Individual Crimes or a Sociological Phenomenon:

A Critical discourse analysis of the 2014 Royal Canadian Mounted Police National Operational Overview on missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada

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Pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee Kanadan poliisivoimien, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), vuoden 2014 operationaalista raporttia Kanadan kadonneista ja murhatuista alkuperäiskansojen naisista. Heitä katoaa ja murhataan Kanadassa suhteessa huomattavasti enemmän kuin muita naisia. Aihe on hyvin ajankohtainen sekä kriittinen ja siihen on paikallisten organisaatioiden lisäksi kiinnittänyt huomiota mm. Amnesty International ja Yhdistyneet Kansakunnat. Tilannetta pidetään jo ihmisoikeuskriisinä ja sen puolesta puhuminen voidaan nähdä osana laajempaa kansannousua alkuperäiskansojen oikeuksien puolesta. Kanadan hallitusta sekä poliisivoimia on syytetty välinpitämättömyydestä ja rasismista, poliiseja jopa väkivallasta alkuperäiskansojen naisia kohtaan. Kanadan hallitus ei myönnä ongelman olevan sosiologinen ilmiö, vaan pääministerin mukaan naisten katoamiset ja murhat ovat yksittäisiä rikoksia.

Tilanteen taustalla on laajempi ongelma, joka juontaa juurensa kolonialismista, alkuperäiskansojen pakkokoulutuksesta ja heidän kulttuurinsa sekä identiteettinsä tuhoamisesta. Ennakkoluulot ja stereotypiat elävät yhä vahvana luoden heikon aseman alkuperäiskansojen edustajille ja tässä tapauksessa erityisesti naisille, joita myös usein syytetään omista ongelmistaan. Tutkielma selvittää, onko tämä operationaalinen raportti eriarvoisuutta, stereotypioita sekä ennakkoluuloja ylläpitävä ja tukeeko se näkemystä sosiologisesta ilmiöstä. Poliisivoimat ovat yhteiskunnassa vaikutusvaltaisessa asemassa ja voivat edesauttaa, jatkaa ja voimistaa syrjivää ajattelua, käytöstä ja viestintää. Vaikka he myös ajavat alkuperäiskansojen etuja, tulee heidän toimintaansa ja täten tätä kyseistä raporttia tarkastella kriittisesti.

Tutkielma keskittyy kriittiseen diskurssianalyysiin (Fairclough 1995, Wodak & Meyer 2009). Raportin teksti ei ole avoimesti diskriminoivaa ja keskittyy tilastojen ja lukujen raportointiin sekä vertailuun, luoden samalla kuvan asianomaisista sekä tilanteesta yleisesti. Makroanalyysi (van Dijk 1977, 1980) mahdollistaa korkeamman tason ajatusten ja ideoiden esille tuonnin paljastaen ns. rivien välistä löytyvän viestinnän. Näistä makroanalyysin tuloksista etsitään erilaisia diskurssistrategioita (Reisigl & Wodak 2001), joiden avulla luodaan mm. kuva positiivisesta itsestä ja negatiivisesta toisesta. Näitä tuloksia tuetaan lyhyellä multimodaalisella analyysillä, joka keskittyy lähinnä raportin kahteen kuvaan (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Lopuksi tuloksista keskustellaan suhteessa yhteiskunnan valtasuhteisiin (Foucault 1976), rasismiin ja seksismiin.

Analyysin perusteella raportti on selkeästi diskriminoiva. Se tuo esiin vanhoja stereotypioita ja ennakkoluuloja, esittää tilanteen alkuperäiskansojen sisäisenä ongelmana, jättää mainitsematta tilanteen taustat ja luo hyvin positiivisen kuvan poliisivoimista (RCMP). Tällä tavoin se ylläpitää yhteiskunnan epätasapainoisia valtasuhteita ja alkuperäiskansojen naisten heikompaa ja marginalisoitua asemaa. Raportti todistaa kuinka syvällä Kanadan yhteiskunnassa jopa institutionaalisella tasolla nämä ajatukset piilevät, sillä diskriminaatio ulottuu tapausten syistä niiden käsittelyyn ja raportointiin. Tilanne on huolestuttava ja voidaan nähdä sosiologisena ilmiönä. Poliisivoimien tulisi lisätä sisäistä koulutusta asian suhteen sekä hallituksen tutkia tätä ilmiönä ja paneutua sen selvittämiseen laaja-alaisesti ja läpinäkyvästi.

Asiasanat:

Diskurssianalyysi, kielentutkimus, makroanalyysi, diskurssistrategiat, multimodaalisuus, Kanada, alkuperäiskansat, syrjintä, stereotypiat, rasismi, ihmisoikeudet, poliisi, raportointi

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RCMP – The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

MMIW – Missing and murdered Indigenous women

NWAC – Native Women's Association of Canada

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

DHA – Discourse Historical Approach

M – Macrostructure (1st level of analysis)

M$_2$ – Macrostrucutre (2nd level of analysis)

1 Introduction

Canada is struggling with a continuing human rights crisis. For many Canadians, missing and murdered Indigenous women (MMIW) has become known as an issue during the past couple of years but it only continues the general homicide and violence epidemic that has been afflicting the Canadian Indigenous communities for decades. Once again, this issue has gained more attention after the deaths of Tina Fontaine and Loretta Saunders, among others, in 2014. Internationally, this may be news to many, however, it is an issue acknowledged and expressed by international entities and organizations such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch. This problem of Indigenous women and girls going missing and being murdered at a higher rate than other Canadian women, has also been raised into public awareness by different indigenous and other Canadian groups and organizations, such as the Assembly of First Nations, Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), and Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) that work for this cause. Canada can no longer hide this tragedy, since today, social media presents a great platform for raising awareness both locally and internationally.

This fight for justice can be seen as a part of a wider plea or one might even call it a social movement for indigenous rights and recognition that is gaining more visibility in Canada at the moment, with the Canadian based Idle No More protest movement providing a great example locally and now even internationally. Indigenous peoples worldwide face battles in their everyday life with basic human rights. One of the previous comparisons is provided by Australia, where 150 remote Indigenous communities are forced to shut down due to the government ending financial support. Indigenous women are the most exploited and vulnerable as they face globalization through both racial and sexual inequality and are forced to the margins of the society. This is also visible for example in Philippines where many of the women accepting work in oppressive conditions are Indigenous (Kuokkanen 2008: 222).

Dominant state apparatuses (Althusser 1970), such as the police in the case of this thesis, play a crucial role in defining the power relations in a society. This includes creating and maintaining the often stereotypical images of marginalized and minority

groups that are viewed as the norm, in this particular case, the image of Canadian Indigenous women. As discourse and language are tools with which these unbalanced power relations and ideologies in a society are established, maintained, and challenged, they also work as causing factors in the way these minority groups are treated. A text as an element of a social event could bring about change in people's knowledge, beliefs, values, and attitudes and therefore even change the social relations of power, domination, and exploitation (Fairclough 2003: 8-9). Together with other social and economic factors, discourse and language may therefore contribute to the Indigenous women's increasing vulnerability to violence. Thus, it is important to study the linguistic side of this issue as well. Actions towards improving social services, justice system, operational planning of the police, and overall economic and social well-being of Indigenous people and women in Canada cannot alone solve the situation if the old ideologies, stereotypes, and prejudices are not challenged. My personal interests are based on women's rights in general and the one year I lived in Saskatchewan, Canada, where I was able to learn about the situation of many Indigenous Peoples in Canada and started to view things very differently. According to the RCMP, the second highest rates of Indigenous women going missing or being victims of homicides are in the Prairie Provinces after British Columbia, and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan the number of homicides of Indigenous women in fact exceeds the number of non-Indigenous homicides. In addition to my personal interests, this issue needs to be studied due to the current and controversial nature of this topic and the fact that these Indigenous women and Indigenous people in general deserve more academic visibility.

With a study as small in its scope as an MA thesis, I cannot analyze the use of language on any general level. The focus of this thesis is to study the possibly discriminatory nature of the recent report on MMIW, called the National Operational Overview, by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) that brought into light shocking numbers exceeding previous estimates: 1,017 police-recorded Indigenous female homicides and 164 unresolved missing Indigenous females between 1980 and 2012. According to the RCMP, this report is the most comprehensive collection of such data thus far by the Canadian policing community and aims at filling a gap by combining public data with law enforcement holdings, as well as providing additional information to communities and

all levels of government (2014: 4, 6). This thesis explores the presentation of 'positive self' and 'negative other' and seeks answers to following questions: How are the victims, circumstances, offenders, and the RCMP itself represented? How is the issue of MMIW depicted? Does this report reproduce discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes, hereby reinforcing the unbalanced power relations of the Canadian society? The police have been highly criticized for their lack of action and commitment, and even accused of violent acts towards Indigenous women. Stephen Harper, the Prime Minister of Canada who together with his government has also been criticized for lack of commitment to Indigenous issues, has claimed that these are individual crimes – not a sociological phenomenon. On the basis of the answers acquired from the analysis, I aim to prove that this truly is a sociological phenomenon.

This is an important topic to study, since at the moment the Canadian government has buffed the continuous pleas for a national inquiry into the root causes of the issue that could help to educate all Canadians. Instead, they have claimed that there have been enough studies and reports, naming the RCMP report the latest one that has given comprehensive insight into the circumstances surrounding the victims and perpetrators, and that now is the time to take action. However, failing to act accordingly. What is more, the RCMP states that their report presents a first step in their understanding of this challenge and "will guide Canadian Police operational decision-making on a solid foundation" (RCMP 2014: 3). The RCMP's use of language in the report has great influence on how the public as well as the police themselves view this issue and Indigenous women. My hypothesis is that the report carries on some of the negative and prejudiced images and ideas of Indigenous women and people. It is crucial how this information is presented to the Canadian public, since according to MacMillan, "most Canadians are not hostile to native aspirations but lack the knowledge of traditional native cultures and the modern situation that would allow them to assess the issues" (1995: ix). This seems to still be true today.

This thesis is conducted as a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), more specifically, I analyze the semantic macrostructures (van Dijk 1977, 1980), meaning the topics and themes in the data through which a more global level of textual meaning can be revealed. The results are then analyzed in relation to the discursive strategies used to create in- and

out-groups through positive self and negative other representation as in Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak 2001). In addition, these findings are supported with a brief Multimodal Analysis of the front page pictures (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) and some general comments on other multimodal aspects since these have a great impact on the way the reader perceives the message. The findings are also discussed in relation to ideas of power and discourse, as well as racism and sexism. At the time of commencing this thesis in fall 2014, no other academic studies about the RCMP report were found. Several studies have been conducted in relation to the mistreatment and well-being of Indigenous peoples in Canada as well as MMIW and this thesis draws from them while aiming at providing something new from a linguistic perspective into this expanding pool of studies.

First, the context of the research is introduced in section 2 in order to provide basis for understanding this multidimensional issue, then section 3 presents the theoretical framework before moving onto section 4 about the data and methods of the analysis. Section 5 presents the analysis under subheadings and the findings are then further discussed in section 6 on a more general level before concluding this thesis in section 7.

2 Context of the Research

It this section, the background and context of the topic are introduced. This begins with a brief overview of the Canadian Indigenous Peoples' struggle as well as their relations to the Canadian State in past and present, in the light of different studies and current news, tying it to MMIW as well. A central factor in this whole issue is the distrust towards the police and other authority figures among indigenous communities which is presented next. This leads to the presentation of racism in Canadian context.

Next, inequality and vulnerability of Indigenous women in Canada in the light of studies from different fields needs to be summarized and discussed on a more general level, followed by the stereotypical images of Indigenous women that are part of the analysis. Also, the different aspects of the situation around MMIW are taken into account. This section ends with a short presentation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and their efforts towards the Indigenous women in Canada. Also, the goals of the RCMP report are considered.

I have chosen to use the term Indigenous in this thesis, even though the RCMP uses the term Aboriginal. The term Indigenous is used by various human rights organizations and local Canadian activists and it is internationally more common and seems to be more neutral. What is more, the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women is widely and regularly referred to as MMIW.

2.1 An Overview of Canadian Indigenous Peoples in Past and Present

To begin with, a brief summary of the history of Indigenous Peoples' struggle and status in Canada is provided in order to better understand the current situation. Then their relationship with the Canadian State is briefly presented to explain the general picture in which the RCMP and federal government are in a central role.

2.1.1 A Brief History of the Struggle of the Canadian Indigenous Peoples

According to J. R. Miller, Indigenous Peoples, also referred to as Aboriginal peoples, "once played a central role in Canadian society but over time were shunted to the background" by Europeans and forced to assimilate to a new culture and society. Eventually they resurfaced in the forefront of Canadian life and have established themselves strongly in the political scene as well (Miller 2002: 3, 34). Alan MacMillan states that in the early 1900s it seemed that the Indigenous population was plummeting after the arrival of Europeans, however, despite all the pressure, the populations increased dramatically and in many areas the Indigenous people managed to revive many aspects of their culture (MacMillan 1995: x). As is generally known today, the assimilation process was often rather violent and cruel, both on the mental and physical level, and had severe impacts on the indigenous cultures and even the population.

