


# How the Canadian Government Continues to Enable Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls

Abigail Olmstead <sup>a\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies, Carleton University

 0009-0003-9284-1404

**ABSTRACT:** Most Canadians are aware of the injustices Indigenous women and girls have and continue to face. However, their lack of understanding of how the Canadian Government, a supposed enthusiast of multiculturalism and cohabitation, deliberately neglects this community and ensures a consistent increase of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada. This research aims to demonstrate the government's position as both a facilitator of outreach solutions for Indigenous women and girls, and a contributor to their deaths. In order to effectively illustrate the government's involvement, this essay will examine the historical conditions which led to Indigenous women's perpetual state of inequality, the methods of eradication which further perpetuate Indigenous women's vulnerability to violence, and Indigenous solutions and methods of eradicating gendered violence. It is crucial that this topic continue to be pursued, as Indigenous women and girls are consistently dying from entirely preventable causes. Overall, the research proves that Indigenous women are not safe in the care of the Canadian government, as Canada still denies that colonialism is enacted in all spheres of government.

---

**KEYWORDS:** indigenous women, missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, Canadian government, colonialism, gender-based violence

---



[https:// doi.org/10.25071/2817-5344/100](https://doi.org/10.25071/2817-5344/100)

\* Corresponding Author - Email Address: [abigail.olmstead@gmail.com](mailto:abigail.olmstead@gmail.com)

Received 18 Oct. 2024; Received in revised form 24 Feb. 2025; Accepted 17 Mar. 2025

© 2025 The Author(s). This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license

A 2014 Statistics Canada report demonstrates that “the rate of homicide of Indigenous women (3.64 per 100,000) is almost six times higher than non-Indigenous women (0.65 per 100,000)”.<sup>1</sup> Violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada is one of the most pressing human rights issues at present. In recent years, the severity of this issue has gained recognition, despite the Canadian government’s best efforts to suppress public outrage and action. Following an unsuccessful attempt to rectify the issue in 2016 with the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), in 2021, the government introduced the Federal Pathway to Address Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and 2SLGBTQIA+ People.<sup>2</sup> Each project aims to end, or at the very least, reduce the rates of violence this community endures by understanding the complicated historical relationship which shapes this hostility. Despite these ostensibly beneficial projects, they both fail to acknowledge the urgency of this issue, as an entire demographic of Canadians is going missing or dying for reasons unrelated to poor physical health. Many political powers have denied or have been reluctant to recognize Canada’s past and current ties to colonialism. When asked how to eradicate colonialism in Canada at a 2021 press conference, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stated that it would be unreasonable to remove all current institutions and start over. Instead, he advised people to redirect their focus to the experiences of individuals who encounter discrimination.<sup>3</sup> Canada’s colonial history has left the country with a deep-rooted hatred of Indigenous women and girls, which has allowed these atrocities to continue. This essay aims to demonstrate the ways in which the Canadian government positions itself as a support system for Indigenous women and girls while simultaneously enabling violence to be enacted against them. This will be thoroughly illustrated first, by showcasing the racial targeting Indigenous women throughout history, second, by examining the government’s use of repression and colonial tactics to alleviate violence, and concluding with an exploration of Indigenous resistance and culturally suitable methods of eradicating violence against Indigenous women and girls.

## Historical Context

The several instances of violence against Indigenous women and girls throughout history have immensely contributed to the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Prior to the discovery of North America, Indigenous people had a fully established and functioning lifestyle. Despite men and women having respective tasks, they were still viewed as equals.<sup>4</sup> Differences in gender expression, habitation methods, and social hierarchies only fuelled the colonizers' hatred for Indigenous people. As more land became occupied by non-Indigenous people, Indigenous traditions and livelihoods were reduced to only a small minority.<sup>5</sup> The imposition of the Euro-American lifestyle thus indicated a shift in dynamics between Indigenous men and women. Indigenous women were no longer valued, as white settlers viewed their bodies as representations of "land, reproduction, kinship and governance".<sup>6</sup> Indigenous communities were forced to adopt the colonizers' practices, all of which favored men, in order to protect themselves from harm. Over time, false beliefs regarding a woman's ability, determination, and skill have become mainstream, even within Indigenous communities, pushing many women to become bystanders in their own culture.<sup>7</sup>

