots of why these women become targets of violence today, we realize that Indigenous men were also the targets of this very same historical colonial violence. Yet, research has shown that Indigenous males have largely been studied from the perspective of the perpetrators of violence and never as victims (Brownbridge, 2008; Brzozowski et al., 2006; Chenault, 2011; Dylan et al., 2008; Innes, 2015; RCMP, 2014; RCMP, 2015; Statistics Canada, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2006; Thibodeau et al., 2013; Weaver, 2009). The question then becomes, why are Indigenous males not being researched as victims of violence, and why do we only view them as perpetrators of violence?

Until researchers Dr. Kim Anderson (Wilfrid Laurier University) and Dr. Robert Innes (University of Saskatchewan) began to investigate violence against Indigenous males in Canada through the Bidwewidam Indigenous Masculinities project, research was largely from the standpoint that Indigenous men could only be viewed as the perpetrators of violence. Yet studies conducted by Statistics Canada (1996, 2001) state that Indigenous males are twice as likely to be murdered when compared to Indigenous female homicides. Furthermore, Indigenous men are seven times more likely than non-Indigenous males to be victims of homicide in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2004). This violence warrants investigation from within a framework of colonial violence.

I come to this research with concerns about the violence experienced by Indigenous peoples and communities. In the winter of 2015 I did a community placement at the Indigenous Knowledge Center (IKC) at Six Nations Polytechnic, and that has helped me to understand the relationship between Canada, as a political and colonial entity, and

Indigenous people. Moreover, the IKC has a focus on Haudenosaunee (people of the Six Nations Confederacy: Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk and Tuscarora of upper New York State and southern Ontario) history, including wampum treaties signed with the Dutch, British, United States and other settler colonies. Many settler colonies did not hold up their end of the treaty agreements. Much land was taken from the Haudenosaunee without informed consent or permission; it was stolen. Looking at violence against Indigenous people from this "bigger picture" perspective, I could see that there were many ways in which colonizers attacked Indigenous people: rape of women, murder, theft of land, and forced assimilation. My paper will focus on violence against Indigenous men, which is just a small part of historical and ongoing colonial violence against Indigenous people in Canada.

This MRP with an Alternative/Creative option will help guide my ongoing research on missing and murdered Indigenous men, which includes a database that I created from on-line media sources and publically-accessible police databases. I have posted information from this database on Facebook, Twitter and the Bidwewidam Indigenous Masculinities website to investigate my question of "What would happen if we created on-line space to address the issue of, and raise awareness about missing and murdered Indigenous men in Canada?" I will reflect on this process and the outcomes later in the paper. Ultimately, it is my hope that my research, like that of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Innes, will help pave the way for future researchers conducting their own investigations into violence *against* Indigenous men.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introducing Historical Colonial Violence and its Legacy

Historical colonial violence is the single most important thread that interweaves throughout an examination of the experiences of violence against Indigenous peoples in Canada. During the Indian Residential School era, for example, Indigenous peoples were faced with all forms of violence: physical, spiritual and sexual. Baskin (2012) shows how that violence is a legacy lived within many Indigenous families today. The violence has been inherited; it has been reciprocated (p. 147). Baskin makes the claim that this violence within Indigenous families, both on and off reserve, is more prevalent than in the rest of mainstream society (Baskin, p. 147; Smith, p. 130). This is the direct result of historical colonial violence.

Indigenous sympathizer and settler-scholar Andrea Smith (2005), gives detailed insight into how violence was perpetrated against Indigenous people in both Canada and the United States. Smith describes all aspects of historical colonial violence: from sexual violence as a tool for genocide, to the abuse that went on at boarding/residential schools, to the theft of the land, forced sterilization, medical experimentation in First Nations communities and other forms of sexual violence. Smith's work demonstrates that Indigenous women not only face elevated odds of violent victimization with a large sexual component but that there is also a direct link to sexual violence and colonialism. Other literature also suggests that sexual violence against Indigenous women by the colonizers plays a pivotal role in the process of colonization (Brownbridge, 2008, p. 353). Colonial sexual violence therefore, is well documented (Smith, 2005; Baskin, 2012; Agtuca, 2008; Chenault, 2011).

Attention to sexual violence against Indigenous women is the first focus of this literature review as it helps to explain the reasons why so many Indigenous women and girls go missing or are murdered. In many of the homicide cases of murdered Indigenous women,

sexual violence played a pivotal role and was often perpetrated against the victim before her death (Amnesty International, 2004, p. 14). How do we identify the cause of this violence? Agtuca (2008) argues that it is the law itself that makes it legal to commit acts of violence against Indigenous women (p. 3). Her argument is that the history of the fiduciary relationship between the State and Indigenous tribes "constitutes the social fabric of the current violence perpetrated against Native women as a population" (p. 3). On the other hand, Weaver (2009) argues that colonialism has been internalized in many Native communities which in turn, leads Native people to continue devaluing women (p. 1552). There is merit in both perspectives.

Literature based on court cases supports the perspective that colonial law has evolved to continue to support violence against Indigenous women. One example of this involves the case of Helen Betty Osborne, who was further victimized by the Canadian criminal justice system based on the combination of race and gender. Osborne was a 19 year-old woman from Norway House Cree Nation in northern Manitoba. In the hopes of becoming a teacher, Osborne moved to The Pas to attend school. In 1971 she was abducted off the streets while walking home, by four white males who sexually assaulted her before brutally murdering her (Amnesty International, 2007, p. 1). Ms. Osborne was stabbed over fifty times in the head and upper torso (Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, 1991). According to the Inquiry, within the first year of the investigation the police had identified all four killers but claimed that they did not have enough evidence to lay charges. It took fifteen years for police to finally lay charges and only one of the four accused was ever convicted in her death. The Inquiry concluded that racism played a role in the slow road to justice for Ms. Osborne, or to say it more matter-of-factly, the lack of justice. The Inquiry into the death of Helen Betty Osborne concluded that had she not been Aboriginal, Ms. Osborne would be alive today (Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, 1991). The case of Helen Betty Osborne is a prime example of how the criminal

justice system in Canada continues to fail Indigenous women. See *R. v. Kummerfield & Ternowetsky* (1997) and *R v. Barton* (2015) for more examples of how the criminal justice system continues to fail Indigenous women, specifically Pamela George and Cindy Gladue.

While addressing this type of colonial violence, it is important to address how Indigenous people have internalized and mimicked the ongoing violence of the colonial system and thus have become the perpetrators of violence against each other (Agtuca, 2008; Weaver, 2009). Again, literature related to court cases can be useful in this analysis. For example, the recent court case of *Fontaine v. Canada* (2014) pointed out that Indian Residential Schools operated from the 1860s until the 1990s and that more then 150,000 Indigenous children attended these schools, which were operated by religious organizations and were funded by the government of Canada (p. 23). According to *Fontaine*, former students of St. Anne's Residential School in northern Ontario documented atrocities at the hands of religious clergy. Many of the students who had been victimized by clergy and other staff went on to victimize other students. Thus, some victims were also perpetrators of child abuse in what Justice Perell called the "toxic environment of the Indian Residential Schools" (p. 24). This student-on-student abuse represented 32% of abuse claims at St. Anne's Residential School (p. 4). It could possibly be argued that this is a representative sample of the extent of the seriousness of child abuse at all residential schools. This is but one example of how colonial violence can become internalized within Indigenous communities today.

Literature on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

To date, there has been insufficient research on violence *against* Indigenous men, which is the focus of my Masters degree. By analyzing the research that has been conducted on missing and murdered Indigenous women (MMIW), I can get a sense of what violence against Indigenous men may look like in terms of root causes. I begin by noting that when it comes to

reporting on MMIW, it is important that the families of the victims are able to tell their own stories. Corntassel (2009) refers to this as Indigenous Storytelling, noting "A re-storying process for Indigenous peoples entails questioning the imposition of colonial histories in our communities" (p. 139). The way in which MMIW are portrayed relies largely on who is telling the story. For example if we compare the RCMP and NWAC reports on MMIW, we can see that both used statistics that, in turn, told a story. But in spite of relying on much of the same data, they told vastly different stories of MMIW. Victims were given a voice in the NWAC report, whereas the RCMP report painted a negative picture about Indigenous women and men, and the voices of the victims and their families were largely ignored.

When Indigenous people are given the opportunity to tell their own stories, an entirely new perspective can arise. This gives the reader a better sense of who these women were as people, and not as a statistic. Many reports take this stance and use this methodology. (Amnesty International, 2004; NWAC, 2009; Pearce, 2015). The focus of the report, *No More Stolen Sisters*, was to acknowledge missing and murdered Indigenous women because they are all too often forgotten (Amnesty International, 2004, p. 3). Like *No More Stolen Sisters*, NWAC's report, *Sisters in Spirit*, (2009) reported on missing and murdered Indigenous women as well. This report not only included a database of 582 MMIW, but also gave family members of the victims the opportunity to share stories of their loved ones. These stories were published in the final report, with permission from the families of the victims.

Other academic authors that take the Indigenous Storytelling approach include Dara Culhane, Ann-Marie Livingston, Sarah Hunt and Maryanne Pearce. Culhane (2003), Livingston and Hunt (2014) and Pearce (2015) write about MMIW from a social justice perspective. They portray the missing and murdered women as human beings, worthy of justice, and advocate that they should not be forgotten; they should be more then just a number or a statistic because numbers can often be inaccurate and misleading. The RCMP

report on MMIW (2014) reported for example, that 1,017 Indigenous women had been murdered or have gone missing in the past three decades yet they admit in their report that police agencies across Canada, including themselves, historically did not require their officers to enter the race of the victim into their database (although some agencies now require their officers to do so). This means that the RCMP numbers of MMIW do not represent the true numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and, no doubt, these numbers are much, much higher (p. 21).

Families of the victims of the MMIW were not given the opportunity to be a part of the RCMP report. They were not asked to share their stories. We can see then, how the stories of MMIW are told, depending on who is telling the story. The original RCMP report (2014) relied on statistics that even they admitted were inaccurate and therefore, does not represent the totality of the issue of violence against Indigenous women (p. 21). As well, the RCMP report focused on the lifestyle of not only the perpetrator but the victim as well. Through the eyes of the RCMP and their researchers, these women were not mothers, daughters, sisters or grandmothers. They were seen as unemployed or supporting themselves through illegal means including the sex trade. This representation implies these are the reasons for the high numbers of MMIW (p. 17). This leads one to think then, that the RCMP are suggesting that these women were murdered or disappeared solely because of the lifestyle that they lived.