Residential schools played a central role in the assimilation process from the mid-19th century to the late 20th century and left a legacy of racism, sexism, and inequality. Alan C. Crains points out that this forced assimilation, then viewed as the progressive goal, could now be viewed as arrogant cultural imperialism (Cairns 2002: 11). Today, many Indigenous communities in Canada are "afflicted with a profound malaise, evident in high rates of poverty, unemployment, suicide, substance abuse, physical – including sexual abuse, and alcoholism" (Cairns 2002: 15). It is often stated that these problems date back to colonialism and especially the residential school era, since the residential

school survivors had several problems when adjusting back to "normal life". Although the majority of the survivors had suffered negative experiences, it should be mentioned that there were some positive ones as well (Neeganagwedgin 2011: 20). Nevertheless, according to Willow J. Anderson, who has studied the 2008 apology for the residential schools and public's response to it, the history of residential schools is horrifying, long, and sad. The "schools were grounded in a belief in Aboriginal inferiority" and close to one third of Aboriginal children were sent to these schools in order to destroy their connections to their ancestors' habits and feelings. Means included different mental and physical, brutal and arbitrary punishments and abuses (Andersen 2012: 573). Latest statement of the era was provided by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's final report that was published in June 2015. It referred to the era as 'cultural genocide' (Schwartz 2015; For more information about the history, conditions, and aftermath of residential schools, see for example Claes & Clifton 1998).

MacMillan states that Canadian First Nations have increasingly entered public consciousness and media during the last few decades due to their moving to urban areas (MacMillan 1995: ix). Along with this visibility came native claims for land and treaty grievances among others, which were not well understood by the Canadian public in the 1990s and it was common to hear questions about what the natives want and why should they have special rights (*ibid*.). Sadly, these thoughts are still clearly a visible part of today's media discussions about indigenous rights and, for example in relation to the demands for a national public inquiry into MMIW. Alan C. Cairns suggests, that in addition to the possible self-government, discourse between Indigenous Peoples and the general public, growing visibility of political and academic attention to Indigenous issues, and a public apology that was actually given to former students of residential schools in 2008 (Cairns 2002: 16-17), more is needed for reconciliation beyond words:

> The existence of many well-functioning native governments in which competence was the norm and corruption a rarity ... A second would be that the conditions of life in the urban core would improve and Aboriginal individuals would be scattered through the professional ranks and middle and upper classes. Finally, although some residual tension will be long with us, there would be a rapprochement, if not a wedding, between "nation" and Canadian citizenship. When Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians include each other when they see 'we,' an ultimate reconciliation will have arrived" (Cairns 2002: 17).

Now, the MMIW issue and government's as well as the general public's response to it could be seen as a part of the journey towards reconciliation.

James Anaya, the UN Special Rapporteur who visited Canada in October 2013, points out the current oppressive socioeconomic conditions of Indigenous Peoples in a highly developed Canada as the "most jarring manifestation" of human rights problems (Anaya 2014: 7) with a deep well-being gap in health care, housing, education, welfare, and social services between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. There has been no reduction in that gap for registered Indians/First Nations since the previous Special Rapporteus's visit and recommendations in 2004. It is striking that "[o]f the bottom 100 Canadian communities on the Community Well-Being Index, 96 are First Nations and only one First Nation community is in the top 100 (*ibid*.). MacMillan suggests that "[o]n-reserve economic development is hindered by the isolated nature of most reserves, their generally small size and their limited resources" (MacMillan 1995: 324), however this alone does not explain the socioeconomic problems and the current situation.

An important aspect when considering the reporting of the MMIW issue, the methodology of the identity variant in the RCMP report, and discrimination against women is the status of the Indigenous Peoples Canada. There are both status (or registered) and non-status Indigenous people. MacMillan states that in practice status means that a person falls under the provision of the Indian Act and is recognized by the federal government, thus holding rights to limited benefits of the Indian Act. Non-status means that people consider themselves Indigenous but lack formal recognition by federal government (MacMillan 1995: 309-310). Women have experienced clear status discrimination. As stated by MacMillan, the Indian Act included sexual discrimination until 1985. For example, when an Indian woman married a non-Indian or a non-status man, she and their children were stripped off their status (MacMillan 1995: 310). The Indian Act was the separate peace of legislation for Indigenous people when the Constitution Act was signed in 1867 at Canada's birth, putting Indigenous people in different legal category (MacMillan 1995: 309) that still creates problems today.

2.1.2 Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian State

MacMillan points out that a lot has changed. The indigenous community has been integrated into public decision-making after the Oka crisis in 1990 (MacMillan 1995: xi). However, the balance and true involvement of Indigenous Peoples has been hard to

acquire and for example Miller suggests that since the 1960s, "native people's practical concerns have frequently been forced to take a back seat to issues that non-natives put on the public agenda" (Miller 2002: 34). Even though Cairns states that Canadians have had an actual dialogue with Indigenous participation since the defeat of the White Paper in 1970 (Cairns 2002: 12-13), at least in the case of the MMIW, the Indigenous community is in many aspects been forced to take the back seat. Even though the UN among others is suggesting a national public inquiry into MMIW, which would include the voice of the Indigenous Peoples, the government is not willing to act. Instead, there are now several separate studies on the issue and the actual dialogue is missing.

Today, Indigenous women have entered the political arena as well, the most visible organization being the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) that has been the national voice of Indigenous women in Canada since 1974. NWAC has worked together with political leaders and is one of the five officially recognized National Aboriginal Organizations in Canada (NWAC 2014). They have a special focus on the MMIW. Also NWAC has faced problems with the federal government. In 1992, NWAC was excluded from the constitutional negotiations concerning the Indigenous right to self-governance. This resulted in Native Women's Association of Canada v. Canada court case in 1994, in which the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the federal government's decision to exclude the NWAC from these discussions (Eberts, McIvor & Nahanee 2008) further highlighting the broken dialogue. Interesting from the point of view of this thesis is that the RCMP works in collaboration with the NWAC and tries to contribute to their previous studies on MMIW, which is clearly a highlighted notion in the RCMP report.

Many might argue that the dialogue is not fully functioning. Matthew Coon Come, the Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees and the chairperson of the Cree Regional Authority, claims that for years, the "Harper government has refused to consult Indigenous rights-holders on crucial issues, especially when it involves international forums. This repeated failure to consult violates Canada's duty under Canadian constitutional and international law" (CBC, Coon Come 2014). Also Anaya raised this problem in his report. He met several government representatives who mentioned the goal of reconciliation, in contrast, Indigenous leaders expressed concern about the undermining of this goal in the way the government limits or ignores the input of

Indigenous Peoples in various decisions concerning them (Anaya 2014: 13). What is more, Coon Come attended the first World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in September 2014 where Indigenous leaders met with heads of government, ambassadors, and ministers – except for Stephen Harper and ministers of his government (CBC, Coon Come 2014). Canada was also the only state in the world to request an explanation of vote in relation to the highlight of the conference, the General Assembly's adoption by consensus of an outcome document that included commitments of UN member states on various issues, "such as indigenous youth, health, language and culture, access to justice, and violence and discrimination against indigenous peoples and individuals, **in particular women**" (*ibid.,* emphasis added). He also claims that since the election in 2006, Harper's "government has refused to acknowledge within Canada that indigenous people's collective rights are human rights" (*ibid.*).

In April 2015, the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Minister Bernard Valcourt stated in a closed meeting with Canadian Chiefs that 70 percent of the offenders of the MMIW are Indigenous men. The RCMP did not back up the claim first, pleading to their "bias-free" policing that was their reason for not stating ethnicity in the report (Barrera 2015a). Interestingly, they broke their policy and confidentiality to Statistics Canada and issued a letter announcing that Valcourt's claim was correct (Barrera 2015b, Palmater 2015). Therefore, the RCMP report resurfaced as news giving more visibility to this new information and many, such as Pam Palmater, a Mi'kmaq lawyer, professor, activist, and politician, claim that there are serious gaps in data due to problems in the methodology, e.g. the unreliable identity variant (Palmater 2015). Assembly of First Nations National Chief Perry Bellegarde calls on the federal government and RCMP to make all the information public in order for everyone to better understand the current situation (Barrera 2015b). The Union of BC Indian Chiefs view RCMP's reporting as "dangerously racializing" and are "shocked and appalled" by the fact that the RCMP has released these new statistics without a proper context (Bain 2015). Palmater sees the government and RCMP's racist and sexist attitudes as a large part of this problem (Palmater 2014) and for example Palmater, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, and Amnesty International Canada suggest that again the federal government

and RCMP try to blame the victim and the Indigenous community for this problem, making Canada not responsible to act upon it (Palmater 2015, Bain 2015, Benjamin & Hansen, Amnesty 2015). This view is supported by the fact that the RCMP does not present any statistics of their own role in the issue as perpetrators, as is also pointed out by Palmater (2015).

Anaya claims that "the relationship between the federal Government and indigenous peoples is strained, perhaps even more so than when the previous Special Rapporteur visited Canada in 2004, despite certain positive developments since then and the shared goal of improving conditions for indigenous peoples" (Anaya 2014: 6) He summarizes that the relationship "is governed by a well-developed legal framework and a number of policy initiatives that in many respects are protective of indigenous people's rights", however, despite these positive steps, "daunting challenges remain"(*ibid*.). A Legal Strategy Coalition of different individuals and organizations has conducted a study covering a period of two decades showing that "governments in Canada have repeatedly ignored expert recommendations to stop violence against Indigenous women and girls". Only a few of the 700 recommendations have been fully implemented (Women's Legal Education and Action Fund 2015). Anaya states that indigenous and treaty claims remain unresolved and Indigenous women remain vulnerable to abuse (*ibid*.). In June 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, that documented the truth of survivors and anyone personally affected by the residential school era that lasted from the mid-19th century to the late 20th century, published its final report that lists 94 points in its call to action. Its effects remain to be seen.

Thus, based on several studies and opinions on this matter, it can be concluded that no common ground has been established about the political participation and involvement of Canadian Indigenous peoples nor has the Canadian government managed to take adequate measures to address the indigenous issues that would satisfy local and international interests. Therefore, great distrust and a broken relationship remain and the issue of MMIW stays in the spotlight waiting for proper action. The distrust is also prevalent between the police and the Indigenous community, which is discussed next.

2.2 Distrust towards the Police among Indigenous Communities in Relation to MMIW

A central problem in the MMIW issue that dates partly back to the residential school era, is the distrust towards the police among the Indigenous communities. Human Rights Watch, an international non-governmental organization specializing in human rights issues worldwide, published a report in 2013 dealing with the RCMP's abusing policing and failures in protection of Indigenous women and girls in Northern British Columbia, Canada. They point out that an RCMP's report about the historical involvement of the police in the residential school system shows that the police were not seen as a source for help but rather as figures of authority that take members of the community away (Human Rights Watch 2013: 2). This problem of distrust goes beyond British Columbia and is still valid. Also Amnesty International's report "Stolen Sisters" has pointed out the lack of adequate protection to Indigenous women from the police force and justice system in Canada today (Amnesty International 2004).

At the moment, the CBC is investigating the unsolved cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women and interviewing victims' families. They have asked 110 families to rate the quality of the police investigations on a scale from one to 10, with 10 being excellent, getting the average of 2.8 (CBC April 2015). Amnesty reports that a few of their interviewed families did have positive experiences with the police, however, the others "described how police failed to act promptly" when women from their family went missing, treated the family with disrespect, and did not share information about the investigations (Amnesty International 2004: 17). Shannon Brennan has studied the violent victimization of Indigenous women in Canadian provinces through 2009 General Social Survey information from Statistics Canada. When asked about police service, Indigenous women were almost as satisfied as non-Indigenous women. However, clearly less Indigenous women agreed that the police was doing a good job in enforcing law and treating people fairly (Brennan 2011: 13).

According to the Human Rights Watch, the fact that modern law enforcement authorities fail to deal effectively with the issue of MMIW in Canada, is just one aspect of the "dysfunctional relationship between the Canadian police and indigenous

communities" (Human Rights Watch 2013: 7). Emma D. LaRocque, a Métis and Manitoba University Professor in Native Studies, points out how the justice system has dismayed her parents' generation, in the form of police abuse, unjustified roughing and picking up of her relatives, and police and court neglecting the Indigenous victims of Indigenous violence (LaRocque 1994: 88). She states that this previous "generation could not defend itself in courts because of language differences, discrimination, and/or poverty" (*ibid*). Human Rights Watch report documents how Indigenous women are under-protected by the police but also how some women are still objects of police abuse today (Human Right Watch report 2013: 7). According to them, Indigenous women in B.C., where policing is in most parts contracted to the RCMP, have experienced physical abuse as well as verbal racist or sexist abuse by the police. These assaults have led some women, even community leaders, to limit their time in public places to avoid contact with police and many women report having little faith in police force protecting them from violence (Human Right Watch Report 2013: 8, 40). Many women do not want to report rape or sexual abuse by police due to fear of retaliation or stigma and feelings of shame, which is why evidence is hard to gather (Human Right Watch Report 2013: 59).

The cuts in the RCMP budget in British Columbia, which has the highest rates of unsolved cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women of all provinces/territories, according the RCMP report, have provided reason for distrust as well. The Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) reported in August 2014 that the RCMP recently announced $4.3 million budget cut to their operations in B.C., of which $1.4 million from the major crime unit. This means there will be 13 investigators less of which six from the Highway of Tears section, known as E-PANA, focusing on missing and murdered women. The RCMP themselves have stated that even though the amount of investigators has dropped down from 70 to 12, they still have the necessary resources to deal with the investigative needs and education and prevention campaigns are still on the way (APTN, Jackson 2014). The latest mistake by the RCMP in May 2015 was to call the Indigenous Idle No More protest movement a "bacteria" in their internal document (Barrera 2015c). During question period in the House of Commons, Niki Ashton, the New Democratic Party's Aboriginal Affairs Critic, demanded an apology from the Minister of Public Safety due to RCMP's discriminatory language that damages the relationship between the

RCMP, the federal government, and the Indigenous people but her question was rejected and disapproved. What is more, the RCMP were praised for their actions (Barrera 2015c, Ashton 2015). Later, the RCMP presented an apology, that this view expressed by one employee "is not reflective of the views and opinions of the organization" (Barrera 2015d). Instances such as these do send a rather mixed message to the public and especially to the Indigenous community.