The impacts of the colonial lifestyle on Indigenous women and girls are visible in the eighteenth-century murder of a Muscogee woman and in the contemporary arrest of Robert Pickton in 2002. In June of 1763 it was reported that a Muscogee woman had lost her life due to the actions of Spanish soldiers. Although it was not unusual for this time, the manner in which it was carried out was deeply disturbing. The Muscogee woman was abducted, tortured, raped, and ultimately burned alive by a number of Spanish soldiers.<sup>8</sup> These actions were committed in the presence of other European and American men, although all appeared indifferent to the woman's suffering.<sup>9</sup> Scholar Bryan C. Rindfleisch points out the similarities between this horrific event and today's Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. A primary reason this genocide has been able to continue across so many centuries is

because it has remained a nameless and faceless crime.<sup>10</sup> Although the victim is mourned, their death gradually becomes insignificant to the general public, which only serves to validate pre-existing statistics, as the aggressor's anonymity allows them to place the blame upon Indigenous women instead of the men committing these crimes. This is a direct result of the common assumption made by European and American men that Indigenous women's bodies could be "claimed, sexualized and brutalized".<sup>11</sup> No matter the century, the men involved, or the manner in which the act is committed, the motive behind the crime remains the same. It is to hold onto power and control by any means necessary, even if it requires making false claims that will create insurmountable barriers for others.

Furthermore, Canada's most notorious serial killer, Robert Pickton, was convicted in 2007 after confessing to the murder of forty-nine women.<sup>12</sup> His victims were primarily women from Downtown Eastside, an impoverished area in Vancouver.<sup>13</sup> Many Indigenous women have been forced to relocate to these impoverished urban areas, putting them at risk of violence.<sup>14</sup> For example, the 1867 Indian Act revoked Indigenous women's status if they married outside their communities, forcing them out of their homes and into a Western lifestyle.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, domestic labor training was forced upon Indigenous women and girls during residential schools, ensuring their economic marginalization and subordination.<sup>16</sup> Most Canadians were unaware that at least half of Pickton's victims were Indigenous women, as Indigenous peoples are rendered invisible to those outside their communities.<sup>17</sup> As a result of colonial logic, non-Indigenous people only perceive Indigenous identities and peoples as existing in a historical past.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Robert Pickton's murders reflect the "logic of elimination," a concept coined by Patrick Wolfe, that allows Canadian political and legal officials to remain ignorant about the realities of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.<sup>19</sup> This is the foundation upon which settler colonial society is built, as colonial expansion necessitates the extermination of Indigenous communities' territorial ownership and political autonomy.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the continuous imposition of settler colonialism on

Indigenous peoples would not be as effective if the West had not reinforced the belief that Indigenous peoples only live within the confinement of their own communities, also known as reserves. Indigenous women are thus “easy targets” as they are out of the public eye and many of them live in areas where people believe crimes are unavoidable.

### **The Canadian Government’s Use of Political Repression**

The use of colonial practices by the state and white Canadian feminists to combat gender-based abuse encourages the recurrence of violence against Indigenous women, as these methods are designed to benefit those who profit from colonialism. In times of extreme colonial power, Indigenous peoples, especially women, suffered immensely, as men often still had the capacity to maintain economic and political relations with the colonizers.<sup>21</sup> Indigenous women endlessly feared being assaulted, raped, and murdered by colonizers. This is an example of hard repression, defined as the use of gendered violence under the supervision of the state.<sup>22</sup>

Ultimately, the government allowed Indigenous women to become the property of the colonizers and an escape for men to act out their desires and fantasies without the burden of legal repercussions.<sup>23</sup> In today’s society, the use of political repression to maintain colonial power is much more subtle, as it relies on softer methods. Soft repression is defined as the use of non-violent tools to repress and control individuals.<sup>24</sup> Although it appears that Canada is actively bettering the lives of Indigenous communities, especially following Stephen Harper’s public apology for the residential school system in 2008,<sup>25</sup> there are still systems in place which prevent meaningful progress from occurring. Due to the framing of the missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls’ crisis as a women’s issue, solutions often reflect a “one-size fits all” mentality, failing to recognize how violence manifests itself differently based on a person’s race, sexuality, age, and socioeconomic status.<sup>26</sup> In particular, the increased police surveillance of Indigenous lands and the implementation of women’s shelters across Canada demonstrate

the ways in which the government appears to be solving the issue while also recreating the conditions for violence to take shape.