The RCMP report is also problematic when considering recent allegations made against both male and female officers (but largely males) of not only police misconduct against Indigenous women but also sexual harassment and even sexual assault. In the 2013 report, *Those Who Take Us Away*, conducted by Human Rights Watch, researchers conducted interviews of Indigenous women and girls in ten towns across northern British Columbia (p. 7). The report claims that in five of these towns, researchers heard allegations of rape or sexual assault by police officers (p. 59). Because of these issues, I believe that

future reporting on MMIW and violence against Indigenous women should be independent of the RCMP and any other Canadian colonial entity that has, in the past or present, perpetrated acts of violence against Indigenous women or has been accused thereof.

Indigenous Men, Violence and the Criminal Justice System

When considering Indigenous men in relation to violence and the criminal justice system, the mainstream population most likely thinks of violent Indigenous men who are overrepresented in the Canadian prison system. This tendency to overlook violence *against* Indigenous men can be addressed by examining the literature. As stated before, there is a large body of research on Indigenous males as the *perpetrators* of violence and a smaller body of research on them as *victims* of violence, (Razack, 2011, 2012, 2014; Ball, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013) with earlier statistical studies reporting that they are at an elevated risk of committing violent acts towards others. (Statistics Canada, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2006).

Brownbridge (2008) looks at Indigenous males as perpetrators of partner violence using two surveys conducted by Statistics Canada (1999, 2004). Yet this report gives the shocking account of Indigenous males as both victims and perpetrators of violence, and as such is useful in demonstrating the multiple ways in which violence is part of Indigenous men's lives. Authors, Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts and Johnson (2006) analyze data from a 1996 Statistics Canada Homicide Survey, which states that Indigenous men are twice as likely to be murdered when compared to Indigenous women. Furthermore, Indigenous men are almost seven times more likely to be murdered than non-Indigenous males in Canada (Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Homicide Survey, 1996).

Robert Innes, Kim Anderson and non-Indigenous scholar Sherene Razack have added valuable research into the question of Indigenous males as victims of violence. Like MMIW, violence against Indigenous men in Canada must be contextualized. We can see it as a form

of colonial violence, as sexual violence and as violence perpetrated by sectors of the criminal justice system. Razack (2012, 2014) argues that Indigenous males are overrepresented in the Canadian judicial system because they are targeted by sectors of the criminal justice system, such as judges and police officers and treated as "wasted space." Razack (2011, 2012, 2014) believes that this is a direct result of colonialism and that Canada continues to perpetrate acts of violence against Indigenous men, while members of the criminal justice system act as tools to accomplish this violence.

Recently, Razack (2014) has researched two aspects of violence against Indigenous males in Canada. The first is what is termed, *Starlight Tours*. Documented cases of Starlight Tours happened specifically in Saskatoon and involved officers of the Saskatoon Police Service taking Indigenous males off the streets and driving them to the outskirts of town, often in sub-freezing temperatures, and leaving them to walk back to the city. Tragically, this resulted in the freezing deaths of Neil Stonechild (1990), Robert Naistus (2004) and Lawrence Wegner (2004). Other literature arising from this case is useful in documenting the serious risk of violence faced by Indigenous men.

In 2004, the Report of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Matter Relating to the Death of Neil Stonechild was released. The findings revealed that Neil Stonechild was picked up by two Saskatoon Police Officers on the night of November 25, 1990. His frozen body was found less then a week later on the outskirts of town. He had injuries that were likely caused by handcuffs. Even though the initial investigation identified a number of suspicious circumstances, the principal investigator carried out a "totally inadequate" investigation (p. 212). Even though there were many questions surrounding Stonechild's death, the file was closed just five days later. The "self-protective and defensive attitudes exhibited by senior levels of the (Saskatoon) police service," were perpetuated in the years that followed Stonechild's death and even during the Inquiry, as stated by Commissioner of the Stonechild

Inquiry, Justice David H. Wright (p. 212). Cases of Starlight Tours are included in my database as they are a form of violence against Indigenous males. They are also documented in Tasha Hubbard's short film, "Two Worlds Colliding," produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The second area researched by Razack demonstrating how Indigenous men in Canada are victimized by the criminal justice system involves instances of deaths in custody. In 2011, Razack published an article describing how Indigenous people are targeted by members of the criminal justice system, tossed in jail and treated as "waste disposal" (p. 371). Sadly, many die in prisons due to negligence, prior medical conditions, moments of acute trauma that are ignored, or suicide in isolation.

In addition to the literature produced by Razack, Innes and Anderson (2015) have co-edited a book on Indigenous Men and Masculinities that includes material about men as victims of violence. They explore the question, "Who is walking with our brothers?", a term coined by Innes and Anderson to reference a MMIW awareness campaign, Walking With Our Sisters, which is spearheaded by Indigenous activist and artist, Christi Belcourt. In an article titled "Moose on the Loose: Indigenous Men, Violence and the Colonial Excuse," Innes (2015) further explores the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous men, basing some of his research on the research that I conducted for my database (p. 49). Innes points out that with the limited availability of statistics on Indigenous men, their "experiences with violence have not been fully acknowledged, articulated, and understood in any significant way" (p. 47). Thus, it is my hope—and I assume others who are leading in the way in research on violence against Indigenous males—that these articles and reports will help shed light on this largely neglected issue.

Future of Research on Violence Against Indigenous Males in Canada

There is no doubt that more research is needed on violence against Indigenous men in Canada. One area of research that has been studied is Indigenous fatherhood and the negative impacts that colonialism has had on paternal parenting. Jessica Ball, a professor in Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, is leading the research in this area (2003, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013). I would like to see how Ball's research can tie into my research; that is, how the victimization of Indigenous males disrupts the familial system. Many Indigenous men that have been murdered or that go missing were fathers, grandfathers, brothers and uncles and in many cases, these men are the sole support of the family in terms of income. Therefore, future research could be conducted on how the loss of Indigenous men affects the structure and stability of the family. Ball's research could also inspire future areas of study about Indigenous males who grew up without fathers and the probability or likelihood of them becoming victims of violence.

Conclusion

Violence against Indigenous males is an area that has traditionally not received much attention. In the past few years however, few scholars (Anderson, Innes and Razack) have begun to focus on Indigenous males as victims of violence, as they so often are looked upon as perpetrators of violence. We need to further explore how colonialist violence affected Indigenous men historically, given that research has so often focused solely on the victimization of Indigenous women. The goal of my research project is to shed some light on this issue. Utilizing my existing database on missing and murdered Indigenous men, I hope to help raise more awareness on this issue so that more people will become informed that violence does not target specifically Indigenous women. Colonialism did not just have a negative impact on Indigenous women; it also affected and continues to affect (and disrupt)

entire communities including men, transgendered and Two-Spirited peoples. Today, all Indigenous people are still being impacted by this violence. As a result of all genders being vulnerable to violence, the numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous men, women and Two-Spirited peoples are staggering, and continue to grow each day.

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Theory/Methodological Framework

In approaching my research question, I decided to use Tribal Critical Race Theory, which is an emerging branch of Critical Race Theory. My MRP falls within the Alternative/Creative stream. I have compiled a database on missing and murdered Indigenous males in Canada and from that, I took variables and created graphs and charts. I published this material on social media sites, Facebook and Twitter. Once the information was posted on social media, I examined the immediate on-line reaction. I have reflected on that response in this MRP, offering concluding remarks and commentary on potential future areas of study of my research.

Critical Race Theory

According to leading Critical Race Theory (CRT) scholar, Richard Delgado, the CRT movement is a collective combination of scholars and social justice activists who not only study the relationship of race, racism and power but also attempt to transform that relationship to a more egalitarian one (Delgado et al. 2000, p. 1). Racism can come in different forms; it can be overt racism or it can be subtle. Solorzano et al. (2000) refer to this subtle form as racial microaggressions that come in verbal, nonverbal and visual forms, and is directed toward people of color (p. 60). These acts of subtle racism can be automatic or unconscious.

CRT is a form of activism in that not only does it attempt to understand our social situation, but it also calls for attempts to change those situations. The goal for CRT students is to transform society for the better (Delgado et al., 2000, p. 2). Derrick Bell, Professor of Law at New York University and father of CRT, explains the moral foundation which CRT is based

on: “To see things as they really are, you must imagine them for what they might be. In this instance, the effort is intended to delegitimize the illegitimate” (Bell, 1995, p. 4). The basis of Bell’s work has shown that United States law, even when it seems liberal at heart, still legitimizes racism (Delgado, 2000, p. 2). CRT was founded in American legal studies after the Civil Rights Movement era out of frustration that, not only had the movement failed to eradicate racism but the movement itself had reached a stalling point (Harris, 2012; Delgado, 1989). This is why then, traditionally, CRT uses a black-white lens to analyze how and why racism still exists in America today. According to Harris (1994), this tension caused by racism in America is between CRT’s commitment to radical critique of the law and its commitment to radical liberation by the law (p. 743).

Bell (1995) believes that scholarly resistance to racism and racist laws and policies will lay the foundation for non-scholarly resistance: “We believe that standards and institutions created by and fortifying white power ought to be resisted” (p. 6). According to Bell, as a direct result of racism in America, specifically white on black racism, issues have, “historically been oppressed, distorted, ignored, silenced, destroyed, appropriated, commodified, and marginalized – and all of this, not accidentally” (p. 6). Therefore, the law has always and continues to privilege people who are white. The work of critical scholars then is to “break new epistemological, methodological, social activist, and moral ground” (Ladson-Billings et al., 2005, p. 291). At this point, we come to understand that CRT shifts paradigms from a goal of seeking equality to that of social justice through radical reform (Price, 2010, p. 151). Ladson Billings et al. (2005) believe that CRT becomes frivolous when “academics spend their time talking to each other in the netherworld of the academy. We write in obscure journals and publish books in languages that do not translate to the lives and experiences of real people” (p. 294). Therefore, CRT must involve some level of activism in order to be effective enough to incite true change.

Intersectionality

A major dimension of CRT is the concept of intersectionality which Bell defines as, “interlocking factors of gender, economic class, and sexual orientation” (Bell, 1995, p. 6). Intersectionality in CRT, “focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of communities of color and offers a liberatory and transformative method for examining racial/ethnic, gender, and class discrimination” (Solorzano, 2000, p. 63).