The controversial Special Committee on Violence against Indigenous Women report, compiled by an all-party committee on the basis of 41st Parliament 2nd session, failed to recommend the federal government to take any big steps, such as a national inquiry, but did point out the failures of the police as heard from the witnesses. A number of witnesses, meaning the families of the victims, were concerned of the lack of reliable data on Indigenous identity of the victims. In particular, the witnesses feared the new database for missing persons and unidentified remains as part of the RCMP's National Centre for Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains will not adequately capture the victim's identity (Ambler 2014: 14-15). Also the NWAC representative stressed the substantial gap in collecting this information. The witnesses "believe that police officers should systematically collect information on the Aboriginal identity of victims and alleged perpetrators" in order to find solutions to this issue (Ambler 2014: 15). In addition, "the witnesses suggested that family members are sometimes not taken seriously because of race related stereotypes", which creates a mistrust between Indigenous people and the services that are there to help them (Ambler 2014: 19).

Amnesty has also interviewed police officers, a number of whom insisted that they handle all cases equally (2004: 17). However, as it has been pointed out, this is not yet the reality. Amnesty suggests the following:

> if police are to provide Indigenous people with a standard of protection equivalent to that provided to other sectors of society, they need to understand the specific needs of Indigenous communities, be able to communicate with Indigenous people without barriers of fear and mistrust, and ultimately be accountable to Indigenous communities. As some police officers acknowledged ... this is clearly not the case today (Amnesty International 2004: 17).

The Human Rights Watch recommends the RCMP to, for example, collect and make publicly available accurate and comprehensive data on violence against Indigenous women, expand training of police officers to counter sexism and racism, and improve

their response to violence against Indigenous women. Also, to develop a timeline for National Centre for Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains and to implement standardized police response protocols for cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, which would be part of the RCMP national strategy and made in collaboration with Indigenous organizations (Human Rights Watch Report 2013: 16-17). This would include

> Goals to review police response to missing and murdered indigenous women and girl cases at regular intervals to compile and make public a report on best practices and lessons learned that can then contribute to more successful police investigations and community response in the future (Human Rights Watch Report 2013: 17).

They also recommend the UN Human Rights Council to encourage Canada to launch a national inquiry into MMIW and raise the issue as part of UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review (*ibid*.).

These accusations and demands might be some of the triggering factors behind the National Operational Overview report by the RCMP, which is also why I am interested to examine how the RCMP portrays itself in its report and whether or not it shows signs of racism and sexism. The report could also work as one way of strengthening the relationship and trust between the police force and the Indigenous Peoples in Canada. On the other hand, it could continue to portray the stereotypical images and ideas about Indigenous women that could even affect the way police officers act on duty.

2.3 Racism against Indigenous Peoples in Canada

At the moment, the problem of racism towards the Indigenous community in Canada is a much discussed issue in the media. It seems that both the Idle No More movement and this issue of MMIW among others have really highlighted the problem of racism today. This might seem surprising, since Canada is known to be a "mosaic" of cultures. As Szuchewycz claims, Canada has long been idealized as "uniquely tolerant and free of racism" and that media try to keep up this image by denying racism through reinterpretation, mitigation, and marginalization of evidence when it is presented (Szuchewycz 2000). Robert Harding points out that media "play a decisive role in promulgating racist ideology and in maintaining white dominance in Canada" and while highlighting the extreme circumstances in which many contemporary Indigenous people live, such as poverty, alcoholism, crime, and suicide, "news media simultaneously

eschew any analysis of the socio-political context of these living conditions and the impact of Canada's long history of colonialism on aboriginal people" (Harding 2006: 206). He continues that in addition to mass media, these power relations are supported by education and the criminal justice system as well as reflected in policies and laws subscribing Indigenous people a lesser and differential status under the law, such as the Indian Act, and making them 'wards of state' (Harding 2006: 205-206).

Harding suggests, that racist discourses support and are reinforced by official state policy regarding Indigenous people in Canada as well as "Canadian society's general amnesia about the country's colonial history and its connection to the starkly unequal relations that exist between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people today" (Harding 2006: 206). Furthermore, he sees racism evolving in Canadian context:

> The *active* biological racism of colonial times has given way to a passive and sanitized *ethnocentrism* characterized by a creed of 'identical treatment' which emphasizes equality of opportunity and cultural pluralism, while denying the existence of contemporary racist practices, attitudes and outcomes (Harding 2006: 206).

Driedger *et al.* suggest based on national surveys that in the Canadian context, it is clear that "unfair treatment exists, based on ethnic origin, racial composition and religious affiliation" and that "visible minorities continue to be on the periphery where opportunities and status are low" (Drieger *et al*. 2000: 170-171). They suggest that more research on multiculturalism and diversity of race, color, and beliefs is needed as well as continued anti-racism initiatives and public education, even though Canada is becoming an increasingly pluralist society (Drieger *et al*. 2000: 171, 185). In fact, the World Value Survey places Canada in the very top of tolerant countries with less than 5 percent of Canadians showing signs of racism based on question about who would they be pleased to live next to (Gye 2013). However, in addition to everyday racism, racism manifests itself in various forms in the media, it is not only the journalists who present prejudiced images and ideas of Indigenous Peoples but also the readers' comments can be highly prejudiced and racist, as I have witnessed in relation to MMIW. This is an issue that could be studied further on a wider scale than an MA thesis, since often the studies on racism are focused on immigrants rather than Indigenous populations, who would deserve more academic attention.

It is possible, that the Idle No More movement and the visibility of the issue of MMIW, among others, is now challenging this view of Canada as a country "uniquely tolerant and free of racism". Now, the problem of racism is discussed to some extent by the mass media, CBC being one of the clearly most open ones. One of its latest instances was the reporting of pervasive racism against Indigenous population in the Canadian health-care system (McCue 2015). This new openness may put pressure on the federal government and the RCMP, however, the RCMP report could serve as means of enhancing their image and denying this problem's systemic characteristics and links to history. In fact, Harding argues that by "*unhinging* the present from the past in its coverage of contemporary aboriginal issues, the news media perpetuate damaging stereotypes of aboriginal people and create a supportive environment for state structures and practices" through which material and social inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are reproduced (Harding 2006: 206).

It has to be remembered that the values, beliefs, and attitudes of the readers of the RCMP report affect their interpretation of the text. As implied by Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, colonization has left a legacy of racism and sexism in Canada, which is why Indigenous people are still oppressed in many ways and seen as the 'other' (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton 2004). Loppie, Reading & de Leeuw, who have studied racism in Canada, claim that anti-Aboriginal racism in Canada is expressed through various means, such as stereotyping, stigmatization and violence, as well as through many of the structures of the Canadian society (Loppie, Reading & de Leeuw 2014: 2). They point out that the stereotypes are often associated with assumptions of the pervasiveness and cause of alcohol and drug addiction, unemployment, and violence, continuing that the media play a crucial role in the shaping of public perception through their decisions on what to report (*ibid*.). Contemporary representations are more accurate than in the past, however, they are still often corrupted (*ibid*.). Next, the situation is presented from the point of view of Indigenous women.

2.4 Inequality and Vulnerability of Indigenous Women in Canada

According to Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, who have studied the impact of racism, sexism, and colonialism on Indigenous women's health, sexism and racism were

created and reinforced through colonialism, both on and off reserve lands, "converging in diminishing power and resources available to Aboriginal women in Canada" (2004: 26). They state that the oppression of Indigenous women started from colonialism and the sexist notions of the Indian Act and process of "othering" imposed on Indigenous women between the years 1869 and 1985 through colonial legislation defining Indian identity (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton 2004: 24-25). In addition to colonialism, the "othering" includes sexism and racism, and "[w]omen who bare their 'otherness' in more than one way suffer from multiple oppressions, leaving them more vulnerable to assaults on their well-being" (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton 2004: 24). Linda Tuhiwau Smith states in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2002), that these three ways of "othering" describe, objectify, and represent Indigenous women in ways that has resulted in marginalization and destructive effects on gender relations in both the colonizing and Indigenous societies (Tuhiwai Smith in Bourassa, McKay-MacNabb & Hampton 2004: 24).

Maryanne Pearce has studied the issue of MMIW in her dissertation with focus on sex workers and the Canadian justice system. According to her, the general socio-economic status of Indigenous women has created crushing poverty, family dysfunction, and addiction on-reserve as well as in urban settings. Vulnerability and societal disinterest has placed Indigenous women at higher risk for all forms of violence (Pearce 2013: 1). Rauna Kuokkanen, who studies Indigenous issues and rights, summarizes that:

> The rampant levels of violence against indigenous women in Canada are created by social and economic marginalization, which in turn are consequences of colonialism such as dispossession of lands and livelihoods, abuse experienced in residential schools and assimilationist and racist policies seeking to erase identities and cultures. As a result, many women are being forced into dangerous or vulnerable situations such as extreme poverty, homelessness and prostitution (Kuokkanen 2008: 219-220).

She also suggests that since Indigenous women are the poorest and disenfranchised segment of society, in addition to sexual and physical violence, they face structural, political, and economic violence, all of which reproduce and reinforce one another (Kuokkanen 2008: 220). Moreover, Kuokkanen argues that globalization manifests itself in racialized and sexualized violence when it comes to Indigenous women (Kuokkanen 2008). Today's global economic order and the privatization and reduction of social services and health care has further exacerbated violence against Indigenous women,

and the masculinization of political, economic, and military power as well as the glorification of tough and aggressive masculinity is acted out, for example, as sexual violence (Kuokkanen 2008: 220). Kuokkanen suggests that Indigenous women worldwide are displaced from the communities and traditional livelihoods, which forces them to move to urban areas to again face the violent circumstances they have fled, and at times leaving them the only option of prostitution (*ibid*.). According to Brennan, in 2009, close to 67,000, or 13 percent of all Canadian Indigenous women self-reported being victims of violence in the previous 12 months, which is almost triple the amount reported by non-Indigenous women (Brennan 2011: 7).

Amnesty International summarizes the context of violence against Indigenous women in its 2004 report:

> For Indigenous women in Canada, violence often takes place in a context shaped, in the words of Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), by the power that the dominant society has wielded "over every aspect of their lives, from the way they are educated and the way they can earn a living to the way they are governed." (Amnesty International 2004: 8).

According to McIvor, Indigenous women are among Canada's poorest of the poor, forty-three percent of them living in poverty (McIvor 2004: 108). Amnesty International states that in 1996 census Indigenous women with status living off-reserve earned on average $5500 less than non-Indigenous (2004: 12). Unemployment rate for Indigenous women was twice as high as that of non-Indigenous in 2006 (Human Rights Watch report 2013:28). Poverty could be seen as one reason for lack of education and vice versa, for example MacMillan claims that poor housing creates a greater risk of fire and illness and inhibits children's academic performance (MacMillan 1995: 324). In addition, there are other problems with equality in education for Indigenous women. Erica Neeganagwedgin points out that, for example, many Indigenous women feel teachers hold negative views about them and Indigenous students are often placed in special education classes or programs, sending a negative image to peers (Neeganagwedgin 2011: 25), thus reinforcing stereotypical images and the idea of an out-group.

Gilchrist discusses the newsworthiness of Indigenous women victims, and points out that Indigenous women victims are also victims of biased journalism. These women are marginalized and presented as the 'other', suffer from lack of news coverage, are

positioned at the bottom of social hierarchy, are often presented in more unappealing way, seem more blameworthy for their situation, and are not as deserving to be rescued than the white women victims (Gilchrist 2010: 384-385). This racist indication of dismissal and unworthiness, then again, may encourage the offenders as it seems one can easily get away with a violent act against Indigenous women (Amnesty International 2014). This view is further enhanced through the at times questionable acts of Canadian justice system. For example in 2004, a former British Columbia court judge, David Ramsey, pleaded guilty to buying sex from and assaulting four young Indigenous girls (Amnesty International 2004: 14). The latest high-profile failure of the justice system was the case of Cindy Gladue, and Indigenous woman and sex worker who died in 2011 by bleeding to death due to an 11-centimeter injury to her vagina. In March 2015, the alleged offender was found not guilty to a first-degree murder and manslaughter. What shocked the public even more, was the fact that Gladue's preserved vagina was used as a concrete piece of evidence in the jury trial (Big Canoe 2015).

In addition to these struggles Indigenous women face outside of their own community, McIvor states that they strive to achieve the most basic incidents of citizenship within their own community, such equality in status, membership, "entitlement to share in matrimonial property, and participation in governance" (McIvor 2004: 108). In the past, according to the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), women were respected, valued, and honored as sacred human beings, their roles were defined as central since they were the keepers and transmitters of culture and knowledge systems, and they held influential positions of authority (NWAC 2007: 3). LaRocque states that the diminishing of this equal, honored and even politically powerful status of Indigenous women can be traced to progression of colonialism (LaRocque 1994: 73). McIvor summarizes Indigenous women's multidimensional battle for equality in that for them "sex equality is an all-encompassing struggle to establish their place as partners with men politically, economically, socially, spiritually, psychologically, and physically in their communities and in society" (McIvor 2004: 109).

Amnesty International claims that both indigenous and non-indigenous men have exploited this vulnerability of Indigenous women. The violent acts "may be motivated by racism, or may be carried out in the expectation that societal indifference to the

welfare and safety of indigenous women will allow the perpetrators to escape justice"
(Amnesty International 2004: 2). This issue is still one of Amnesty's top priorities in
Canada. They have a whole webpage called *No More Stolen Sisters* dedicated to this
issue and it summarizes the reasons behind the high rates of violence as follows:

- Racist and sexist stereotypes deny the dignity and worth of Indigenous women, encouraging
  some men to feel they can get away with violent acts of hatred against them.
- Decades of government policy have impoverished and broken apart Indigenous families and
  communities, leaving many Indigenous women and girls extremely vulnerable to exploitation
  and attack.
- Many police forces have failed to institute necessary measures – such as training, appropriate
  investigative protocols and accountability mechanisms – to eliminate bias in how they respond
  to the needs of Indigenous women and their families (Amnesty International Canada 2014).