When faced with issues of violence, especially in non-white communities, it is often assumed that policing is the ideal method to ensure the restoration of peace. To anyone living outside Indigenous communities, increased policing may seem beneficial as it reinforces the notion of Canada as a “protector” and “saviour” of all people.<sup>27</sup> However, to all of those currently experiencing its effects, police presence adds to tensions that are already present. Despite Indigenous efforts to prevent the over-policing of their lands, they are still being forced to welcome police into their cultural spaces, especially those catering to Indigenous youth.<sup>28</sup> Although criminality amongst Indigenous girls is low, their identities “constitute a direct threat to an already existing settler social order.”<sup>29</sup> Despite these long-standing relationships with law enforcement agents, a 2022 report by Statistics Canada states that Indigenous women are twice as likely to report having little to no confidence in the police as compared to non-Indigenous women.<sup>30</sup> Indigenous women and girls are not given the assurance of protection when they call the police to report a crime or ask for assistance but are rather subjected to assault, rape, or even murder. Unfortunately, many Indigenous victims do not openly talk about these instances of violence with their communities out of shame, fear, and lack of resources. In order to uphold settler control, Indigenous lives, especially those of women, have been deemed worthless and expendable.<sup>31</sup> As a result of this widespread narrative, many non-Indigenous Canadians begin to view Indigenous peoples as deviants or criminals, ensuring their continued contact with law enforcement.<sup>32</sup> The lack of worth assigned to Indigenous lives also provides men and law enforcement officers with a sense of superiority over the law. Police officers thus use the excuse that harmful actions committed against “criminals” are justifiable because their lives are “less valuable” than that of a law-abiding citizen. The increased policing of Indigenous lands is a tactic used under the pretext of protection to uphold the hierarchy of white

settler power, as it fails to consider the role police play in the perpetuation of violence against Indigenous women and girls.

Additionally, the use of women's shelters to combat violence against Indigenous women and girls is not as effective as it may seem. Although most shelters aim to alleviate the suffering of Indigenous women, the professionalization of non-governmental organizations, supported by the state, has limited their ability to engage in grassroots organizing. As a result, much of the work done to combat gender-based violence against minorities reinforces and strengthens state violence and provides Indigenous women seeking refuge with support that is often conflicting and biased.<sup>33</sup> This is largely due to the fact that Indigenous women are still expected to assimilate into Western culture in order to obtain resources.<sup>34</sup> Although not explicitly stated, Indigenous women are required to "perform as white women" due to the belief held by society that they are proper, civilized, and exemplary. Indigenous women's success rate of escaping violence is thus measured in their ability to "exhibit the individual characteristics of white respectability."<sup>35</sup> This can be of particular concern for Indigenous women with children as they are more at risk of losing custody of their child.<sup>36</sup> In moments when child removal becomes a possibility, the term "neglect" is often used to measure if a child is being adequately cared for. However, the definition is incredibly vague, leaving room for interpretation and wrongful application. In 2021, Indigenous children represented a total of 53.8% of those in foster care in Canada.<sup>37</sup> Indigenous mothers thus fear being labeled "unfit" because it is measured by how closely they resemble white traditions of motherhood and parenting.<sup>38</sup> Historically, Indigenous children have not been safe in the custody of non-Indigenous caretakers as demonstrated in the long-standing residential school system and the 60s scoop. If the experiences and traumas of white women determine whether or not Indigenous women are deserving of protection, the basis on which this service is found, is entirely undermined. The disregard for the political, economic, and social circumstances that led Indigenous women to these shelters demonstrates that their purpose is not to help women using

culturally appropriate care, but to reassimilate them into Western culture. To conclude, police surveillance and women's shelters offer non-Indigenous Canadians hope for the future of Indigenous relations, while simultaneously increasing the suffering of Indigenous women, ultimately strengthening the foundations of colonialism in Canada.