The doctrine of intersectionality places the experiences of women of colour, for example, at the intersection of race and gender and therefore cannot be understood without considering both race and gender together (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1256). As well, in the case of violence against Indigenous women, the CRT doctrine of intersectionality would argue that Indigenous people are more vulnerable to violence because they are included in the broader category of *people of*. That is, people of color are at a higher risk of being victims of racism and violence than whites. Note here that the term people of color refers to all people who identify outside the social construction of whiteness (Haney Lopez, 1998, p. 45). Indigenous women are thus vulnerable to violence because of their intersectionality with race and gender. Indigenous women living in poverty are even more vulnerable to being victimized by violence due to an intersection of race, gender *and* class.

According to Parker (2002), CRT has many emerging components. CRT, Parker argues, includes “critical epistemologies … seeks out intersections with other areas of difference, such as gender and various forms of marginalization, which combined, push a social justice agenda into legal and public discourse on race and gender” (p. 12). I reference Intersectionality in my MRP because it is important to talk about how the intersection of race, gender and class may account for the high statistics of violence against Indigenous women and men. Innes (2015) writes that race and gender intersect in a way that disadvantages Indigenous men. He notes that recognizing how intersectionality unfolds will help our

individual and collective understanding of “the nature of violence involving Indigenous men … and can also explain how viewing them as victimizers (as opposed to victims of violence) is relatively easy for white people” (p. 52).

Tribal Critical Race Theory

Over the past decade, CRT has branched out to include more specialized forms such as Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and more relevant to this MRP, Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit). CRT itself was formed in response to the lack of African American advancement after the Civil Rights Movement and thus, takes a black-white lens at racial issues in America. TribalCrit suggests that a more specific form of CRT is then needed to address the issues specific to Indigenous peoples of the US and Canada.

Essentially TribalCrit Theory is still in it’s infancy stage. The main scholar of TribalCrit, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy has focused the majority of his research on Indigenous people in higher education and the importance of maintaining a strong Indigenous identity so that the process of being educated in a Western system does not devalue the knowledge and wisdom of Indigenous culture.

McKinley Jones Brayboy (2006) outlines TribalCrit as a theory which has its roots in, “Critical Race Theory, Anthropology, Political/Legal Theory, Political Science, American Indian Literatures, Education, and American Indian Studies“ (p. 425). He further believes that:

> This theoretical framework provides a way to address the complicated relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government and begin to make sense of American Indians’ liminality as both racial and legal/political groups and individuals (p. 425).

According to the author then, Indigenous people should be able to educate themselves, through not only Indigenous wisdom but through Western knowledge as well (p. 425). What is most important however, is the idea of self-education. That is, there is value in Indigenous

people getting a higher education while at the same time, retaining their identity as First Nations people.

By studying McKinley Jones Brayboy and his research on TribalCrit as a tool for empowering Indigenous people by way of self-education, we can see where future research in this theory should lead to further research on sovereignty and self-determination and how to employ the goals of TribalCrit theory to achieve that. The foundation, according to the author, is Indigenous ways of knowing. In terms of Indigenous people getting a higher education in the field of education, McKinley Jones Brayboy believes that education is the ultimate tool for change in Indigenous communities:

> The newly licensed teachers also pointed to the fact the the knowledge and skill sets they acquired at the institution, combined with their Indigenous ways of knowing, would help them better meet the educational and cultural needs of their communities (p. 426).

In essence then, sovereignty and self-determination in Indigenous communities will be achieved through self-education.

Aside from self-education, TribalCrit builds on the idea that, “colonization is endemic in society and explicitly recognizes that the policies of the United States toward American Indians are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain,” according to McKinley Jones Brayboy (p. 431). Decolonization then, would be the ultimate goal of TribalCrit students. In this sense decolonization would mean reversing the negative impacts that colonialism has had by asserting and practicing basic rights such as self-determination, self-government, and self-education. Fanon (1968) explains that decolonization sets out to change the order of the world so therefore it is a method of complete disorder (p. 35). He further explains that it is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature and, if done correctly, decolonization calls into question the entire colonial situation in its totality (1968, p. 35).

Colonization techniques have included boarding/residential schools and other attempts to “civilize” Indigenous children, with catastrophic consequences. According to Snipp (1995), to civilize the Indigenous child through colonial education ultimately meant to educate them to be non-Indians (p. 332). Other colonizing attempts ultimately resulted in forced relocation by colonial authorities onto tiny, often desolate parcels of land known as reserves; almost complete eradication of various Indigenous languages; religious conversion (to Christianity); and complete restructuring of local economies (Ladson-Billings et al, 2005, p. 283). All of this had, and continues to have, a devastating impact on Indigenous peoples and communities today. Understanding this colonial history that is specific to Indigenous people of North America also referred to as the great Turtle Island, then, is the foundation of TribalCrit theory.

TribalCrit then, gives “power through an Indigenous lens (which) is an expression of sovereignty – defined as self-determination, self-government, self-identification, and self-education (McKinley Jones Brayboy, 2005, p. 435). Further to this, there must be a component of action or activism in TribalCrit. McKinley Jones Brayboy describes this specific type of activism as “a way of connecting theory and practice in deep and explicit ways (p. 440). We can also see then how the principles of TribalCrit can also be tied into my Literature Review about the history of colonial violence against Indigenous people in both Canada and the U.S. and how that violence had impacted and continues to impact Indigenous lives today. However, scholars of TribalCrit takes that history of colonial violence and its impacts one step further and argues that in order to survive as Indigenous people, we need to critically think of solutions to de-colonize our minds and lives in order to maintain our identities as Indigenous people. The goal of TribalCrit theory is thus decolonization as a foundation for Indigenous resistance and existence.

Research is the building block and foundation of any academic institution; it’s where knowledge is formed. In respect to Indigenous scholarly research, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999)

believes self-determination is the key to autonomy and regaining authority over lost power to tell ones' own story. Indigenous self-determination in research involves decolonization, which leads to healing, which leads to mobilization as a people (p. 116). It is my hope that my research will begin a conversation about violence against Indigenous men, and thus fit into a decolonizing practice.

I choose Tribal Critical Race Theory in my MRP because it helps explain trends that come out of my charts and graphs. For example, I have a section in my database entitled, "Death Involving Police." What this means is that the victim was not necessarily murdered per se. There are instances where, due to abuse of power by police officers, Indigenous males lost their lives. A good example is what is known as *Starlight Tours*, as discussed earlier in this paper. In her article, "It Happened More Than Once: Freezing Deaths in Saskatchewan," Razack (2014) "outlines the racial spatial economies of which these deaths are a part, and … proposes that the structural relations of settler colonialism produce and sustain ongoing, daily evictions of Aboriginal people from settler life" (p. 51). Razack's article is evidence of how segments of the Canadian criminal justice system, such as police officers, keep Indigenous people and other people of color in Canada marginalized. I have referred to Razack's work in my MRP to explain how TribalCrit and Intersectionality play important roles as it helps explain how violence is perpetrated against Indigenous men.

According to numerous studies of policing in Canada, Indigenous people (both men and women) are not getting the protection they deserve (Saskatchewan Justice Reform Commission, 2004; Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, 1999). In this regard, CRT can explain why disappearance and homicide investigations in relation to missing and murdered Indigenous males in Canada are so poorly conducted, as often noted by the families of the victims (Amnesty International, 2004, 17). I also have instances in my database where

families reported poor and lack of thorough investigation into the murder or disappearance of their loved one, and TribalCrit helps to explain this as well.

I draw upon literature such as, “Hidden Intersections: Research on Race, Crime, and Criminal Justice in Canada,” (Wortley, 2003) to further explain how CRT is embedded throughout my research. For example, Wortley sets out to explore such questions as: Are police more likely to use force against Aboriginals? (p. 105). Indigenous accused persons are also more likely to be denied bail and spend lengthier periods in pre-trial custody than white people who are accused (Manitoba Justice Inquiry, 1999). Connections can thus be made between institutional racism in Canada (criminal justice system, police officers, judges, juries etc.) and the victimization of Indigenous males, which often leads to their disappearances and murders.

Social Media as a Tool for Social Change

As part of the creative component of my MRP, I have had to consider the effectiveness of social media such as Twitter and Facebook to raise awareness about violence against Indigenous males in Canada, and specifically missing and murdered Indigenous males. According to Acquisti et al. (2006) social media at the very least, is an online community where people from all over the world are able to interact and connect to others. The authors refer to Facebook as an imagined community (p. 3). Therefore, if we perceive social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter as imagined communities, then, these communities can be created for specific issues such as advocacy work for social justice issues.

A community can be created on social media that advocates for raising awareness on missing and murdered Indigenous males. As Acquisti et al. (2006) assert, “Online social networks offer exciting new opportunities for interaction and communication…” (p. 20). Social media is a powerful tool then, to connect to audiences beyond my specific geographical area.

By creating this online space or community to advocate on behalf of Indigenous male victims of violence, I'm able to reach people from all over Canada, the United States and possibly the world.

Guo and Saxton (2014) studied how non-profit organizations utilize social media when engaging in advocacy work. They found that social media sites such as Twitter in particular, give non-profit advocacy organizations a way to expand their resources by being able to reach new networks and by so doing, mobilize these networks to take action, (p. 58). Their research question was this: How are nonprofit organizations using social media to engage in advocacy work? (p. 58). The data that they collected showed new insight into how social media sites help organizations engage in advocacy work.

A more local example we can draw upon here to determine the effectiveness of social media in advocating change and inciting people to take non-violent action is the Indigenous-driven Idle No More movement which began in 2012. With the effective use of social media, "flash-mob" Round Dances were taking place on streets, in shopping malls and everywhere else imaginable in cities all across Canada (Turpel Lafond, 2013).

In thinking about the use and value of social media it is interesting to compare historical and contemporary movements. Gladwell (2010) looked at the example of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement in the southern United States, noting how it spread like wildfire and it was all done without the use of mail, texting, Twitter or Facebook (p. 2). He believes that true activism work lies outside of online social media and that if social justice workers do all their advocacy on social media sites, then they 'have forgotten what activism is" (p. 2). He believes real social justice lies in the physical, the actual doing and suggests that faux-social justice workers use social media because they can do so in the comfort of their homes, in their safe place without ever having to experience retaliation or violence like many "true" social justice workers do or did. He gives the example of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew

Goodman—three white males from the North who were in Mississippi to volunteer to help run a Mississippi Freedom School in 1964. Within days of arriving in Mississippi, they were kidnapped and killed (p. 3).