This brings us to the stereotypes of Indigenous women, which could be seen as
influencing many aspects of their mistreatment. As they are a target of the analysis, they
are elaborated more in the next section.

2.5 Stereotypical Images of Canadian Indigenous Women

Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor has argued the following about misrecognition in
politics, which can also be applied to the way in which the RCMP picture these women
in its report and how it affects the Indigenous women and community in addition to the
non-Indigenous:

> [O]ur identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition
> of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if
> the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or
> contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm,
> can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode
> of being.
> Thus some feminist have argued that women in patriarchal societies have been induced
> to adopt a depreciatory image of themselves. They have internalized a picture of their
> own inferiority, so that even when some of the objective obstacles to their advancement
> fall away, they may be incapable of taking advantage of the new opportunities. And
> beyond this, they are condemned to suffer the pain of low self-esteem. ... Recently, a
> similar point has been made in relation to indigenous and colonized people in general. It
> is held that since 1492 Europeans have projected an image of such people as somehow
> inferior, "uncivilized" (Taylor 1994: 25-26).

LaRocque points out a similar view: "One of the many consequences of racism is that,
over time racial stereotypes and societal rejection may be internalized by the colonized
group. The internalization process is one of the most problematic legacies of long-term
colonization" and understanding the complex workings of this internalization process

could be the starting point of understanding the behavior of both the oppressed and oppressive (LaRocque 1994: 74).

Mills points out, that stereotypes change through time and are influenced for example by television, advertising, newspapers, and magazines and are damaging to both men and women since they consist of assumptions about us that often differ from our own perceptions of ourselves (Mills 2008: 127). The stereotypes are often authorized, "through being mediated by the media and thus they have an impact on us" since instead of being someone else's personal opinion, "they appear to be affirmed at an institutional level" (*ibid*.). This and LaRocque's example follow Fairclough's view of *naturalization*, meaning that when a "discourse type so dominates an institution that dominated types are more or less entirely suppressed or contained, then it will cease to be seen as arbitrary ... and will come to be seen as natural, and legitimate" (Fairclough 1989: 91). This naturalization is "the royal road to common sense" (Fairclough 1989: 92).

The stereotypes of Indigenous people are rooted deep in Canada. As Justice Murray Sinclair, the head of the residential schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission, claims, the consequences of the residential school system reach further than many think. He continues that it is not only an Indigenous issue but involves all Canadians, since at the same time when Indigenous Canadians were placed in the residential schools and told that they were inferior, pagans, heathens, and savages, that same message was given to non-Indigenous children in public schools. He argues that still today, school education about Indigenous history is wrong and does not contain accurate information (Kennedy 2015). According to Professor Anne Godlewska, who has surveyed first-year university students in 10 Ontario universities this fall, very educated people know very little about Indigenous people and the surveyed students know little more than what she was taught in the 1960s (CBC, Porter 12 Nov 2014). Also, Lakehead University student Kali Anevich states that she was taught little more than a fairytale about the First Nations in public school (*ibid*.). She thinks that real knowledge about history would make it easier for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to live and interact together and suggests that "[t]here are a lot of negative stereotypes, unfortunately, and if you're not informed about what happened, it's hard to break those stereotypes" (*ibid*.).

The representation of Indigenous women, in particular, has changed through time due to colonialization. These women used to be viewed as the powerful and authoritative figures in their communities, but according to Yasmin Jiwani, who has studied the symbolic and discursive violence in media representations of Indigenous missing and murdered women, this changed "when it became strategically necessary to discredit Aboriginal claims to land and nationhood, and to annihilate native identity and traditions either through law, genocide or assimilation" (Jiwani 2009: 3). Jiwani argues that now, Indigenous women who are missing or murdered are consistently referred to as 'drug-addicts', 'prostitutes', and 'alcoholics' in the media, especially in stories concerning violence perpetrated by white men, creating a referential context and an iconic image of these women as hopeless and helpless (Jiwani 2009: 8-9). The women are portrayed to be responsible for the violence they experience, in other words, this is a discursive strategy of victim-blaming (Jiwani 2009: 9).

The stereotypes of Indigenous women related to sexism and racism date back to colonialism. Native Women's Association of Canada claims that the stereotyping born from discrimination perpetuates systemic violence against Indigenous women and girls (NWAC 2007: 4). Maryanne Pierce discusses the stereotypes of indigenous women and compares the widespread European concept of Madonna/whore that defines women either untouchable and virginal or loose and immoral to two competing images about indigenous women that appeared after European contact: "the quiet, wise and untouchable Indian princess or the promiscuous and largely disposable *squaw*" (Pearce 2013: 67, *italics added*). Indigenous women were historically referred to as royalty and stereotyped as good if European interests could be furthered with a liaison, one famous example is Princess Pocahontas (Pearce 2013: 67-68). Also Gilchrist states that "The stereotype of Aboriginal women as a 'squaw' who is dirty, lazy, degraded, and easily sexually exploited has profoundly shaped the experiences of Aboriginal women since colonial contact" (Gilchrist 2010: 384).

Squaw is an extremely offensive term and according to LaRocque, it is the female counterpart to Indian male as violent 'savage' and means the women are debased and sexually loose (LaRocque 1994: 76). Also, it indicates double objectification of Indigenous women, both as Indian women and women (LaRocque 1994: 73). She points

out that racism strengthens the situation where Indigenous women are viewed and treated as sex objects and that racist/sexist stereotypes about Indigenous women have been perpetuated by a complex of white North American cultural myths in literature and popular culture. This dehumanizing portrayal as 'squaws' demonstrates the direct relationship between these racist/sexist stereotypes and violence, since it "renders all Aboriginal female persons vulnerable to physical, verbal and sexual violence" (LaRocque 1994: 73-74). She also suggests that in addition to the known white male violence towards Indigenous women, Indigenous men have "internalized white male devaluation of women" and that European invasion exacerbated the potential violence of the original cultures (LaRocque 1994: 74-76).

Indigenous stereotyping in general relates to ways of living, such as substance abuse and employment. Crystal Maslin studied stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples in Saskatchewan media from a sociological point of view in her MA thesis and suggests the following about one category of general characterization clearly relevant for my thesis as well:

> The ''Typical Indian'' characterization is used when the individual portrayed is shown as irresponsible or as an individual who makes matters more difficult. Often this character's problems are presented in a way that suggest that the problems are his/her own fault based on his/her own poor choices, often implying that these are truly individual problems as opposed to systemic problems linked to historical and political issues. The ''Typical Indian'' is characterized as a drain on public resources and as not contributing to the economy or society. Often this characterization is used with people who have problems with addiction or abuse of drugs and/or alcohol (Maslin 2002: 57, MA thesis).

This view is compatible with Stephen Harper and the Conservative government's stance that the missing and murdered Indigenous women are individual crimes rather than a sociological phenomenon. In their official response to the RCMP report, the Government of Canada point out only those figures that imply that the incidents happen inside the family and are often the result of an argument (Aguilar 2014) and this idea of blaming the Indigenous community was enhanced in 2015 by the new and controversial statistics of the perpetrators, as discussed earlier. In addition, many of the negative public opinions I have come across online view these incidents as the problems of the Indigenous Peoples that they have caused and should deal with themselves.

Amnesty International claims that inequality of men and women in relation to wealth, social status, and access to power can be an obstacle for women seeking protection of

their rights. What is more, the perpetrators as well as those administering the justice system "often hold the pervasive view that women are responsible for violence committed against them or that they deserve to be punished for non-conforming behaviour" (Amnesty International 2004: 7). The RCMP also present the vulnerability factors of the victims, such as use of intoxicants, employment status, illegal activities, and involvement in sex trade. They note that the idea is not to blame the victims but rather to point out that other than police efforts are needed to tackle this problem. What is left out, is all the women who do not fit into these stereotypes. Thus, this could be seen as victim-blaming and according to Jarrah Hodge, the Native Youth Sexual Health Network is specifically concerned with "the focus of the report on the women's seemingly individual "risk factors" (like alcohol/drug use and unemployment) rather than acknowledging any systemic issues like lack of access to safe transportation and the legacy of settler colonialism and racism" (Hodge 2014). Hodge is the founder and editor of a Canadian Weblog Award-winning online blog called *gender-focus.com* that tries to showcase news and opinion in relation to social inequality, stereotyping, and representations of marginalized groups from an anti-racist feminist perspective. She presents a critical view of RCMP's report in general and writes that it is "hard not feel frustrated with the limitations of the RCMP approach and the government response" and that "things only get more frustrating looking at the mainstream media coverage" which presents the findings of the report through victim-blaming (Hodge 2014).

These stereotypes and misrecognition as well as myths and ideologies can be reinforced by the media and what Althusser calls the Repressive or Ideological State Apparatuses, such as the State including the police (Althusser 1970), in the case of this thesis the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, to keep the balance of power as it best serves the exploiters, i.e. "the ruling class". This highlights the significance of this study.

2.6 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) in Canada

The issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women is a complex and multidimensional struggle of the Indigenous community and the whole Canadian society. The different problems faced by Indigenous women discussed in sections 2.4 and 2.5, provide some knowledge about the reasons behind this. This has been a

problem for decades and has been researched by different Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations or people with varying estimates of the number of victims, and the new numbers by the RCMP are still debatable. The issue has been discussed in the Canadian media from time to time, when shocking individual stories have reached the public attention. Recently, the issue has been strongly visible. More efficient actions have been demanded in different forms from the federal government, the most recent and prominent being the call for a national public inquiry and action plan.

Among others, the United Nations is concerned with this issue. One page of UN special rapporteur Anaya's report is dedicated to MMIW. He concludes that efforts such as the reports on the matter by the Native Women's Association of Canada; the federal government's seven-point plan including a mix of law enforcement and justice initiatives, funding for victims and families, and prevention and awareness programs; the RCMP's efforts through integrated projects, in addition to different provincial actions, are not enough (Anaya 2014: 11). Their possibly positive results have not yet abated continuing calls for greater and more effective action to address the MMIW issue. During his visit to Canada, he heard insistent calls for a comprehensive and nationwide inquiry that would consult the Indigenous Peoples, give victims' families a voice, "deepen understanding of the magnitude and systemic dimension of the issue, and identify best practices that could lead to an adequately coordinated response" (*ibid*.). In his conclusion, he proposes that the federal government should conduct this type of inquiry into this "disturbing phenomenon" (Anaya 2014: 21). Amnesty International states that "Indigenous women are going missing and being murdered at a much higher rate than other women in Canada—a rate so high it constitutes nothing less than a national **human rights crisis**" (Amnesty International Canada 2014, emphasis added). According to them, this issue needs "a concerted, national response that is comprehensive, coordinated, well resourced, and developed in collaboration with Indigenous women and girls themselves" and would include regular collection of data on violence against Indigenous women, a national action plan, and a public inquiry (*ibid*).

These are just two among many other organizations concerned about this issue locally and internationally. Many Indigenous organizations, such as Native Women's Association of Canada, Families of Sisters in Spirit, and Assembly of First Nations as well

as Non-Indigenous organizations, such as the Canadian Bar Association and Canadian Women's Foundation are supporting national inquiry into this matter. One take on the public opinion is provided by CBC's Power & Politics Ballot Box question on its *Inside Politics Blog* about whether there should be an inquiry into MMIW. It states that 94 percent of the voters (2,945) said "yes", 16 percent (161) "no", and 12 were "not sure" (Barton 2014). Angus Reid Institute poll suggests that majority of Canadians (80%) support the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's recommendation to conduct a national inquiry into MMIW (Angus Reid Institute 2015), which is a sign of a change. The general public opinion online seems to support the public inquiry.

Despite of these calls for a national action plan and inquiry, the Conservative-dominated all-party committee examining the issue of MMIW tabled its report in May and failed to recommend the government to launch an inquiry (Narine 2014c). Liberal MP Carolyn Bennett claims that this committee created by the Canadian Parliament was an excellent beginning but the report it produced was a betrayal of the memory of the victims and their families (Bennett 2014). Prime Minister Harper and the Conservative government do not see an inquiry as necessary, instead of yet another study, real action should be targeted towards the root causes (Do, CBC News 2014), which is one side of the public opinion as well. This view is supported by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CBC News, The Canadian Press Aug 2014). Laws, initiatives, and other measures have been brought in to fight this problem and with the police forces' enforced efforts they should be enough to tackle this problem that is on the government agenda within prevention of crime and violence towards women in general. Chelsea Vowel suggests that this either/or dichotomy when it comes to inquiry and action is problematic, instead people should be willing to engage in both (Vowel, CBC News 2014).

Harper has also supported the denial of an inquiry by stating that there are already circa 40 studies dealing with this issue and the RCMP is conducting a further study on its own (Do, CBC News 2014) and later referring to the report of the completed RCMP study in stating that these incidents of missing and murdered Indigenous women are individual crimes and they should not be viewed as a sociological phenomenon (CBC News Aug 2014). The RCMP report is used as means to legitimize the Conservative government's stance that no inquiry is needed. Harper has commented on the matter: "The RCMP has

said itself in its study, the vast majority of these cases are addressed, and they're solved through police investigations ... We'll leave it in their hands." (CBC News Aug 2014). This emphasizes the central role of the RCMP and the importance of their report.