## **Indigenous Methods of Eradication and Resistance**

The eradication of violence against Indigenous women and girls can only be achieved through the implementation of Indigenous practices, as they are able to separate themselves from the colonial mentality which currently sustains these support services. According to scholars Heather Dorries and Laura Harjo, Indigenous women in need of support are met with a "damage-centered" approach, which places the focus on pain and loss they have experienced over other important aspects of their lives. Although it may be beneficial to demonstrate the dangers of colonialism, it also perpetuates the notion that Indigenous communities are "broken," making it difficult for them to see themselves otherwise.<sup>39</sup> This approach is most commonly used when the goal is to "improve safety" within Indigenous communities. For instance, the increased policing of Indigenous lands is an example of this, as the government's message implies that Indigenous people are "too damaged to manage their own affairs."<sup>40</sup>

Instead, Dorries and Harjo suggest that Indigenous women separate themselves from state-led and "damage centered" approaches and turn to methods of "insurgent planning."<sup>41</sup> This framework offers an alternative form of planning, one which reimagines the role of non-state actors when organizing by emphasizing their position as active agents in their struggle.<sup>42</sup> In this context, it can be practiced by remembering and honouring Indigenous women as mothers, daughters and sisters instead of solely being viewed as victims. This shift in perspective gives families the necessary time to grieve and provides Indigenous



communities with a safe space to do so.<sup>43</sup> Putting Indigenous feminists at the forefront of this movement allows them to draw upon community knowledge and their own experiences to comprehensively address gender-based violence. In doing so, Indigenous women are recentered as “valuable assets” of the community, ensuring absolute disengagement from colonial notions of Indigenous womanhood.

Indigenous methods of eradication are not limited to one framework as many Indigenous women and feminists have turned to art as a form of self-expression and reclamation of power. Historically, art has been a predominantly white space, full of privilege, power, and biases. In other words, the participation of Indigenous women in artistic spaces demonstrates an involvement in public debate and political commentary.<sup>44</sup> Much of the histories of Indigenous peoples, especially in the contexts of gender-based violence, remains unknown to most of Canada. Although some reports have been made, the media often sensationalizes the murder of Indigenous women and girls by focusing on the brutality of the act. When the identities of murdered women are revealed, they are typically portrayed through inaccurate stereotypes, especially if they are in the sex industry, thereby reinforcing the notion that violence is an expected and inherent aspect of that profession.<sup>45</sup> Indigenous artists have thus taken it upon themselves to make the invisible visible to the public.<sup>46</sup> Their involvement in these spaces allows them to change the narrative currently flooding Western media through the application of Indigenous knowledge. Reclaiming this space as their own ensures that the concerns and needs of Indigenous women are being heard by those with the power to instate change.

In addition, social media has provided a crucial space for Indigenous activists to resist the forces of white supremacy and colonialism. Many activists are quick to label social media as a tool which aids in the destruction of liberal democracy. However, according to scholars Bronwyn Carlson and Ryan Frazer, the “norms” of liberal democracy have not been applicable to Indigenous peoples.<sup>47</sup> Instead, the authors suggest that social media