Therefore, Gladwell believes, true activism is not for the faint of heart because social justice challenges the status quo; it seeks out injustices and looks for like-minded people. It educates people on injustices in the hopes that people will join the movement and help rally against the perpetrator of that specific injustice—whether the perpetrator be a person, a group of people, an organization, a government or an entire State. Therefore, social justice work and activism can be and has proven to be dangerous, if not lethal, as the example above demonstrates.

My ultimate goal of using social media sites is to incite change in the minds of people; to convince them that my social justice issue is worth standing up for. I am aware that, according to Guo et al., social media-based advocacy is a three-step pyramid model: it starts by reaching out to people, keeping the flame alive, and finally stepping up to action (p. 70). Guo explains that you can only rely on social media so much, and that it won't get you to the finish line (p. 70). Eventually, in order to incite true change in the hearts and the minds of the people and for them to be able to stand up to something that is unjust, they have to physically gather together as a collective and step up to take action. There has to be more then just sharing online articles, signing online petitions and re-tweeting hashtags. Indeed, social justice advocacy will eventually require that people turn off their laptops, cell-phones and tablets. People need to step out of their comfort zones, out of their homes and interact face to face with other like-minded people; other people who are advocating for the same social justice issues.

Methodology and MRP Work Plan Overview

I created and worked on a database on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men in Canada from September 2013 to September 2015. For two years, I collected names and stories of over 700 victims. I collected information from numerous online news sources as well as publically accessible police databases. I then catalogued each victim into one of eight categories: Missing; Murdered; Not Sure if Victim is First Nations; Death by Cop/Death in Custody; Accidental/Presumed Drowned/No Foul Play Suspected; Death in Foster Care; Located Human Remains; and Suspicious Death/Negligence/Vehicular.

To begin the creative component of my project, I converted my database into three Microsoft Excel Spreadsheets: Missing, Murdered, Death Involving Police. I chose these three categories for specific reasons. First, I chose Missing and Murdered because I wanted my graphs and the statistics that it produced to mirror the graphs done by the Native Women's Association of Canada in their *Sisters in Spirit* report. This was a study done on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, and it also included a database of over 580 victims. In their report, NWAC produced numerous graphs on missing and murdered women (NWAC, Sisters in Spirit, 2009). Therefore, I wanted to do something similar in which missing and murdered Indigenous men could ultimately be compared to the graphs of missing and murdered Indigenous women (See *Appendices A* and *B*).

Secondly, I chose Death Involving Police for good reason. Throughout my research and data collection on this database, it became apparent to me that a pattern was possibly emerging in that Indigenous men were being targeted for violence by sectors of the criminal justice system, including police and prison guards, and that many more men were dying unnatural and violent deaths while serving custodial sentences. Therefore, I felt that including this section and producing a graph on it might paint a better picture and heighten peoples' awareness of the severity of the issue of violence against Indigenous men.

I took training on the Desktop Tableau software program, which allowed me to upload the Excel spreadsheet and in turn convert this data into charts and graphs. The charts/graphs gave a province-by-province breakdown of cases of homicide and disappearances of Indigenous males. My database included age, gender, rural/urban (place killed or place last seen), and province where the victim went missing or was murdered.

Once my ethics application was approved and the charts/graphs were complete and approved by my Research Advisor, we uploaded them onto Facebook, Twitter and the Indigenous Masculinities website so I could monitor feedback. The software program, Desktop Tableau and the finalized charts/graphs were accessed through a link on the social media mentioned above. I was not looking for any specific type of feedback. The intent was to see what the overall response was to this data, whether it be positive or negative, since this type of research on violence against Indigenous males is very new. I have reflected on the feedback below, keeping all people involved in this MRP anonymous.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT AND METHODS

The Database

Within the first month of my research (September 2013), I collected the names of approximately 300 victims. Within six months, I had the names of almost 600 victims. My database currently sits at 750 victims. It has not been updated since September 2015, so when I next update it, I expect that the numbers will be closer to 800.

The reason for including extra sections in my database, apart from "Missing and Murdered," was that when Indigenous people die violent deaths, the police investigations of these cases are often open and shut cases, deemed to be not suspicious in nature. Yet families believe that there is more to the story. Because of cases such as Starlight Tours (See *Stonechild Inquiry*, 2004), where decades passed before it was revealed that Indigenous males were being targeted by police, I opened up my database to include more then cases of just "Missing" and "Murdered".

As part of this research project, I imported the material from the word files into an excel spreadsheet, leaving out identifiers of the victims, such as their names and First Nations' affiliation. The variables that were imported to Microsoft Excel were: age, year of disappearance, year of death, and province that victim was murdered in or went missing from. Once the data was imported on spreadsheets, it was ready to be uploaded onto the software program, Desktop Tableau.

Quality of Data

In terms of data quality, the majority of data has been taken from reliable sources: online news articles of publically accessible police databases. Approximately twenty names were collected after I was contacted by family members of missing or murdered Indigenous men, i.e. mothers, sisters, aunts, etc. I feel it would be safe to say that that data is extremely

reliable as well. One interesting thing to point out is the recently released report by the Ontario Provincial Police (Dec. 2015), which focused on unsolved cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Ontario. In the second half of the report, a list of names of unsolved cases of missing and murdered Indigenous men is given. After going through the list, I was able to add over twenty new names of victims to my database. It is interesting that these names are not included on the OPP website of missing or unsolved cases of homicides and other deaths. This leads me to believe that if I had access to all police databases and not just the information they make accessible to the public, my database on missing and murdered Indigenous men would far exceed the numbers it is at now.

One huge barrier I came across in my data collection was identity of the victim. For instance, in many new articles I came across online, many times I had reason to believe that the victim was First Nations; however, the article never specifically stated the race of the victim. Many last names of Indigenous peoples can often be unique and therefore easily identifiable as First Nations, such as: Longboat, Bomberry, Longclaw, Sinclair, Odjick, etc. Therefore when news articles identified the victim by name but never stated whether or not he was First Nations, I decided to add another section to my database entitled “Not Sure if First Nations.” As well, when neither name nor race of the victim was given in an article, yet the victim died in urban centers which are heavily populated with Indigenous people such as Saskatoon, Winnipeg or Thunder Bay, I catalogued the article under “Not Sure if First Nations.” Ultimately, when tallying up my numbers when I froze the database in September 2015, I did not include this category in the final numbers.

It has been an historically well-practiced policy of numerous police agencies across Canada that racial identities of victims of homicides and disappearances not be included when police enter information into their database systems, as confirmed by the 2014 release of the RCMP’s report on MMIW. This indicates that the numbers of missing and murdered

Indigenous men and women are a lot higher. If I can somehow, someday confirm all the victims as being First Nations, the final numbers of MMIM would grow exponentially. Therefore, there have been some barriers and limitations of this database and quality of data. I believe that if this database was assisted by the help of all police agencies across Canada in verifying the names and First Nations identities of the victims, the numbers would far exceed into the thousands. No doubt we can never the know what the real numbers are for the reasons listed above.

Desktop Tableau

I took a six hour training session of Desktop Tableau, an online software program, which allows you to upload Excel spreadsheets and convert them into statistical, creative and interactive graphs. Due to the limited scope and timeframe of the creative component, I created just three graphs: missing, murdered, and death involving the criminal justice system. These interactive graphs were put up on the Indigenous Masculinities website and Facebook page which linked to the Tableau website. The goal of this creative component of the MRP was to also employ the hashtag system on social media. Before the graphs were posted on social media, it was agreed that the hashtags #MMIM (Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men) and #IndigenousMasculinities would be used when posting about the graphs.

Feedback

The goal of the project was to post the links to the graphs onto social media and generate and analyze feedback. I was able to see the collective activity and feedback from the website and Facebook page as Tableau Public tracked the number of views. This social media campaign was done to explore my original questions, which were: How can the issue of violence against Indigenous males in Canada and more specifically missing and murdered Indigenous men get

consideration in the general public? What would happen if we created online space to address the issue of and raise awareness about missing and murdered Indigenous men in Canada? Even though little feedback was generated from this social media campaign, there is much to consider, including why there was a lack of discussion.

RESULTS, REFLECTION

The goal of this section is to reflect on the creative component of my MRP: what worked, what didn't work and what could be done differently if this process were to be duplicated. In this section, I will first discuss the results and then reflect on the outcome of these results. Lastly, I will briefly discuss the objective of the creative component and whether or not it was reached successfully.

Results and Reflection

It took roughly 19 hours to import the data from the Microsoft Word documents (18 documents in total) and code them onto Excel spreadsheets. The categories I included were: missing, murdered and one I call "Death Involving Police and Death in Custody." I wanted to include the latter category because I have found in much of my research that Indigenous men in Canada are often the victims of systemic violence and racism. This racism exists at all levels of the criminal justice system but more so, at the policing level—an issue that is supported by Critical Race Theory that grounded my research. My research offered an example of this theory by showing that many Indigenous men have been the victims of police brutality, police negligence causing death, racial profiling by police, and preventable in-custody deaths. It is evident in cases such as Edward Snowshoe, a young native man who, with a history of suicide and depression, was forced to spend over 160 days in segregation before he hung himself (See *Snowshoe Inquiry*, 2014). The Starlight Tours that have been discussed throughout this MRP offer another example of police brutality, racial profiling and negligence causing death. By adding this category to the Creative component, it was my hope to raise awareness about the issue of systemic racism against Indigenous males.

The graphs I created and put on social media were: missing by province, murdered by province, and death involving the criminal justice system. The intent of using the Desktop

Tableau software program was that it allowed interaction with the audience. The graphs were made in such a way that you could use your mouse and hover over different areas of the graphs and pop-up windows would appear. This gave the viewer more information about that specific graph, such as actual numbers of the murdered or missing, for example. These interactive graphs were posted on the Indigenous Masculinities website and linked with their Facebook page (see *Appendices A* and *B*); however no feedback was generated from that website. When people visited the graphs on the Tableau website, the website kept track of how many "visits" the graphs received. The latest recording on Tableau Public is just over 100 views per graph (See *Appendix B*, subsection 2).

The second goal of this creative component was to rely heavily on hashtags. As mentioned previously, hashtags are used to effectively keep track of different conversations that are trending on social media. It was my suggestion to use #MMIM as a hashtag which coincides with #MMIW. The IM team also wanted to use their hashtag #IndigenousMasculinities. We agreed to use both hashtags.