Interestingly, according to the Human Rights Watch, the government stopped funding the NWAC's data initiative on MMIW in 2010, meaning that there were no comprehensive sex and race disaggregated data about the numbers of victims since then prior to the RCMP report (Human Rights Watch 2013: 26). Human Rights Watch states that the "government contends that the responsibility for continued data collection will be assumed by the National Centre for Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains run by the RCMP" (*ibid*.). This might be one reason for the RCMP to publish its report and provide statistics for the federal government to use according to their needs. An interesting addition is that Hedy Fry, Liberal Health Critic, claims that when she was chairing the Status of Women Committee, they actually looked at the root causes and spent 1.5 years touring Canada and meeting Indigenous women inside and outside reserve. However, they were not allowed to produce/finish their report under this government which took it out of the agenda. She accuses the government of cleansing previous reports and not wanting to find out the root causes of this issue (Do 2014b).

As has been pointed out during this whole Research Context section, several studies and reports about MMIW or violence against Indigenous women has been conducted by scholars, various organizations, and different governmental entities. However, many argue that these do not provide a wholesome picture of the issue which is why a national public inquiry would be needed, to include the voice of the Indigenous Peoples and support a dialogue. Even though the RCMP report is viewed as a possible alternative (by the government), it might not be thorough enough. Furthermore, it may have only been published to support those in power. On a more positive note, MMIW as an issue has raised awareness and triggered action amidst Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, therefore, it may work in favor of a better dialogue that includes the Indigenous voice.

2.7 The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Report on MMIW

In this section, the RCMP is shortly introduced and followed by a discussion on the goals of their National Operational Overview report as seen by the RCMP.

2.7.1 The RCMP

According to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police official website, the RCMP is "the Canadian national police service and an agency of the Ministry of Public Safety Canada". It is "unique in the world since it is a national, federal, provincial and municipal policing body", providing a "total federal policing service to all Canadians and policing services under contract to the three territories, eight provinces (except Ontario and Quebec), more than 150 municipalities, more than 600 Aboriginal communities and three international airports" (RCMP online: About the RCMP 2014).

The RCMP see serving Canadian Aboriginal (term used by the RCMP) communities as one of its strategic priorities, according to their own website. They state that RCMP has been a long-standing law enforcement partner of Aboriginal communities since the beginning of the Northwest Mounted Police in the 1870s and they carry on developing "a unique and important relationship with Aboriginal people living in Canada". The National Aboriginal Policing Services (NAPS) under the RCMP "is responsible for planning, developing and managing the organization's strategies and initiatives. NAPS works closely with Aboriginal groups to develop innovative policing approaches that meet their distinctive needs" (RCMP online: Serving Canada's Aboriginal People 2014).

The RCMP has a section of their website called *Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women,* where they state that all reported cases of missing and murdered persons within their jurisdiction are investigated, regardless of sex, ethnicity, lifestyle, or background (RCMP online: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women 2014). They note that there is need to "address the fact that Aboriginal women face considerably higher risks of violence and homicide" and state that they work with their "policing partners to directly address the issue of missing and murdered persons, including Aboriginal women" (*ibid*.). They are working in close collaboration with other law enforcement agencies, provincial and territorial governments, indigenous and other agencies as well as the public to address the health and safety of indigenous women (RCMP 2014).

2.7.2 The National Operation Overview on MMIW

In May 2014, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian national police force commissioned to the federal level, published this statistical report, a National

Operational Overview about the missing and murdered Indigenous women. The aim of the report, as stated in it, is to summarize the efforts of the RCMP initiated and led study of reported incidents of MMIW in late 2013, enhance police efforts nationwide by providing Canadian Police operational decision-making solid foundation, and take the first step towards understanding and solving this issue, as a component of a more global response (RCMP report 2014: 3, 18). By supplementing public data with information from law enforcement holdings from all Canadian police jurisdictions, the report brought into light shocking numbers that exceeded previous public estimates: 1,017 police-recorded Indigenous female homicides and 164 unresolved missing Indigenous females between 1980 and 2012. In the report, the RCMP also point out that their total figures differ from existing research and may include mistakes for many reasons (RCMP report 2014: 4), thus enabling argumentation on the numbers.

Sgt. Julie Gagnon, RCMP spokeswoman, stated prior to the release of the RCMP report that they are currently completing a national operation overview in order "to gain the most accurate account to date of missing and murdered aboriginal women in Canada". She continued that "this initiative will help the RCMP and its partners identify the risk and vulnerability factors associated with" MMIW and guide them in the development of "future prevention, intervention and enforcement policies and initiatives with the intent of reducing violence against aboriginal women and girls" (CBC News, The Canadian Press 2014). According to Do, the RCMP have stated that "This research has done more than just provide numbers. It has identified key vulnerability factors for the victims as well as information on the perpetrators" (Do 2014). These statements highlight the need to analyze the report more closely.

In general, this report seems to have been taken well by the public and could be seen as an eye-opener for all Canadians. The report is widely referred to in the media and news channels, both as evidence supporting the need for a national public inquiry and as proof that there are enough studies on the issue. These aspects raise a question of how well the report in fact presents the situation, the characteristics or root causes of these crimes and victims in question and how does it influence the public opinion or even the Conservative government. The overall response seems to focus on the fact that the numbers in the report exceeds previous estimates and studies. NWAC was pleased with

the numbers that back up what they have been arguing for years and in their press release concerning the report, they stated that this report only reinforces their "position for a coordinated and compressive approach to ending violence perpetuated against Aboriginal girls and women in Canada" (Dumont-Smith 2014). The RCMP published an update of the report in late June 2015, focusing on their progress with the "next steps" mentioned in the first report and outlining their National Missing Person's Strategy (RCMP 2015). This update provides basis for further studies.

In conclusion, the RCMP present a certain image of the victims, the perpetrators, the circumstances of the incidents, and its own role to the Canadian public, the police force, government, and the Indigenous community. Therefore, the RCMP have great power to influence the ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of the general public and what is viewed as common sense. This report and the way the media presents it might also give the idea to the public that this issue is now taken care of by the RCMP, as suggested by Jarrah Hodge (2014). According to Hodge, The Native Youth Sexual Network has also "expressed their concern that the RCMP "is the system of colonialism" and that therefore they can't embody the prevention effort needed. The RCMP report does not address police violence against First Nations women; the only thing that really relates to their competency is their defence on the numbers of cases solved" (Hodge 2014). The RCMP report could in fact provide a possible excuse from deeper investigation of the MMIW issue. It is worth noting, that the RCMP is a federal policing body among others and an agency of the Ministry of Public Safety Canada (RCMP homepage 2015). When considering all this, it is evident that the RCMP report must be examined and perhaps even challenged.

3 Theoretical Framework

In this section, the theoretical framework is introduced. First the concept of discourse and the power relations in a society are presented. Then we move onto discuss how discrimination is manifested in discourse, from both racist and sexist perspectives, with focus on racism. Next, the more general introduction of Critical Discourse Analysis is provided. This is followed by the presentation of van Dijk's macroanalysis and Reisigl &

Wodak's discursive strategies (Discourse Historical Approach). Lastly, a short presentation of Multimodal Analysis in relation to the visual form of the RCMP report.

3.1 Discourse and the Power Relations in a Society

Discourse and society shape each other and CDA aims to study and show how this happens. Discourse can for example create, maintain, or challenge the power relations and ideologies in a society and be in turn influenced by them. Our choices when it comes to the use of language affect the way the world is represented and perceived, for example, the RCMP can have great power over the ideas and images that are viewed as 'common sense' by the majority of people about Indigenous women through their report. Therefore, the RCMP among other powerful entities, such as the government and media, may indirectly influence the way the women are treated, as well as the way the women perceive themselves. As Robin Lakoff states: "Language is powerful, language is power. Language is a change-creating force and therefore to be feared and used, if at all, with great care, not unlike fire. Change itself is frightening, as is that which creates it (especially in abstract and undetectable ways)" (Lakoff 1990: 13).

Discourse and language are the targets of Critical Discourse Analysis. Shortly, Fairclough describes discourse as "use of language seen as a form of social practice" (Fairclough 1995: 7) or language "as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements" (Fairclough 2003: 3). According to Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak's exhaustive description in *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1997):

> CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak in Wodak & Meyer 2009: 5-9).

As noted, discourse can produce or reproduce unequal power relations, in the case of this thesis, between women and men as well as ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities.

On a higher level, power relations in a society can be viewed through Michel Foucault's idea of *biopower,* introduced in his book about the history of sexuality, *La volonté du savoir*, published in 1976. As explained by Clare O'Farrell, it is

> a technology which appeared in the late eighteenth century for managing populations. It incorporates certain aspects of disciplinary power. If disciplinary power is about training the actions of bodies, biopower is about managing the births, deaths, reproduction and illnesses of a population (O'Farrell 2007).

Mark Kelly describes Foucault's biopolitics as "a technology of power that grew up on the basis of disciplinary power" (Kelly, Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy). Kelly explains that discipline controls individual bodies, whereas biopolitics is about controlling entire populations (*ibid*.). According to Ranibow and Rose, Foucault's idea of biopower has been developed surprisingly little. However, they see that it still has analytical utility and state that holocaust is clearly "one configuration that modern biopower can take" (Rabinow and Rose 2003: 3, 9). They claim that racism "allows power to sub-divide a population into subspecies known as races, to fragment it, and to allow a relationship in which the death of the other, of the inferior race, can be seen as something that will make life in general healthier and purer" (Rabinow and Rose 2003: 9). Biopower is inevitably present when it comes to race and racism, however, as argued by Robert Bernasconi, Foucault's notion of race is vague and focuses only on medicalizing racism, meaning that his "account of the holocaust in terms of biopower is incomplete" as well as that of colonization (Bernasconi 2010: 205-207). Bernasconi argues that racism has had different forms from medicalizing racism opposing race mixing to racism related to slavery and essentializing racism that was created to defend it (Bernasconi 2010: 214).

Although the notion of biopower is not that clear when considered from the point of view of racism, it could be seen as an aspect in the MMIW crisis. Indigenous people as a population have been and still are controlled and exploited, and the residential school era is referred to as genocide by many, for example Pam Palmater (2011) and Lindsey Kingston (2015). Many members of the Indigenous community refer to the current

situation as a form of genocide, which is visible in the media coverage of the MMIW issue as well (for example, Huntley 2015). Also Kingston suggests, that "[d]espite its ambiguous legal status, cultural genocide is increasingly being adopted as way of conceptualizing the indigenous experience and as a tool for human rights advocacy" and presents the situation of the Canadian Inuit as an example (Kingston 2015: 67, 72). She also points out the fact that the reason for elimination of indigenous nations has primarily been territoriality instead of race (Kingston 2015: 68), which is evident in the Canadian context, as Indigenous Peoples are eagerly protecting their territories and land, as well as air and water in general.

When thinking about the power of discourse in practice, one well known example is the western media's mainly negative, one-sided, and narrow portrayal of Islam and Muslims that, according to Dr Mohamad Elmasry, may work as potential causal factor in anti-Muslim sentiment and crime (Elmasry, *Aljazeera* 2015). Then again, in relation to the topic of this thesis, Kristen Gilchrist has studied the press coverage of the missing/murdered Indigenous women in comparison to missing/murdered white women. She states that Indigenous women received less press coverage and their depictions were more detached in tone and scarce in detail. She argues that the "simultaneous devaluation of Aboriginal womanhood and idealization of middle-class White womanhood contributes to broader systematic inequalities which re/produce racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism". She is also concerned with the relative invisibility of missing/murdered Indigenous women in press and their "symbolic annihilation from the Canadian social landscape" (Gilchrist 2010: 373). As demonstrated by these examples, the ideologies, stereotypes, and prejudices that are and have been created through discourse, play a central role in this battle field of power relations in a society. Next, they are discussed in more detail.

3.2 Discrimination in Thought and Talk

Ideologies are around us in all spheres of the society and closely linked to discrimination. Fairclough states that ideologies are, critically viewed, "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough 2003: 9). Wodak & Meyer

state that the core definition of ideology is "a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values". Although this definition has stayed the same in political science over time, its connotations have gone through many transformation and it is hard to free the concept as a belief system from negative connotations, such as in the cases of fascism, communism, and capitalism (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 8). Wodak & Meyer continue, that CDA is not interested in these ideologies that are evident in the surface of culture, rather it aims to unravel the more hidden and latent type of ideologies – everyday beliefs that often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies (*ibid*.). These "[d]ominant ideologies appear as 'neutral', holding on to assumptions that stay largely unchallenged. Organizations that strive for power will try to influence the ideology of a society to become closer to what they want it to be" (*ibid*.).

Moreover, Wodak & Mayer point out that when most people in a society think alike about certain matters and forget about alternative ideas, we arrive to Gramscian *hegemony* in relation to which van Dijk (1998) sees ideologies as 'worldviews' that constitute 'social cognition'. One example being the schema whites have about blacks (*ibid*.). Here we can also talk about *naturalization,* that came up already in the background section, meaning how the taken-for-granted 'background knowledge' subsumes 'naturalized' ideological representation, "i.e. ideological representations which come to be seen as non-ideological 'common sense'"(Fairclough 1995: 28). This is relevant for this thesis and the way the whites or the general public see the Indigenous community and in this particular case, the Indigenous women. This schema is produced and reproduced by the use of sexist or racist stereotypical images, and it is rarely challenged. In this section, the different aspects of discrimination are discussed from a theoretical perspective, first in relation to racism in discourse and secondly sexism.

3.2.1 Racism in Discourse

When discussing racism, the concepts of *race* is not straightforward. Today, race is no longer related to biological reality, it is a social construction, and from a linguistic perspective the term is relatively young (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 2). This term has been used as a legitimizing ideological tool to oppress and exploit certain groups of people and to deny them access to political, cultural, and material resources, as well as work,

housing, welfare services, and political rights (*ibid*.). All of these aspects have been applied to the Canadian Indigenous Peoples since colonialism. On the other hand, these oppressed groups have adopted the idea of 'race' and turned the concept around to construct an alternative and positive self-identity, even to use it as a basis for political resistance (*ibid*.). Again, this is relevant when talking about Canadian Indigenous women and Peoples in general. There seems to be a clear uprising or even a social movement in Canada that is visible in the media and social media, at least if ones look from the right places. It started with the Idle No More movement in 2012 and is growing stronger, with the younger generation getting involved and re-educating themselves. Signs of native pride can be found around social media. There are also demonstrations and marches for and against various issues related to Indigenous Peoples. On February 14th 2015, thousands took part in the annual Women's Memorial March across Canada, an event that was initiated in 1992 by First Nations women.