provides Indigenous peoples with the opportunity to express agency and to challenge preconceived notions of what it means to be Indigenous.<sup>48</sup> Despite the hateful comments which follow Indigenous peoples to social media, the circulation of pain amongst this community has resulted in the emergence of a politicized collective discourse.<sup>49</sup> These platforms are thus being used by Indigenous activists as a way to express political opposition and engage with politics in an unconventional way. For example, in September of 2014, Holly Jarrett, a Canadian Indigenous woman, started the #IAmNotNext campaign.<sup>50</sup> Jarrett took to social media and posted a picture of herself alongside those words in order to draw attention to the increasing numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.<sup>51</sup> Due to the coverage it received, both at the national and international level in 2015, the Harper government announced that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were to further investigate the missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.<sup>52</sup> Jarrett's #IAmNotNext campaign clearly demonstrates the importance of Indigenous led activism as they are able to distance themselves from the violence and colonialism of Western ideologies. To summarize, Indigenous women and girls' ability to exist within a space which experience less state surveillance, encourages them to participate in these discussions and connect with other like-minded activists to enact change.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, Indigenous women and girls continue to experience violence at the hands of the Canadian government, despite claims that actions and frameworks have been put in place to alleviate their suffering. This is exemplified in the case of the 1763 Muscogee woman and in the contemporary example of Robert Pickton's targeting of Indigenous women. The idea that Indigenous women's bodies constitute "land" illustrates the consequences of the Euro-American lifestyle. Secondly, this is demonstrated by showcasing how the Canadian government uses soft repression as a more subtle method to maintain the colonial social order. This is evident in the

increased policing of Indigenous lands and the inadequate practices of women's shelters, which both serve to conceal the brutality Indigenous women face on a daily basis. Finally, by centering the voices of Indigenous women in discourse regarding the eradication of colonial violence, their experiences and perspectives become integral to the solutions and actions taken. Currently, Indigenous activists call for the humanization of victims, Indigenous contributions to art and the utilization of social media. If the Canadian government truly seeks to aid Indigenous women and girls in ending this crisis, it must first recognize the inequalities upon which Canada was founded, acknowledge its role in perpetuating colonialism, and actively involve Indigenous women in the resolution process moving forward.

## Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> Government of Canada, "Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls," last modified July, 2017, <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2017/july04.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Government of Canada, "Federal Pathway to Address Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and 2SLGBTQIA+ People," last modified June 3, 2021, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1622233286270/1622233321912>.

<sup>3</sup> Liam Midzain-Gobin and Heather Smith, "Not in the Past: Colonialism is Rooted in the Present," *The Conversation*, published March 28, 2021, para 4 <https://theconversation.com/not-in-the-past-colonialism-is-rooted-in-the-present-157395>.

<sup>4</sup> Amnesty International, "Canada: Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada," published October 3, 2004, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr20/003/2004/en/>.

<sup>5</sup> Amnesty International, "Stolen Sisters."

<sup>6</sup> Jaskiran K. Dhillon, "Indigenous Girls and the Violence of Settler Colonial Policing," *Decolonization : Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4, no. 2 (2015): 10, <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22826/19343>.

<sup>7</sup> Amnesty International, "Stolen Sisters."

<sup>8</sup> Bryan C. Rindfleisch, "A Pattern of Violence: Muscogee (Creek Indian) Women in the Eighteenth Century and Today's MMIWG - The Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls," *The Historian* 82, no. 3 (2020): 347, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00182370.2020.1824966>.

<sup>9</sup> Rindfleisch, "Pattern of Violence," 347.

<sup>10</sup> Rindfleisch, "Pattern of Violence," 348.

<sup>11</sup> Rindfleisch, "Pattern of Violence," 348.

<sup>12</sup> Shari M. Huhndorf, "Scenes from the Fringe: Gendered Violence and the Geographies of Indigenous Feminism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 46, no. 3 (2021): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1086/712045>.

<sup>13</sup> Huhndorf, "Scenes from the Fringe," 561.

<sup>14</sup> Huhndorf, "Scenes from the Fringe," 563.

<sup>15</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 563.

<sup>16</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 563.

<sup>17</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 564.

<sup>18</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 564.

<sup>19</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 564.

<sup>20</sup> Huhndorf, “Scenes from the Fringe,” 564.

<sup>21</sup> Rindfleisch, “Pattern of Violence,” 357.

<sup>22</sup> Myra Marx Ferree, “Soft Repression: Ridicule, Stigma, and Silencing in Gender-Based Movements,” in *Repression and Mobilization*, eds. Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston and Carol Clurg Mueller, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 141.