Ultimately, the goal was to post the links to the graphs and use hashtags on social media for one week at which time I would "freeze" the data and look at the feedback on the website, Facebook and Twitter pages by 'googling' the #MMIM hashtag to see what, if any type of conversations took place about my issue. Tweets were sent out by Rob Innes (883 followers), Tanya Kappo (6,523 followers) and Christi Belcourt (7,662 followers), directing followers to the graphs; however hashtags were not used. To understand better how the use of hashtags would have helped follow conversations about my creative project, see *Appendix C*.

Discussion

There has been some dialogue generated on my research issue. In the past few weeks, I have been contacted by two news sources: VICE News and CBC, both of whom were interested in knowing more about my research. This discourse has picked up especially in light of the National Inquiry into MMIW that has been promised and recently given the green light by the newly elected Liberal government under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

With the inquiry into MMIW featured heavily in the news lately, and especially since the Liberal government had promised (and is currently following through with) an inquiry, it may be that it is not the right time to talk about MMIM. Sensitivity to talking about this subject might also be heightened with the recently released RCMP report on MMIW, as it stated that Indigenous men are the reason for high numbers of MMIW. This may lead to many people actually believing that all Indigenous men are violent against Indigenous women, which is a huge misperception. It also took roughly thirty years of advocating for the rights of Indigenous women, public awareness about MMIW and cries to end violence against Indigenous women before the voices of families of MMIW and their grassroots supporters were finally heard.

I was able to see how many views these graphs received on Desktop Tableau, which told me there was at least some interest. The graphs were viewed on average, approximately 110 times. Even though the viewers never commented, the fact is, they were able to see the numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous men. With this being such a new and emerging issue, for some, it make time to digest this information and perhaps people chose to stay silent until they could fully comprehend the information.

Even though the hashtag system was not employed as expected in my social media campaign, I was still able to use hashtags when I Tweeted my graphs. When I first started my research in September 2013, I began using the hashtag #MMIM. Since then, I've seen many people re-use the hashtag when talking about violence against Indigenous men in any

capacity. For examples of how the #MMIM hashtag is currently being used by a variety of people on Twitter, see *Appendix C*.

To touch on the work of other people doing similar research and advocacy work on violence against Indigenous men I feel obligated to talk about the work of Adam Jones, a professor at the University of British Columbia who has been very vocal in the past few months on missing and murdered Indigenous men in Canada. Upon researching Jones, I have come to understand he is not only a big advocate for missing and murdered Indigenous men but is also a strong critic of feminist issues, particularly the missing and murdered Indigenous women movement, and the broader issue of violence against Indigenous women. Upon reading several news articles on Jones, I found out he has never consulted with any First Nations people or communities, something he willingly acknowledges. I also found out that he is currently sending around a petition to demand that missing and murdered Indigenous men be included in a national public inquiry into MMIW, something that is currently underway. This leads me, as well as many others, wondering just how dedicated and concerned Jones is about violence against Indigenous men. Is he genuinely concerned, or is this all part of his anti-feminist hidden agenda campaign? Regardless, as Jones is not Indigenous himself, he should know that he must tread lightly when researching Indigenous people. I would staunchly go as far as saying, he really has no business in the lives and issues of Indigenous people, especially when he is ignorant of the protocols of Indigenous culture which is largely based on respect for and towards each other.

I have learned from this project that I can't expect people to support my research on MMIM right away. Change like this takes time, especially when there are so many negative stereotypes out there that suggest all Indigenous men are violent—not at risk of being victims of violence themselves. But with the help of various news sources that I have been interviewed for regarding my research (Saskatoon Star Phoenix, Windspeaker, Turtle Island

News, VICE News, CBC), the word is slowly getting out that violence against Indigenous men in Canada is a huge issue. It's just as big as violence against Indigenous women. My theory is that if Indigenous people truly want to tackle the issue of violence in their communities and among their people, then they have to stop looking at violence as a women's issue. Violence is an epidemic across all genders and more so among Indigenous peoples because of their long history of attempted colonization and ongoing colonial violence. Violence affects everyone: men, women, Elderly, children, youth and Two-Spirited. The only way to figure out how to combat this violence and drive it out of communities and families is to look at in a holistic perspective. This is the ultimate goal of my research.

Given that it took 30 years for the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women to be acknowledged by the federal government of Canada and for it to make front page news in newspapers all across Canada, some may wonder, will it take another 30 years to get people to start talking about missing and murdered Indigenous men? My answer is this: I simply hope not. I believe that 30 years laid the foundation for dialogue. Now that we finally have the public's attention on MMIW, it will take time for them to understand that the bigger issue here is violence against Indigenous people. Not just women. Not just men. But an Indigenous peoples issue that includes men and women but also includes the LGQBT communities as well. In order to understand the scope and severity of this issue, we must not look at it with gendered eyes.

In conclusion, my research has come a long way in the past two years from when I started my database. I am confident that with continued hard work and advocating for more awareness on violence against Indigenous men, more and more people will realize that it is an issue worth standing up and fighting for. As this Major Research Project comes to an end, my work on documenting cases of missing and murdered Indigenous men will continue for as long as it is needed. I will continue to rally behind Indigenous male victims of violence in the

hopes that their lives will not have been in vein and we will keep their names and their stories alive just as we are doing for missing and murdered Indigenous women.

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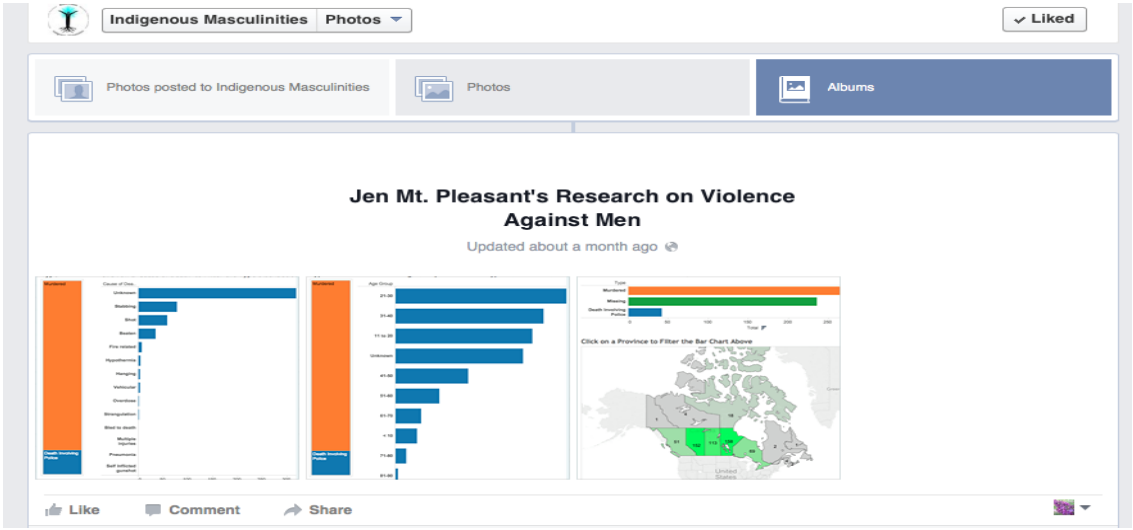
APPENDICES

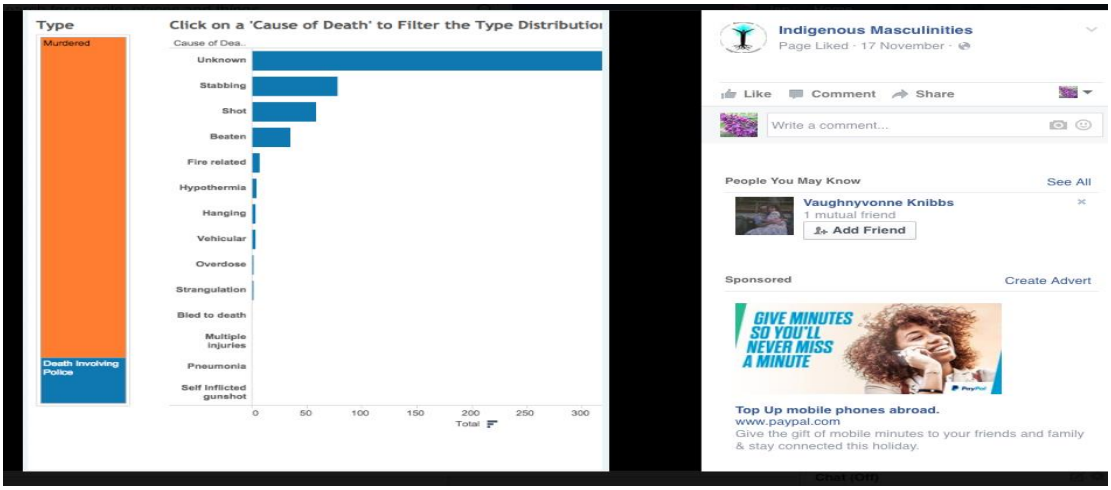
Appendix A

The following are the graphs that were made using Desktop Tableau:

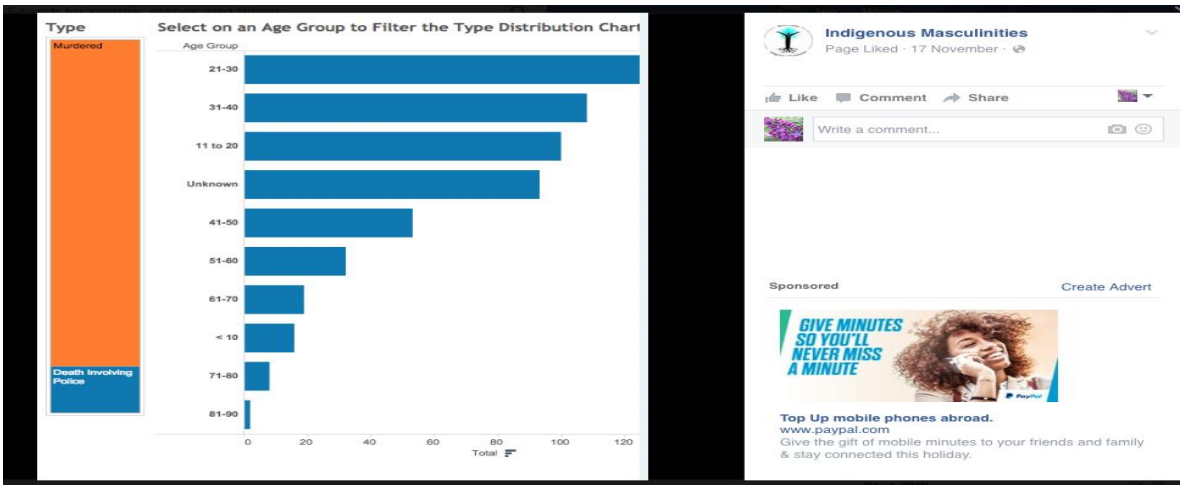
1) Screenshot of graphs on Indigenous Masculinities Facebook page. Each graph can be "clicked on" to get a bigger view.