Racism is a difficult term to explain as well, since there is no commonly acknowledged definition of this stigmatizing headword and political 'fighting word', as pointed out by Reisigl & Wodak (2001: 5). Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak have studied the phenomenon of social discrimination, especially racism, antisemitism, and ethnicism, from a discourse-analytical point of view. They point out that many questions in relation to racism are still waiting for an answer. It is hard to state precisely what racism means, what forms of racism we face today, how these forms manifest themselves, or whether it is possible to distinguish racism from antisemitism, nationalism, ethnicism, and sexism (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 1). They continue that the starting point of a discourse-analytical approach to this complex phenomenon is to understand that racism, as an ideology and a social practice, manifests itself discursively (*ibid*.). Wodak adds that "the strategic use of many linguistic indicators to construct in- and out-groups is fundamental to political (and discriminatory) discourses in all kinds of settings (Wodak 2009: 318). Li Zong suggests that racism has two interrelated dimensions:

> structurally, it is manifested in political and economic arrangements and social practices that deny or exclude minority groups from equal access; and psychologically, it is expressed in exclusionary thinking and prejudicial attitudes that are influenced by racial beliefs and cognitive factors. Racist practice and thinking are dynamic and dialectic. Although **structural** arrangements and social practices determine attitude formation, the latter may in turn shape subsequent social practices (Zong 1994).

Zong continues that from the point of view of the victim, racism as an experience cannot be considered as resulting "from different dimensions of racism in isolation" (Zong 1994). This highlights the need to study racism on structural and institutional level in order to fight it on all levels of the society.

According to van Dijk, racism can be acted or pre-formulated by various elite groups even at the very top of the society, for example politicians can use racism to govern people with, for example, scare stories of ethnic minorities that "do not fail to either instill or confirm top-down, xenophobic, or anti-minority resentment among the white population at large" (van Dijk 1993: 3-4). Van Dijk points out that the top-down effects can be gruesome, from racial harassment to extreme violence and even killings. However, these shocking and violent forms of street racism do not define the everyday life of all minority group members but what is possibly "even more serious and insidious is the cumulative and structural effect of less violent forms of everyday racism" that all minority group members may encounter in all spheres of their everyday life (van Dijk 1993: 4-5). Van Dijk argues that the elites play a special role in the reproduction of racism in a society (van Dijk 2002: 148). This is not due to them being generally more racist, but to "their special access to, and control over, the most influential forms of public discourse, namely that of the mass media, politics, education, research, and the bureaucracies" (*ibid*.).

These elites cannot be identified in terms of material resources, such as wealth, that are the basis of power, nor in terms of societal positions of leadership, but rather in terms of the symbolic capital defined by symbolic resources, and most importantly their preferential access to public discourse (*ibid*.). This means that these groups of people as the ideological leaders of society have the "most to say" and the preferential "access to minds" of the general public, therefore establishing common values and aims, and formulating "common sense as well as the consensus, both as individuals and as leaders of the dominant institutions of society" (*ibid*.). He continues, that these "symbolic" elites have a special role in keeping "the dominant white group in power" through reproducing the system of racism (van Dijk 2002: 149). This really emphasizes the discursive power of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It can be seen as elite discourse, and as van Dijk

suggests, analyzing it "offers a particularly relevant perspective on the way racism is reproduced in society" (*ibid*.).

Van Dijk suggests that when it comes to racism:

> We will encounter stereotypical topics, conventional topoi, disclaimers that save face and hence manage impression formation; they engage in similar argumentative fallacies, make similar lexical selections when talking about Them, or use the same metaphors to emphasize some of their (bad) characteristics. All these different structures at different levels, and of different elite genres, contribute to the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. We have seen that precisely such structures may derive from and be geared towards the construction of similar mental structures, that is, negative attitudes and ideologies on minorities and immigration (van Dijk 2002: 157-158).

According to van Dijk, "talk about ethnic groups involves complex strategies and moves aiming at positive self-presentation within the overall goal of negative other-presentation. Especially when delicate topics are discussed, and when social norms are rather strict, face-saving is essential" (van Dijk 1987: 22). Therefore, "even the most racist opinions tends to be embedded" in moves that aim to hide that the speaker is racist (*ibid*.). Van Dijk names the concept of *reproduction* as one way racism can manifest itself. When white majority group members discuss ethnic out-groups, in addition to producing their own beliefs and attitudes, they *reproduce* shared ethnic opinions of their in-group, including stereotypes and prejudices, "information they have heard or read from some sources". These communicative reproduction processes are complex mixtures of personal, interpersonal, and more generally shared beliefs and opinions that often result in abstracted, generalized, and decontextualized meanings, beliefs, and opinions (van Dijk 1987: 23).

In the case of the Indigenous women and Peoples in Canada, many stereotypes, beliefs, and opinions have been created in the past and are reproduced by the media, government, and general public. As mentioned in 2.5, LaRocque claims that racism strengthens the situation where Indigenous women are viewed and treated as sex objects and that these racist and sexist stereotypes have been perpetuated by a complex of white North American cultural myths in literature and popular culture. In fact, van Dijk claims that on the basis of analyses of blacks, immigrants, foreigners or minority groups in literature, mass media, film, and education materials, the

general finding is that this representation or portrayal is biased: Ethnic minority group members (or women, or other dominated groups), are shown in stereotypical roles and situations, with prevailing negative evaluations. They are portrayed in passive roles, except when attributed negative actions, such as crime, riots, or many forms of deviance. In this respect, public discourse both models and persuasively communicates the position of minority groups in society (van Dijk 1987: 40).

For example, Crystal Maslin's depiction (presented in 2.5) of the "Typical Indian", who is irresponsible, unemployed, a drain to public resources, and often struggling with substance abuse, is a highly biased representation. The problems are framed as the person's own fault, often implying that these are truly individual problems as opposed to systemic problems linked to historical and political issues – a clear example of the maintenance of unbalanced power relations in a society through the representation and positioning of a group of people. These aspects are visible in the RCMP report alongside with highly positive self-presentation. Moreover, in its official response to the report, the Government of Canada chooses to state those figures that best help to maintain the image of this issue being more of a problem/fault of the Indigenous community itself and consisting of merely individual problems. Reproductive actions like these on different levels help to keep prejudiced thoughts alive.

In order to understand the social and historical structure and dynamics of racist (nationalist, ethnicist, sexist) prejudices, discourse analysts need to relate the discriminatory linguistic features to historical and political contexts of the analyzed 'discursive events' (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 1). In the case of this thesis, it is important to explore the historical context dating back to colonialism as well as to consider the socio-political tension around MMIW and Canadian Indigenous Peoples in general at the moment. Hence, the multidimensional and thorough background section in this thesis. Reisigl & Wodak add that discourse also serves to criticize, delegitimize, and argue against racist opinions and practices, in order to pursue anti-racist strategies, which is one aim of this thesis.

3.2.2 Sexism in Discourse

When the focus of this study is on discourse about murdered and missing Indigenous women, *sexism* should be a natural component of the analysis since, as stated by Mills, it is associated with expressing discriminatory opinions that signal to the hearer that

women are inferior to men (Mills 2008: 11). However, while conducting the analysis, it became evident that sexist language is not clearly present in the data, there is merely a general feel of sexism since it is so clearly tied to the context of the data. According to Mills, when analyzing (overt or direct) sexist discourse, the researcher focuses on linguistic markers, such as pronouns, word endings, nouns, insult terms, given names, names of personal body parts, and so on (Mills 2008: 10-11), features that are not present in the data of this thesis. However, the term sexism is also "used to categorise a set of stereotypical beliefs about women which cannot be directly related to a certain set of linguistic usages or features" (Mills 2008: 10). In practice this shows in sexist discourse that cannot be linguistically categorized as sexist, resulting in the fact that one needs to analyze both linguistic and non-linguistic elements to unravel the possible indirect sexism. Mills also points out that there is "less overt sexism in the public face of organisations, for example in mission statements and general documentation intended for consumption by the general public" (Mills 2008: 133), in the case of this thesis, the RCMP report is a great example.

Cameron also argues that gender hierarchy need not necessarily show up in surface features of discourse, but as something the participants of the conversation may, or may not treat as relevant to the way they interpret utterances (Cameron 1998: 452). When assumptions of gender and power are relevant, they also take a context-specific form that is connected to local forms of social relations and despite of being well-founded in structural political terms, "global assumptions of male dominance and female subordination are too vague to generate specific inferences in particular contexts, and thus insufficient for the purposes of discourse analysis" (*ibid*.). This means, that when claiming that power is at work in a certain interaction, one needs to show what particular gender and power assumptions are at work for the participants when they choose certain interpretations (*ibid*.). When it comes to the RCMP report, the assumptions of male dominance or female subordination are mainly insufficient for the purposes of discourse analysis, since RCMP are clearly aiming at being neutral in its reporting of the situation and to a great extent succeeds in its goals, especially in relation to sexism.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This sections presents the main points of Critical Discourse Analysis, from its background to its main features in relation to this study.

3.3.1 Critical Analysis

As mentioned above, Critical Discourse Analysis looks at how discourse and society influence each other, and how abusive power relations between different groups of people or individuals are produced and reproduced through the use of language. Jan Blommaert suggests that CDA should not react against power alone, rather it should analyze the *effects* of power, the outcome of power, of what power *does* to people, groups, and societies, and *how* this impact comes about (Blommaert 2005: 1-2). He continues that the "deepest effect of power everywhere is *inequality*, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes" (Blommaert 2005: 2). Therefore, an "analysis of such effects is also an analysis of the conditions for power – of what it takes to organise power regimes in societies" (*ibid*.). According to Blommaert, in the present world system, that of so called globalization, CDA "needs to provide insights in the dynamics of societies-in-the-world" (*ibid*.).

On a more specific level, according to Fairclough, discourse analysis looks at how texts work within sociocultural practice and in his opinion such analysis should focus on:

> textual form, structure and organization at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical (vocabulary) and higher levels of textual organization in terms of exchange systems (the distribution of speaking turns), structures of argumentation, and generic (activity type) structures. A working assumption is that any level of organization may be relevant to critical and ideological analysis (Fairclough 1995: 7).

Fairclough has in fact established a three-dimensional framework for CDA, including text, discourse, and sociocultural practice, in which the analysis of discourse practice "involves attention to processes of text production, distribution and consumption". He also thinks that this framework encapsulates what he sees as an important principle in for critical discourse analysis; "that analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discoursal practices within which texts are embedded". It has to be taken into consideration that there are diverse ways in which people respond to or interpret texts (Fairclough 1995: 9). He also argues, that textual analysis has to

include both the analysis of the content and the analysis of form, since "different contents entail different forms and vice versa" (Fairclough 1995: 188). "Texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction. A multifunctional view of text is therefore essential" (Fairclough 1995: 6). In addition, Fairclough claims that in textual analysis, it is as important to look at what is 'in' the text as it is to look at what is left out (Fairclough 1995: 5).

3.3.2 Background and Features of CDA

According to Wodak & Meyer, CDA emerged in the early 1990s, following a small symposium held in Amsterdam, in January 1991 (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 3). Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak spent two days together discussing the theories and methods of Discourse Analysis, specifically CDA. This is when different approaches of CDA were confronted and "in this process of group formation, differences and sameness were laid out". These different approaches have changed significantly since, but many are still relevant (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 3), which is supported by the fact that all of these scholars have provided valuable sources for this thesis. In general, CDA is problem-oriented and characterized by "common interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data" (*ibid.*). Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as terms are often used interchangeably, but recently the term CDA has been preferred and used to denote the theory that was formerly known as CL, according to Wodak & Mayer (2009: 1). They continue that the "manifold roots of CDA lie in Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics" (*ibid.*). Today, some scholars prefer using the term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). For example Teun van Dijk has provided us with a broad overview of (C)DS as a field that shows how new, closely related disciplines have emerged in the humanities and social sciences (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 2).

Despite their different disciplinary backgrounds and varying methods and objects of research, some parts of these new "fields/paradigms/linguistic sub-disciplines of

semiotics, pragmatics psycho- and sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, conversation analysis and discourse studies all deal with discourse and have at least seven dimensions in common" (*ibid.*):

- interest in the properties 'naturally occurring' language use by real language users
- focus on larger units than isolated words and sentences
- extending linguistics beyond sentence grammar towards studying action and interaction
- extending the analysis to non-verbal, i.e. semiotic, multimodal, and visual aspects of interaction and communication
- focus on dynamic interactional or (socio)-cognitive moves and strategies
- studying the functions of social, cultural, situative, and cognitive contexts of language use
- analyzing a vast number of phenomena of text, grammar, and language use, such as coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, argumentation, and rhetoric among many other aspects of text and discourse (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 2).

What separates CDA from CDS, is the "*constituent problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach*" of CDA, apart from endorsing all of the points above. "*CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach* (*ibid.*).