<sup>23</sup> Rindfleisch, “Pattern of Violence,” 354.

<sup>24</sup> Ferree, “Soft Repression,” 141.

<sup>25</sup> Government of Canada, “Statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools,” last modified September 15, 2010, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1571589171655>.

<sup>26</sup> Amnesty International, “Stolen Sisters.”

<sup>27</sup> Dhillon, “Violence Settler Colonial Policing,” 6.

<sup>28</sup> Dhillon, “Violence Settler Colonial Policing,” 8.

<sup>29</sup> Dhillon, “Violence Settler Colonial Policing,” 18.

<sup>30</sup> Statistics Canada, “Violent Victimization and Perceptions of Safety: Experiences of First Nations, Métis and Inuit women in Canada,” Government of Canada, published April 26, 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00004-eng.htm#>.

<sup>31</sup> Dhillon, “Violence Settler Colonial Policing,” 19.

<sup>32</sup> Dhillon, “Violence Settler Colonial Policing,” 19.

<sup>33</sup> Monique E. Harvison, "White Gatekeeping and the Promise of Shelter: Confronting Colonial Logics Within Women's Anti-Violence Services," master's thesis, Queen's University, 2016, 13-14, <https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/server/api/core/bitstreams/68ca8400-e34f-4988-9bba-8af511de8002/content>.

<sup>34</sup> Harvison, "White Gate Keeping," 26.

<sup>35</sup> Harvison, "White Gate Keeping," 26-27.

<sup>36</sup> Harvison, "White Gate Keeping," 16.

<sup>37</sup> Government of Canada, "Reducing the Number of Indigenous Children in Care," last modified May 24, 2024, <https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1541187352297/1541187392851>.

<sup>38</sup> Harvison, "White Gate Keeping," 16.

<sup>39</sup> Heather Dorries and Laura Harjo, "Beyond Safety: Refusing Colonial Violence Through Indigenous Feminist Planning," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 40, no. 2 (2020): 215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456x19894382>.

<sup>40</sup> Dorries and Harjo, "Beyond Safety," 215.

<sup>41</sup> Dorries and Harjo, "Beyond Safety," 215.

<sup>42</sup> Dorries and Harjo, "Beyond Safety," 215.

<sup>43</sup> Dorries and Harjo, "Beyond Safety," 216.

<sup>44</sup> Shelly Johnson and Alessandra Santos, "REDressing Invisibility and Marketing Violence Against Indigenous Women in the Americas Through Art, Activism and Advocacy," *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 7, no. 2 (2013): 98, <https://doi.org/10.7202/1068844ar>.

<sup>45</sup> Huhndorf, "Scenes from the Fringe," 565.

<sup>46</sup> Johnson and Santos, "REDressing Invisibility," 100.

<sup>47</sup> Bronwyn Carlson and Ryan Frazer, "Anger, Hope, and Love: The Affective Economies of Indigenous Social Media Activism," *Indigenous Peoples Rise Up*, ed. Bronwyn Carlson & Frazer Ryan (Rutgers University Press, 2021), 48, <https://doi.org/10.36019/9781978808812-004>. Bronwyn Carlson and Ryan Frazer, "Anger,

<sup>48</sup> Carlson and Frazer, "Anger, Hope, and Love," 60.

<sup>49</sup> Bronwyn Lee Carlson, Ryan Frazer, Michelle Harris, Lani V. Jones and Nelia Quezada, “Trauma, Shared Recognition and Indigenous Resistance on Social Media,” *Australian Journal of Information Systems* 21 (2017): 13, <https://doi.org/10.3127/ajis.v21i0.1570>.

<sup>50</sup> Sarah Hunt, “#ImNotNext: Indigenous Women Use Social Media to Demand Change,” *Rabble.ca*, published September 17, 2014, <https://rabble.ca/feminism/imnotnext-indigenous-women-use-social-media-to-demand-change/>.

<sup>51</sup> Hunt, “ImNotNext.”

<sup>52</sup> Hunt, “ImNotNext.”