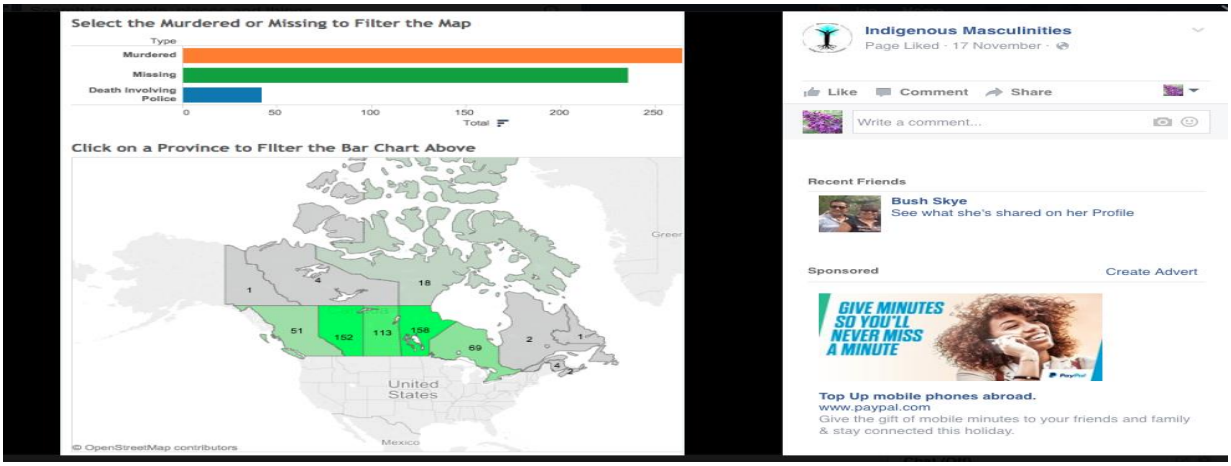
2) Missing, Murdered – Cause of Death (Screenshot)



3) Missing, Murdered – By Age (Screenshot)



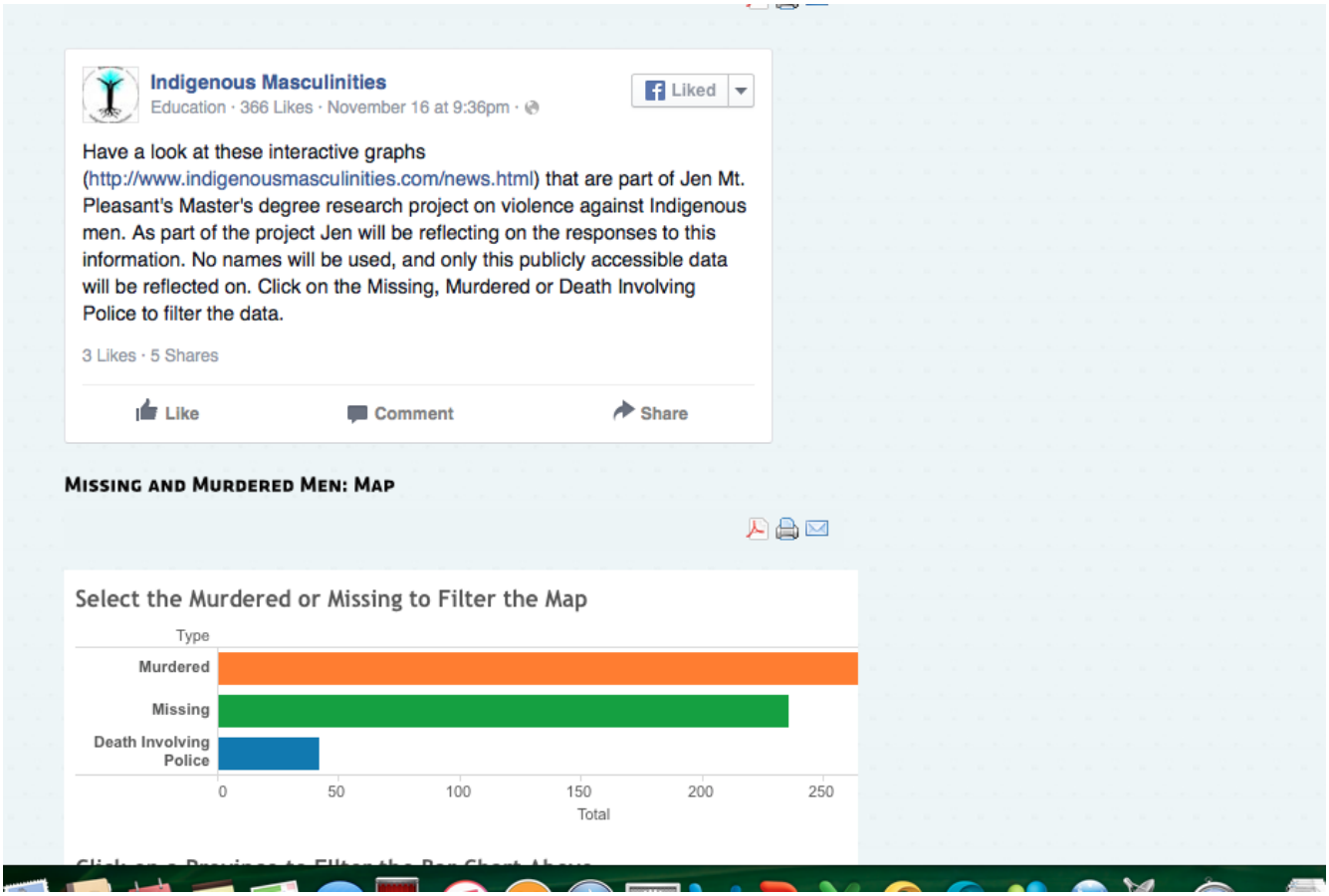
4) Missing, Murdered, Death Involving Police – By Province (Screenshot)



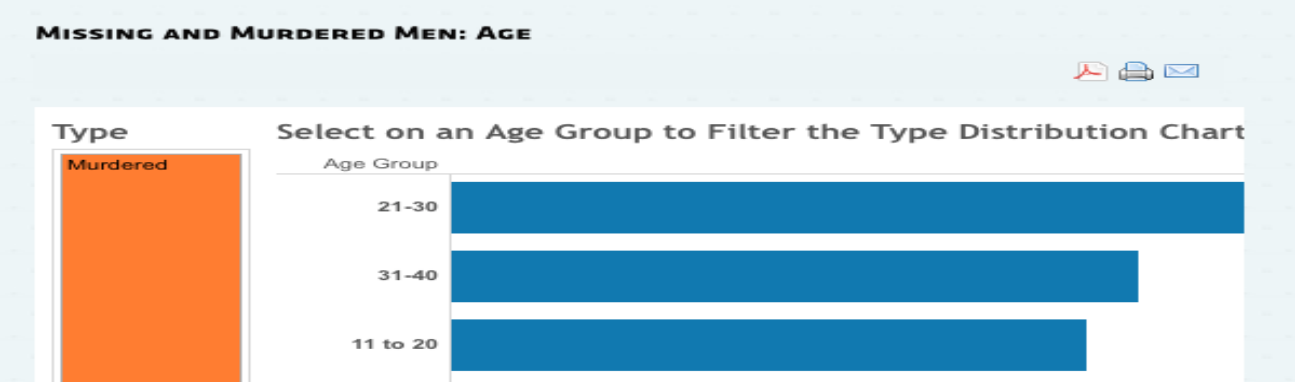
Appendix B

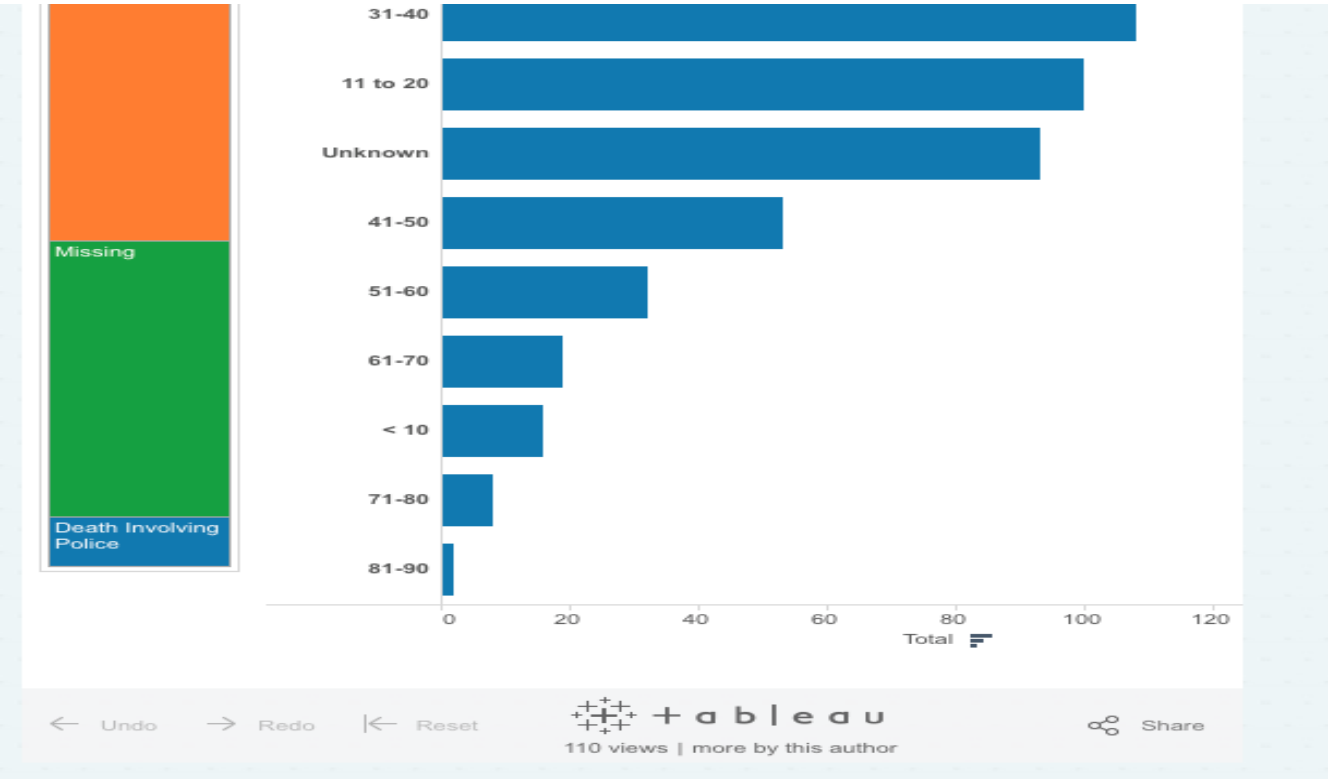
The following is what was posted on the Indigenous Masculinities website (www.Indigenousmasculinitiescom):