As Brian Poolan points out, CDA divides opinions and there is great controversy over the field (Poolan 2010: 138). Some academics, such as Widdowson (2004), O'Halloran (2003), and Stubbs (1997), "have raised fundamental questions about CDA's epistemological and ontological foundations, and about its methods of textual description and analysis" (*ibid.*). However, CDA has managed to establish solid academic foundations, such as numerous academic journals (*ibid.*). As summarized by the University of Strathclyde online, due to different opinions on textual interpretation, it is argued that "Critical Discourse Analysts create intellectual and interpretive hegemony that is as oppressive as the one they are seeking to challenge" (University of Strathclyde online), which is counter-argued by Fairclough (1996) who denies free and neutral

interpretation. As pointed out by University of Strathclyde, analysts need to critically examine their data, in order to not arrive in pre-determined ideological interpretations (University of Strathclyde online). Wodak & Meyer point out that studies in CDA are multifarious with different theoretical backgrounds and it is oriented towards different methodologies and data. Definitions of terms are manifold, thus criticism towards CDA should always be assigned to specific researchers (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 5). It is a heterogeneous 'school' that allows for continuous debates (*ibid*).

The criticism that CDA is generally and explicitly political and partial is also presented by University of Strathclyde, with the answer that: "Indeed CDA advocates are not embarrassed by charges of partiality – they revel in it!" (University of Strathclyde online). CDA provides a great tool for constructive societal criticism, hence it is naturally political. It would be rather difficult to conduct a meaningful, interesting, and possibly influential Critical Discourse Analysis without having an opinion on the topic of the study and being partial to some extent. However, it is important to explore the topic from different angles in order to avoid pre-determined interpretations, as has been my goal in this thesis. As is evident, I hold strong opinions in relation to the topic of my study and feel that these women as well as Indigenous Peoples in general deserve more academic visibility and justice. However, differing opinions in relation to the topic have been presented. This together with a clear context and supportive theoretical framework should allow the reader to form his or her own opinion and interpretation.

3.4 Global Meanings of Discourse and Cognition

The following quote crystalizes the main idea of this section and the methods of this thesis in general:

> [T]he meaning of texts cannot be adequately described at the local level of sentences and sentence connections alone but that textual meaning should also be specified at more *global* levels (van Dijk 1980: 40).

According to van Dijk, at several levels of analysis, it makes sense to distinguish between *microstructure* and *macrostructure* of discourse, meaning *local* and *global* structures (van Dijk 1987: 37). Local structures of discourse are related to the usual grammatical levels, such as words, phrases, and immediate sentence connections, and global structures then again to meanings of larger discourse segments, or global (speech) acts

(*ibid*.). "That is, we deal with sequences of sentences, propositions, (speech) acts, turns, or moves, and these may exhibit specific forms of organization" (*ibid*.). He continues, that some of the special notions introduced in discourse analysis, such as topics and themes, "cannot be explained without such global units, categories, or representations, both in structural terms and in cognitive and social analysis", making it obvious that local and global structures are closely related (van Dijk 1987: 38). This is why, my goal is to first analyze the topics and themes, i.e. the global structures, of the RCMP report, in order to get pass the jargon and seemingly neutral presentation of the matter, and then look at the discursive practices used to create the ideas, attitudes, and portrayal of the issue and its participants. In this section, the macrostructures and macrorules by van Dijk are presented in more detail. Then in the next section, I move on to discuss the Discourse Historical Approach and its discursive strategies.

3.4.1 Macrostructures: Topics & Themes

Van Dijk states that he often advocates beginning of Critical Analysis with an analysis of semantic macrostructures, meaning a study of global meanings, topics or themes – what discourses are (globally) about (van Dijk 2009: 68). These macrostructures are

> mostly intentional and consciously controlled by the speaker; they embody the (subjectively) most important information of a discourse, express the overall 'content' of mental models of events ... and perhaps most importantly, they represent the meaning or information most readers will memorize best of discourse. Discursively, topics or themes are characteristically expressed in titles, abstracts, summaries and announcements (van Dijk 2009: 68).

This summarizes the macrostructures well and points out the importance of their analysis in the case of the RCMP report. Macrostructures represent the information the reader will most likely memorize and therefore, in the case of this thesis, they could influence the reader's thoughts about the issue of the missing and murdered Indigenous women.

If someone tells a story and jumps from one topic to another without any orientation or connection except for linear, we often get confused or question the speaker (van Dijk 1980: 40). For example, when reading a news article, one can often detect the text moving coherently from one topic or a theme to another, in van Dijk's words, keeping it "globally coherent" (1980: 41). Often, the interpretation of discourse sequences is

"relative to the interpretation of other, mostly previous, sentences of discourse" and these sequences satisfying the constraints of relative interpretation are *linearly* coherent (van Dijk 1977: 5). Two propositions can be seen as pairwise connected if the facts they donate are related and this can be made even more explicit through the use of "possible, probable, or necessary conditions, components, or consequences" with connections, such as *and*, *because*, and *yet* (*ibid*.). However, the sequences of propositions can be coherent on the more global level as well.

These *topics of discourse* that tie together the moving parts of a text or discourse on a higher level must be, according to van Dijk, "property of the global meaning or global reference of the fragment and hence be made explicit in terms of *semantic* structures" and these structures van Dijk calls the *macrostructures* (van Dijk 1980: 41). In the case of the RCMP report, these topics/macrostructures can, for example, be about the typical characteristics or activities of the Canadian Indigenous women or People in general that are perceived as facts that are "conventionally or stereotypically associated, via our world knowledge with the global episode" (van Dijk 1980: 44). In addition, van Dijk claims that "discriminatory interaction against minority group members or biased discourse about them" may include global discourse meanings (topics) that select or emphasize positive topics, such as aid and tolerance for Us, and negative ones, such as crime, deviance, or violence for Them (van Dijk 2002: 147). These topical aspects are examined in the analysis together with the discursive strategies. Here is an example of a positive topic:

- $M_2$25: This report marks the beginning of the next phase of the RCMP's effort as a component of a more global response to the challenge of the murdered and missing Aboriginal women and includes... (M104-M119)

Usually, when detecting macrostructures, the relevant propositions have something in common, relate to the topical or thematical sentence of the segment, summarize a more global meaning, the facts can be conventionally or stereotypically associated, or they can instantiate a global topic, meaning that the topical macroproposition is a *generalization* where individuals are grouped into a collective argument (van Dijk 1980: 41-46). When detecting relevant information, one must rule out the irrelevant. Van Dijk describes, that

the notion of local or global relevance is linked with the notion of *relative interpretation* and with that of *conditionality*: Irrelevant details are those details which do not determine the interpretation of other sentences and which denote facts which are no normal or plausible condition, component, or consequence of the other facts described or the global fact of the passage as a whole (van Dijk 1980: 45).

This is where we need "more general rules that link textual propositions with the macropositions used to define the global topic of a fragment" (van Dijk 1980: 46). These semantic *derivation* or *inference* rules derive macrostructures from microstructures and can be, for example, *constructive*, *reductive*, or *organizational* in nature (*ibid*.). The semantic rules with these properties linking text bases, or fragments of these, with macropositions are *macrorules*. These are described in more detail in the next section.

3.4.2 van Dijk's Macrorules

These mapping rules are needed, in order to "obtain the macro-structure from the micro-structure of the discourse, in other words, rules to transform one proposition sequence into another 'at another level' of description" (van Dijk 1977: 8). This semantic transformation is called a macro-rule (*ibid*.). As mentioned, the macrorules can be constructive, reductive, and organizational in nature. It has to be kept in mind, that there are several layers of description of any event, therefore, macrorules must be recursive: "they can be applied to organize global meanings into still higher-level global meaning" (van Dijk 1977: 9). This means, that "the notion of macro-structure is relative to an underlying level of propositional representation", which can be another macrostructure with still more specific levels of representation (*ibid*.). Next, the different types of macrorules are elaborated.

Types of Macrorules

Typically, a macrostructure is more general than its corresponding microstructure (van Dijk 1977: 9). It makes sense then, that the first macrorule to be presented is that of **GENERALIZATION**. This is when we "abstract from semantic detail in the respective sentence by constructing a proposition that is conceptually more general" (van Dijk 1980: 47). Van Dijk illustrates this by an example: if somebody tells us he has a cat, a dog, and a parakeet, this same state of affairs may be described with a more general statement that he has (three) pets (van Dijk 1977: 9). According to van Dijk, this rule can be applied to both individual propositions and sequences of propositions, as in the three

conjoined propositions of the last example. Generalization applies to both nouns and verbs in discourse, since it holds for predicates in general. As an example, I may take a train to Paris and my friend may take a plane, but we are both going to Paris (*ibid*.). In these two examples, the kind of pet or transport become irrelevant at the macro-level, therefore they can be replaced by the superordinate (*ibid*.). In other words, the respective individual participants can be *grouped* and the predicates subsumed under a common denominator (van Dijk 1980: 47). The examples from the data are rather long, here is a shorter one:

- **Fact 94**: Between 1980 and 2012, there were 20,313 homicides across Canada, which averaged approximately 615 per year. **Fact 95:** Females represented 32% of homicide victims (6,551 victims) across all police jurisdictions between 1980 and 2012. **Fact 96**: Every province and territory was implicated.
- ➔ **M45:** Between 1980 and 2012, there were 20,313 homicides across all police jurisdictions in Canada of which females represented 32% .

In conclusion, generalization is based on the deletion of certain essential properties that become irrelevant at some macro-level, "such that a whole set of discourse referents may be denoted by their common superset" (*ibid*.). However, van Dijk points out that while macrorules must generalize and abstract, the level of abstraction must be restricted to some extent. Since we want macrorules "to yield specific information and not too general (and hence, uninformative) concepts … the rule must select the immediate or smallest superconcept" (*ibid*.).

Another constraint is that when applying macrorules, there must be an upper bound (van Dijk 1977: 9). According to van Dijk, this means that when a certain level of abstraction is acquired, the macrorules should no longer be applied. He presents this constraint simply: "the application of macro-rules makes sense only if the reduced information is propositional" (van Dijk 1977: 9-10). Therefore, the macrorules can be applied only on sequences of two or more propositions and when a proposition cannot be reduced, it must itself become a part of the macrostructure (van Dijk 1977: 10). This happens when the macro-propositions are expressed in the discourse itself (*ibid*.). Van Dijk names this non-application of a macro-rule as an application of a **ZERO**-rule (*ibid*.). For example:

- **Fact 100:** The finding of over-representation is consistent with other research conducted in Canada on homicides of Aboriginal peoples. ➔ **M48**

The next rule is that of **DELETION**. Whereas generalization abstracts, deletion deletes full propositions from a given text base. According to van Dijk, the precise conditions for application of this rule are difficult to formulate (van Dijk 1977: 11). To put it simply, this rule "deletes all those propositions of the text base which are not relevant for the interpretation of other propositions of the discourse and which do not denote facts which may be subsumed as normal properties of a more global fact" (van Dijk 1980: 47). For example, we can describe a situation in which Mary is playing with a blue ball and brakes a window with the ball, the fact that the ball is blue is normally irrelevant and can therefore be deleted without interfering with how we understand the rest of the discourse (van Dijk 1977: 11). Also, a proposition that determines the interpretation of a proposition which itself is deleted or substituted, is indirectly irrelevant (*ibid*.). However, these conditions are not sufficient, it must be noted that a "proposition should not be deleted if it denotes a consequence of an event denoted by a macro-propositions" (*ibid*.). In summary, deletion rule is essential for the reduction of information and is relevant in all the cases in which the other rules cannot be applied (*ibid*.). Generalization and deletion are similar in the sense that the information abstracted cannot be retrieved (*ibid*.). For example

- **Fact 160:** "Motive refers to the offender's purpose in killing the victim" was deleted as irrelevant.

The next rule is **CONSTRUCTION**, in which propositions are 'taken together' "by substituting them, as a joint sequence, by a proposition that denotes a global fact of which the micropropositions denote *normal components*, *conditions*, or *consequences*" (van Dijk 1980: 48). The macroproposition is defined by the joint sequence of propositions and denotes a more or less stereotypical sequence of events, "an episode of which it is conventionally known what properties and facts are usually associated with it" (*ibid*.). In the construction rule, "a *new* proposition must be constructed, involving a new predicate to denote the complex event described by the respective propositions of the text" (*ibid*.). However, at this point our knowledge of the world, meaning our frames, must be taken into consideration, since they determine what is perceived as normal in

a given culture and situation (van Dijk 1977: 13), hence the knowledge of the context of the research is crucial. According to van Dijk, this is the most characteristic of the macrorules (van Dijk 1977: 14). For example:

- **Fact 291**: First, because the primary purpose for collecting this type of information in a police record is specifically to help identify an individual — whether as a potential victim, witness, person of interest or suspect — this can lend itself to a "perception-based" assessment by police. **Fact 292**: In other words, it can correspond to how a police officer defines how an individual looks in terms of complexion and/or ancestry. **Fact 293**: Asking a police officer to judge a person's race based on his or her perception is difficult and can yield incomplete and inaccurate results. **Fact 294**: What a person looks like does not always reflect how s/he would self-identify.
- ➔ **M135**: Police officers have difficulties in identifying persons of Aboriginal origin based on perception.

This is one of the clearest examples from the data, since this was not a prominent rule in the analysis.

According to van Dijk, macrostructures should apply to all possible discourse types (van Dijk 1980: 51). Yet, he claims that macrostructure is an abstract semantic notion, meaning that in *actual* discourses, such as everyday conversations or poems, it might be that there is no or merely a fragment of a macrostructure (*ibid*.). "The empirical claim is just that in general, and conventionally, discourses are globally coherent" (*ibid*.). He points out, that the rules need to be studied in different kind of discourses in order to see whether they operate in a different way and learn whether they are sufficiently general (*ibid*.). For example, in the case of the RCMP report, the construction rule did not appear to be the most common one nor prominent, whereas generalization and zero rule we common. More about this in the analysis. Next, the discursive strategies that are the main focus of the analysis, are introduced.

3.5 Analyzing Discriminatory Discourse

In this section, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is introduced in relation to the analysis of discriminatory discourse. First, the approach is discussed on a more general level and then the five discursive strategies by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) used to analyze the RCMP report are presented in more detail.