## Bibliography

Amnesty International. “Canada: Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada.” Published October 3, 2004. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr20/003/2004/en>

Carlson, Bronwyn, and Frazer, Ryan. “Anger, Hope, and Love: The Affective Economies of Indigenous Social Media Activism.” *Indigenous Peoples Rise Up*, edited by Bronwyn Carlson & Frazer Ryan, 48-64, Rutgers University Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.36019/9781978808812-004>.

Carlson, Bronwyn Lee, Frazer, Ryan, Harris, Michelle, Jones, Lani V., and Quezada, Nelia. “Trauma, Shared Recognition and Indigenous Resistance on Social Media.” *Australian Journal of Information Systems* 21 (2017): 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.3127/ajis.v21i0.1570>.

Dhillon, Jaskiran K. “Indigenous Girls and the Violence of Settler Colonial Policing.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4, no. 2 (2015): 1-31. <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22826/19343>.

Dorries, Heather, and Harjo, Laura. “Beyond Safety: Refusing Colonial Violence Through Indigenous Feminist Planning.” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 40, no. 2 (2020): 210-219. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456x19894382>.

Ferree, Myra Marx. “Soft Repression: Ridicule, Stigma, and Silencing in Gender-Based Movements.” In *Repression and Mobilization*, edited by Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston and Carol Clurg Mueller, 138-155. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Government of Canada. “Federal Pathway to Address Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and 2SLGBTQQIA+



People.” Last modified June 3, 2021. <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1622233286270/162223321912>.

------. “Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.” Last modified July, 2017. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2017/july04.html>.

------. “Reducing the Number of Indigenous Children in Care.” Last modified May 24, 2024. <https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1541187352297/1541187392851>.

------. “Statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools.” Last modified September 15, 2010. <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1571589171655>.

Harvison, Monique E. “White Gatekeeping and the Promise of Shelter: Confronting Colonial Logics Within Women’s Anti-Violence Services.” Master’s thesis., Queen’s University, 2016. <https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/server/api/core/bitstreams/68ca8400-e34f-4988-9bba-8af511de8002/content>.

Heidinger, Loanna. “Violent Victimization and Perceptions of Safety: Experiences of First Nations, Métis and Inuit Women in Canada.” *Government of Canada*. Published April 26, 2022. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00004-eng.htm#r9>.

Huhndorf, Shari M. “Scenes from the Fringe: Gendered Violence and the Geographies of Indigenous Feminism.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 46, no. 3 (2021): 561-587. <https://doi.org/10.1086/712045>.

Hunt, Sarah. “#ImNotNext: Indigenous Women Use Social Media to Demand Change.” *Rabble.ca*. Published September 17, 2014. <https://rabble.ca/feminism/imnotnext-indigenous-women-use-social-media-to-demand-change/>.

Johnson, Shelly, and Santos Alessandra. “REDressing Invisibility and Marketing Violence Against Indigenous Women in the

“They Treat You Like Some Alien” (Perry, Roshan)

Americas Through Art, Activism and Advocacy.” *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 7, no. 2 (2013): 97-111.  
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1068844ar>.

Midzain-Gobin, Liam, and Smith, Heather. “Not in the Past: Colonialism is Rooted in the Present.” *The Conversation*. Published March 28, 2021. <https://theconversation.com/not-in-the-past-colonialism-is-rooted-in-the-present-157395>.

Facing History & Ourselves. “Prime Minister Harper’s Apology.” Last modified July 28, 2020.  
<https://www.facinghistory.org/en-ca/resource-library/prime-minister-harpers-apology-0#:~:text=The%20apology%2C%20delivered%20in%20a,in%20our%20history.%20.%20.%20>.

Rindfleisch, Bryan C. “A Pattern of Violence: Muscogee (Creek Indian) Women in the Eighteenth Century and Today’s MMIWG - The Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.” *The Historian* 82, no. 3 (2020): 346-362.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00182370.2020.1824966>.

Statistics Canada. “Violent Victimization and Perceptions of Safety: Experiences of First Nations, Métis and Inuit women in Canada.” *Government of Canada*. Published April 26, 2022.  
<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00004-eng.htm#>.