1)

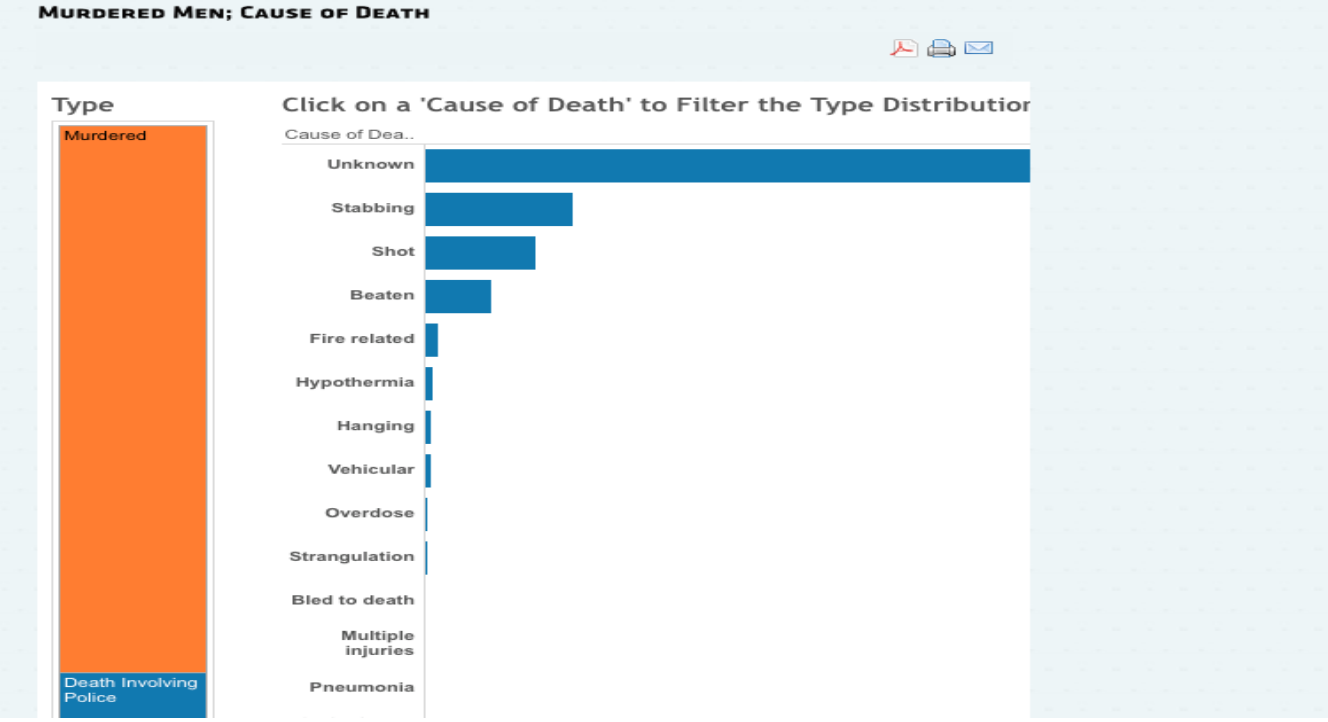


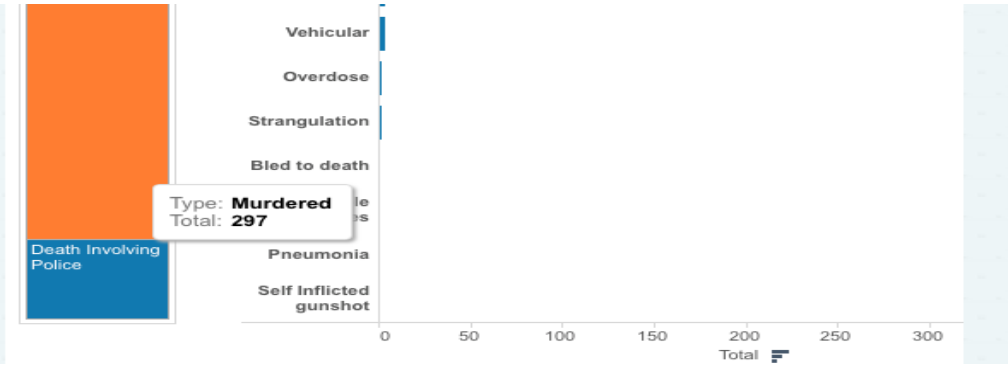
2) Missing/Murdered – By Age – Interactive Map



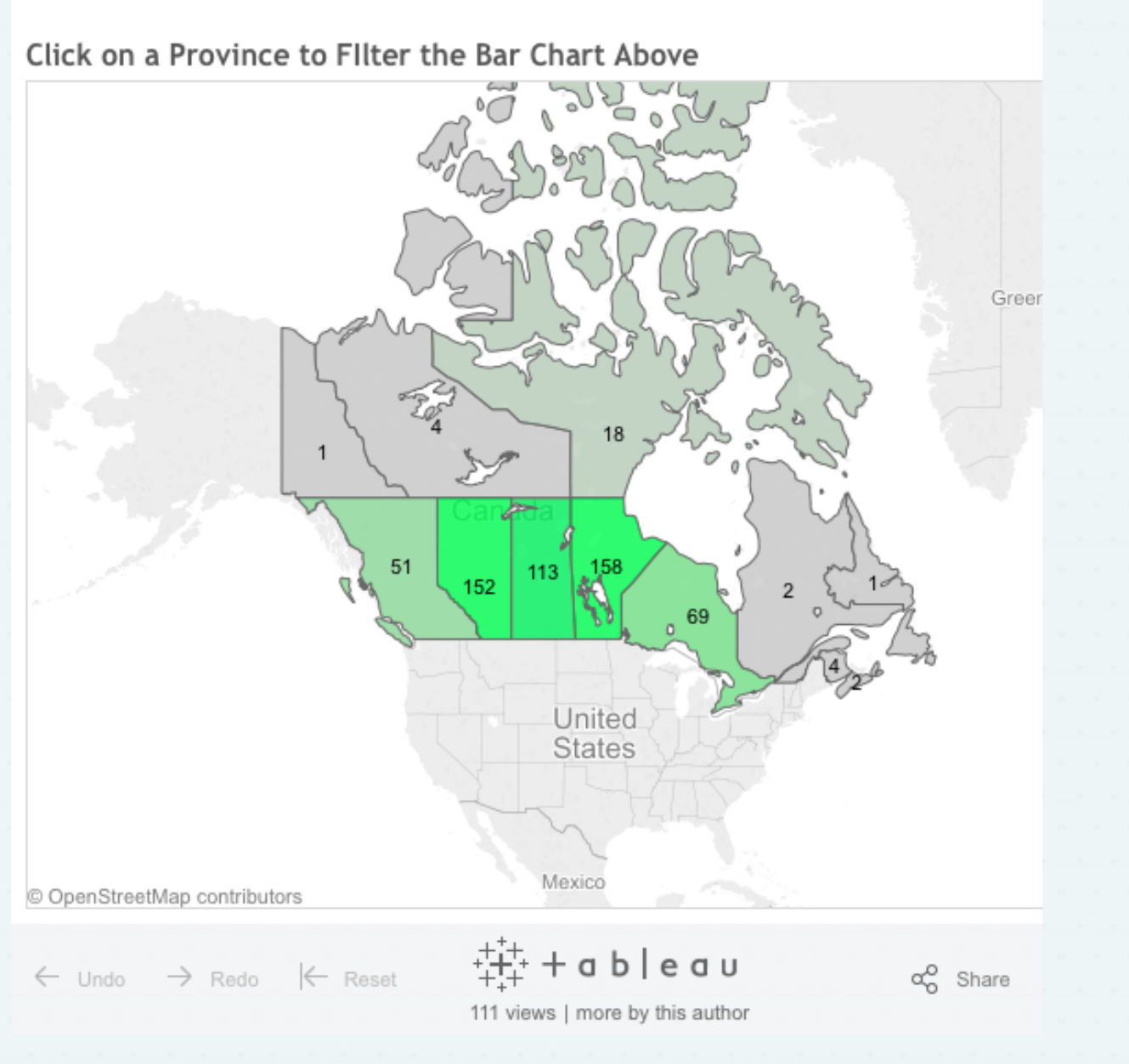


3) Murdered – Cause of Death – Interactive Map





3) By Province – Interactive Map



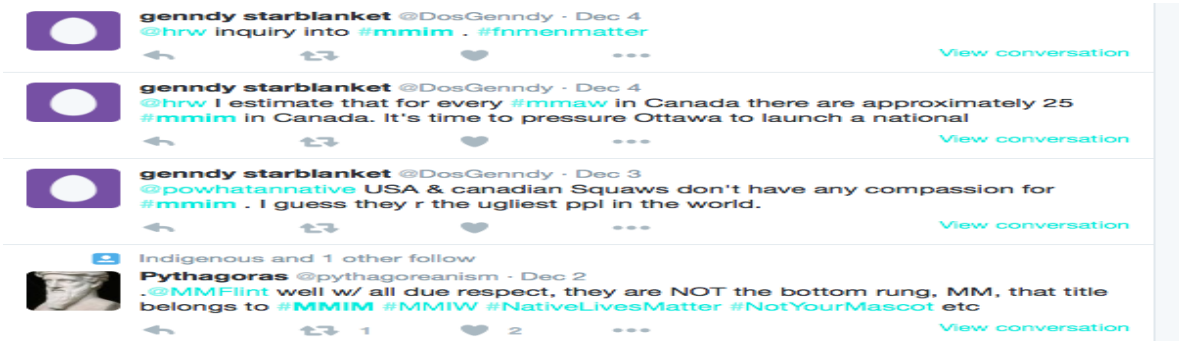
Appendix C

The following is a sample of the various conversations that took place using the hashtag #MMIM, which are unrelated to my creative component but still discusses the topic of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men. This is to show what conversations may have looked like surrounding my graphs:

1)

2)

3)


genndy starblanket @DosGenndy · Dec 4
@hrw inquiry into #mmim . #fnmenmatter
View conversation
genndy starblanket @DosGenndy · Dec 4
@hrw I estimate that for every #mmaw in Canada there are approximately 25 #mmim in Canada. It's time to pressure Ottawa to launch a national
View conversation
genndy starblanket @DosGenndy · Dec 3
@powhatannative USA & canadian Squaws don't have any compassion for #mmim . I guess they r the ugliest ppl in the world.
View conversation
Indigenous and 1 other follow
Pythagoras @pythagoreanism · Dec 2
.@MMFlint well w/ all due respect, they are NOT the bottom rung. MM, that title belongs to #MMIM #MMIW #NativeLivesMatter #NotYourMascot etc
View conversation

4)


Paul Glendenning @SilentHowls · Dec 6
Missing man from #SixNations if you've seen him contact authorities.
thespec.com/news-story/615... #MMIM
Perry Bellegarde and 42 others follow
Connie Walker @connie_walker · Dec 4
"I have 3 brothers and all of them are incarcerated." Lenard Monkman op-ed on poverty, trauma and violence. #MMIM cbc.ca/1.3341222
Indigenous boys and men at high risk of being victims of violence
"One of the things that Canadians fail to recognize is that boys and men in our community are also frequently at a high risk of being victims of viole...

5)


Two Row Times and 2 others follow
NadiaJoyVigonFordham @nadia_fordham · Dec 7
Please spread the word.
Over 1200 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women - #MMIW
Over 600 #MMIM
#IdleNoMore
3
1
View photo

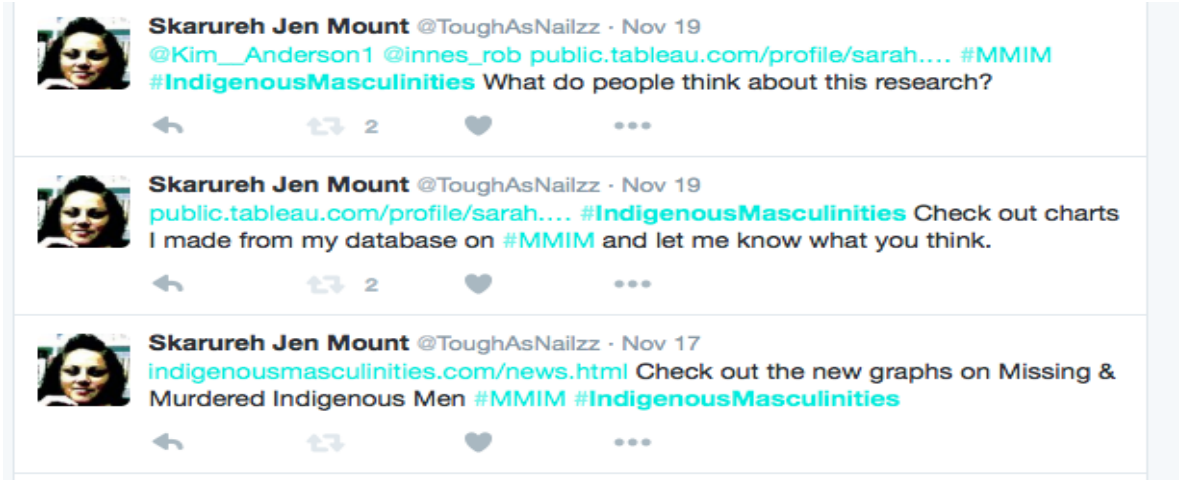
6)


Mallory @malloryyawnghwe · Dec 8
Sad news for another young Aboriginal man #MMIW #MMIM
Connie Walker @connie_walker
Body of missing Onion Lake teenager found
thestarphoenix.com/news/crime/bod...
Martha Maiingan @ozhibiiige · Dec 8
I know there's been a few folks out there vocalizing that families did not want a #mmim inquiry. Never found that to be fair.... #cdnpoli
Martha Maiingan @ozhibiiige · Dec 8
When I worked with #CBC last year on the #mmim database, more than half wanted an #inquiry. #cdnpoli
Martha Maiingan @ozhibiiige · Dec 8
So many #indigenous families getting ripped apart by #mmim, #mmiw -- much devastation & loss, still. #cdnpoli

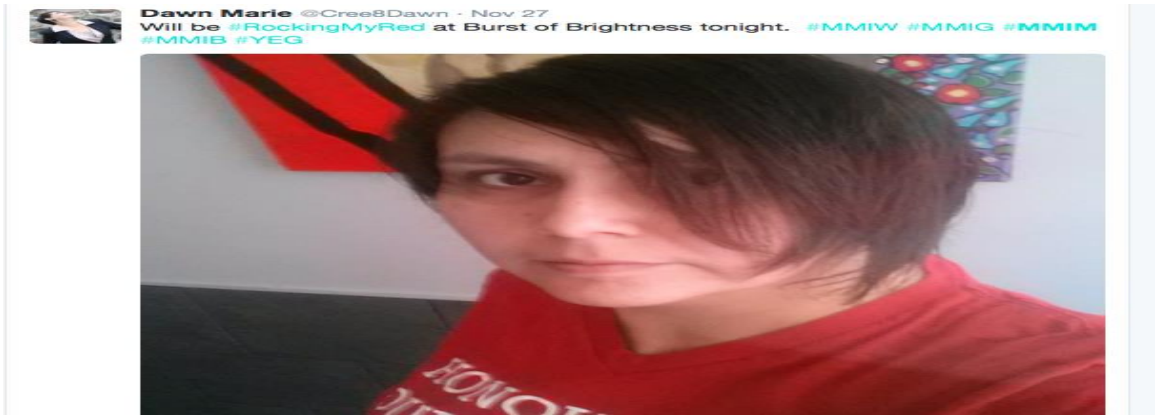
7)


Chief Shining Turtle and 12 others follow
Dawn Marie @Cree8Dawn · 19h
I really don't care if you are a climate change advocate...if you are dissing #MMIW #MMIM #MMIG #MMIB #MMILBGQ...you are blocked.
Nova B. Rutherford @butilovememore · Dec 8
what she said!!! relieved these conversations are even happening! ABOUT TIME! #MMIW - a search for #MMIM too.
Fatima @msfatimaa
The gvrmt will also need 2 follow thru on action plans to reverse systemic barriers tht lead to such outcomes #MMIW twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/...
FreedomZone @Freedomzone_ · Dec 8
@timberted @spiderrico41 @biathlon1 @CBC_Aboriginal #rcmp letter re. #MMIM should be read. s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1815...
View conversation

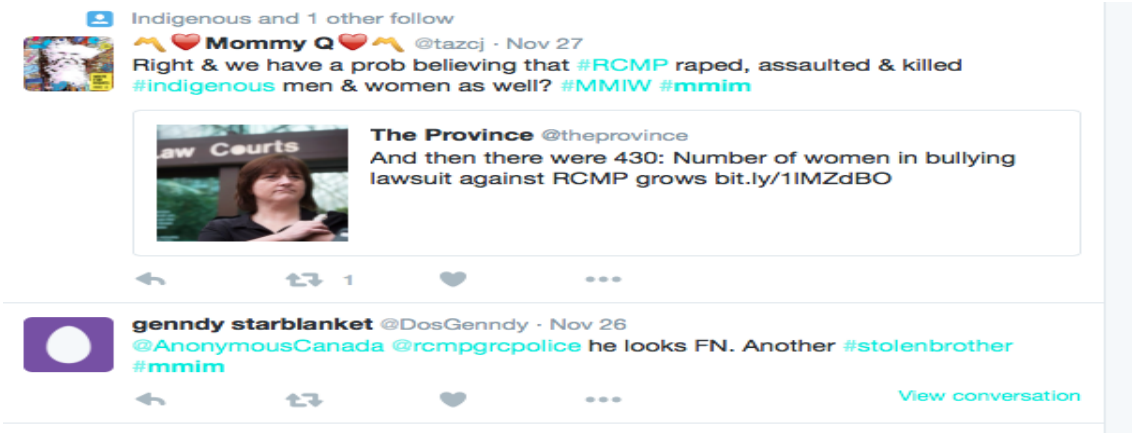
8)


Skarureh Jen Mount @ToughAsNailzz · Nov 19
@Kim__Anderson1 @innes_rob public.tableau.com/profile/sarah.... #MMIM #IndigenousMasculinities What do people think about this research?
2
Skarureh Jen Mount @ToughAsNailzz · Nov 19
public.tableau.com/profile/sarah.... #IndigenousMasculinities Check out charts I made from my database on #MMIM and let me know what you think.
2
Skarureh Jen Mount @ToughAsNailzz · Nov 17
indigenousmasculinities.com/news.html Check out the new graphs on Missing & Murdered Indigenous Men #MMIM #IndigenousMasculinities

9)


Dawn Marie @Cree8Dawn · Nov 27
Will be #RockingMyRed at Burst of Brightness tonight. #MMIW #MMIG #MMIM #MMIB #YEG

10)


Indigenous and 1 other follow
Mommy Q @tazcj · Nov 27
Right & we have a prob believing that #RCMP raped, assaulted & killed #indigenous men & women as well? #MMIW #mmim
The Province @theprovince
And then there were 430: Number of women in bullying lawsuit against RCMP grows bit.ly/1IMZdBO
1
genndy starblanket @DosGenndy · Nov 26
@AnonymousCanada @rcmpgrcpolice he looks FN. Another #stolenbrother #mmim
View conversation