3.5.1 Discourse Historical Approach

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is one of the many theoretical and methodological approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis. In short, DHA "attempts to transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include, more or less systematically, the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 35). According to Wodak, it focuses on multiple genres, large data corpora as well as argumentative, rhetorical, and pragmatic interdisciplinary analysis, "while integrating multiple layers of socio-political and historical contexts in order to theorize dimensions of social change and identity politics" (Wodak 2009: 311). Therefore, DHA differs from the socio-cognitive approach of van Dijk (focusing on, for example, the reproduction of racism) and dialectical-rational approach of Fairclough (*ibid*.). Wodak distinguishes text from discourse, in the sense that texts belong to genres and are specific realizations of discourse, whereas discourse "implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures" (Wodak 2009: 318).

According to Wodak, there are three concepts that figure indispensably in the DHA and in all CDA: "the concepts of *critique*, of *power*, and of *ideology*" (Wodak 2009: 312). DHA is in line with the socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory and follows a conception of social critique that "analytically embraces three interconnected aspects:

> (1) *Text* or *discourse immanent* critique aims to discover inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the structures internal to the text or discourse.
>
> (2) *Socio-diagnostic critique* is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – (possibly persuasive or "manipulative") character of discursive practices. Here, the analyst makes use of her or his background and contextual knowledge and embeds the discursive event in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances. On this level, we also draw on social theories to interpret the discursive events. This indicates that the DHA is inherently interdisciplinary. ...
>
> (3) *Prognostic critique*: This form of critique contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication (for example, by developing guidelines against sexist language behaviour or in order to reduce language barriers in hospitals, schools, and so forth) (Wodak 2009: 312).

In the case of this thesis, we focus on the *socio-diagnostic critique* in order to interpret the RCMP report and to demystify its possibly persuasive or manipulative character. Prognostic critique is also present in the sense that this thesis could contribute to the RCMP's improvement of communication.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) have established a three-dimensional approach to analysis of discrimination. First, it establishes the "*contents* and *topics* of a specific discourse with racist, antisemitic, nationalist or ethnicist ingredients", secondly, the *discursive strategies* are studied, and finally the *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) of discriminatory stereotypes are investigated (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 44). When considering the data of this thesis, the socio-cognitive approach by van Dijk and DHA can be combined in order to explore the representation of the Indigenous women and the MMIW issue more thoroughly and tie it in a larger socio-historical context. This can be done by first revealing the contents and topics/themes of the RCMP report (macro level) and second, exploring these findings on a more specific level and analyzing the discursive strategies used to portray the victims and perpetrators as well as the RCMP itself. In the scope of this thesis, the linguistic means and realizations (third dimension) cannot be studied, leaving room for further studies.

Bandar Al-Hejin has studied the representation of Muslim women in the media by combining socio-cognitive, discourse-historical, and socio-semantic approaches to critical discourse studies by using corpus-based quantitative findings as a basis for more qualitative analysis. He suggest that a "theory of discourse that supplements textual, discursive and social contexts with a cognitive component" is better equipped to account for individual variability (Al-Hejin 2015: 23) when analyzing discrimination in media discourse. He claims that CDA has traditionally explored the crucial component of micro-level analysis, the language itself, through functional grammar (Al-Hejin 2015: 22). He criticizes that this view, indebted to Halliday (1978), prefers to employ one lexico-grammatical pattern over others, "even if they are seemingly synonymous", and "does not merely result from formal constraints but reflects a text producer's (un)conscious motivation to convey a particular meaning or perform a particular function" (*ibid*.). He claims that a potential problem with categorizations such as those of transitivity, is according to Van Leeuwen (1996) that "there is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories" (Van Leeuwen in Al-Hejin 2015: 23).

In the data of this thesis, it would be difficult to come to any conclusion about its discriminatory nature through the use of categorizations such transitivity, therefore, a

more complex analysis is needed. According to Al-Hejin, Van Leeuwen's "detailed network for the representation of social actors based in sociosemantic categorization with a range of linguistic realization for each" and its categories such as *classification* and *identification* have influenced the discursive strategies by Reisigl & Wodak (2001) in their DHA approach to CDA. Reisigl and Wodak do in fact refer to Van Leeuwen's work and have, for example, borrowed several referential strategies from his work (Reisigl & Wodal 2001: 46). Next, the discursive strategies are introduced in more detail.

3.5.2 Positive Self and Negative Other: Discursive Strategies

When studying discrimination through discourse, many aspects need to be taken into consideration. The presentation of the discursive elements and strategies which, in Reisigl & Wodak's discourse-analytical view, deserve special attention when analyzing racist, antisemitic, and ethnicist discrimination through language, is oriented to five simple questions:

> • How are persons named and referred to linguistically? (*referential strategies*).
>
> • What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? (*predicational strategies*).
>
> • By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimate the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others? (*argumentation strategies,* including *fallacies*).
>
> • From what perspective or point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed? (*perspectivation* and *framing strategies*).
>
> • Are the respective discriminating utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated? (*mitigation* and *intensification strategies*)
> (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: xiii).

As I study racist and sexist discrimination, these discursive elements are used in the analysis of the data.

The next table illustrates the strategies more clearly, they are adapted from Baker et al. 2008: 282 but needed to be slightly redefined. I added my own examples and illustrated additional types of application of strategies, since due to the reporting of statistics and mostly neutral nature of the data compared to other genres, for example news discourse with often more overt discrimination, these strategies have to be altered to some extent to fit the purposes of this thesis.

Strategies	Objective	Devices	Examples
Referential/ Nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorization. Biological naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies. Synecdoches.	**From Baker et al.:** -pitiful convoy... -an army of 110,000... -Iraqi refugees... **→this type of overt reference strategy types not in the data, reference rather implied between the lines, for example:** **M100:** Another vulnerability factor that is more prevalent in the cases of murdered Aboriginal females is the consumption of drugs, alcohol or other intoxicants by the victim prior to the incident. (somatization: "drunk", "drug addict")
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily, or appreciatively	Stereotypical, evaluative attribution of negative or positive traits. Implicit and explicit predicates	**M82:** The data indicates that police solve almost 9 out of 10 female homicides, regardless of victim origin. **(positive self – "good cop")** **M100:** see above **(negative other – "typical Indian")**
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment, fallacies (i.e. referring to authorative sources) **ADDED:** arguing against this being solely a police concern and noting error in data	**M101:** This information is generally obtained from the toxicology results on the Coroner's Report or from witness accounts of the event where available. **(arguing credibility and mitigating utterance M100)** **M12:** As with any effort of such magnitude, this report needs to be caveated with a certain amount of error and imprecision. **(justification of the positive attributions of the police)**
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement, positioning speaker's point of view	Reporting description/narration or quotation of events and utterances	--
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition **ADDED:** **OR** **issue/event**	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances	**Intensification of the issue of MMIW:** **M$_2$2**: Aboriginal females are over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women and the numbers exceed previous estimates. **Mitigation of the issue:** **M$_2$10**: The whereabouts of many of the thousands of people in Canada that are missing daily are established quickly. (also predication, positive self) **Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition/mitigating discriminatory utterances:** **M92**: Any discussion of victim characteristics is vulnerable to the accusation that blame is being assigned to the victim. →Next, the risk factors presented (unemployment, use of intoxicants..)

Table 1. Discursive strategies

Referential strategies are used to create in- and out-groups, meaning also linguistic inclusion and exclusion, with the most typical form being naming people derogatorily, for example "negro" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 45, 47) and in relation to Indigenous women for example "squaw". Reference can also be closely associated with predication and even argumentation (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 46) and due to its great diversity in meaning, needs to be explained a bit further. Linguistic inclusion or exclusion can serve the writer's many different psychological, political, and social purposes (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 47). Even inclusion can have hidden function, for instance when mentioning many different social actors and hiding, for example, the fact that a (dis)advantageous treatment or an accusation only concerns a subgroup of the actors mentioned and pretends there is equal treatment, although injustice and inequalities remain in effect (*ibid.*). Reisigl and Wodak have borrowed several of their referential strategies from van Leeuwen (1993 & 1996) and point out two forms of exclusion, *suppression* that leaves no traces of specific social actors involved and less radical *backgrounding* that can, among other strategies, be realized through *passivation* (van Leeuwen in Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 47).

The vast list of referential strategies cannot be presented here in depth and the general term "reference" is used in the analysis with only brief comments on the more specific strategies that are the most commonly used in the data. The most relevant of those listed by Reisigl & Wodak (2001: 48-52) that have been used to identify reference for in- and out-group are

- *collectivization* (e.g. we, they, group, tribe, population, the people),
- *professionalization* (e.g. criminals, policeman),
- from *somatization* "reference in terms of temporary artificial alteration of bodily, sensual and mental capacities" (e.g. drunk), and "reference in terms of 'bad', negatively sanctioned, abusive actions or habits" (e.g. drug user),
- from *social problematization* negation (e.g. unemployed) and criminalization, and

The term "Aboriginal" can be seen as a type of *originalization* and "women" or "female" as *gendering* in somatization, however, since they are the chosen terms to describe the

victims in question, there is no need to count the usage of these terms as referential strategies as such.

Argumentation has a variety of different strategies to legitimate discrimination, often related to arguing or debating. When considering the data, RCMP can be seen as arguing those accusations widely aimed towards the police force in dealing with this issue. There is no room to discuss argument strategies in detail here nor are they the main focus of this study, therefore only the term "argumentation" is used in the analysis alone. However, the most common topics of argumentation are presented. Van Dijk's argumentative moves in political debate illustrate this briefly and relevantly. He presents these in relation to immigrants and points out for example the standard argument or *topoi* of "white man's" financial burden. He states that "such argumentations are replete with *fallacies* of various kinds. Credibility rather than truth is managed by referring to authoritative sources or opinion makers, such as scholars or the Church" (van Dijk 2002: 157). In general, fallacies mean that different strategies are used to create credibility for argument rather than truth and according to Reisigl & Wodak, they violate the ten rules of "rational disputes and constructive arguing" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 69-71). In addition to fallacies, *topoi*, such as topos of danger or definition, can be used to discuss forms of discrimination and can be seen as "content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 75, for more information on fallacies and topoi read Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 69-80). All the different types of fallacies and topoi cannot be studied thoroughly in the scope of this study either. Argumentation is also used in the analysis to point out propositions that argue against this being only a policing concern and noting errors in the data. This can be seen as justification of the positive attributions of the police. Rest of the discursive strategies need no further explanation and are discussed more in the analysis.

3.6 Analyzing Multimodal Documents

Academics, professionals, and students are increasingly interested "in the role of image, gesture, gaze and posture", and overall use of space in communication and representation among other things – meaning multimodality (Jewitt 2009: 1). Jewitt

puts multimodality simply in that it "approaches representation, communication and interaction as something more than language" (*ibid*.). Wodak & Meyer present multimodality among other 'new' genres of CDA. They state that "recognition of the contribution of all the aspects of the communicative context to text meaning, as well as a growing awareness in media studies in general and in the importance of non-verbal aspects of texts in particular, has turned attention to *semiotic devices in discourse other than the linguistic ones*" (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 15). They mention for example Leeuwen's new interest in the semiotics of handwriting and typography, questions of color, and PowerPoint templates, and so on (*ibid*.).

According to Fairclough, in cultural analysis any cultural artefacts, such as a picture, building, a piece of music, are understood as text, whereas in discourse analysis it used to mean written or spoken discourse. However, also he suggest that discourse analysis should move more towards the view held by cultural analysis, since texts in contemporary society are increasingly multi-semiotic. When it comes to written texts, they incorporate semiotic forms such as images and diagrams, in addition to the graphic design of the page (Fairclough 1995: 4). Today, multimodal analysis can focus on the many aspects of a video advert or even a museum as a target of discourse analysis. Blommaert suggests that discourse "comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use". As Michel Foucault has done, we may name it as discourse (Blommaert 2005: 3). He continues that our traditional understanding of language is only one manifestation of it (*ibid*).

According to Blommaert, for example a typical modern newspaper advertisement contains various meaningful shapes and formats of text, from headlines to small print, and with meaningful differences in color and shape (Blommaert 2005: 3). It "contains images, pictures, logos, symbols, and so on; it is of a particular size and it displays a particular architecture – the overall makeup of such sings is visual rather than textual", or he claims that at least the textual (content) and visual (form) cannot be separated from one another (*ibid*). It is clear that in the RCMP report, the visual form carries meanings of its own and even presents possibilities for another study on the multimodal

aspects alone. The scope of this thesis limits the multimodal analysis to contain only short comments on the surface level, mainly focusing on the two pictures that can influence the way the reader perceives the report. They may carry meanings of power relations, influence the image created for the Indigenous women, and indicate involvement of the police, which is why they are relevant for this study. Dorothy Economou has studied the role of lead images in print feature stories and suggests that it is "a critical and primary one in positioning or orienting readers attitudinally towards the text that follows or accompanies the image" (Economou 2006: 211). This seems to apply to the RCMP report to some extent, since it can be seen as one type of high circulation text as it is published online. However, there is no need for analyzing for example the location of the image on the same page with surrounding text as in Economou's data that consisted of newspapers.

John A. Bateman has studied multimodality in relation to analyzing documents and discusses Kress and van Leeuwen's (*Reading Images: the grammar of visual design,* 1996) ideas of grammar when it comes to visual design and inter-relationship between the material and the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen in Bateman 2008: 41). For example, the direction of the gaze (looking away or towards the viewer) of a person depicted in a picture may "construct particular interpersonal relationships involving relative power and engagement or appeal", for instance when looking out of the picture there is appeal to the viewer (*ibid.*). According to Kress and van Leeuwen, a "depicted person may be shown as addressing viewers directly, by looking at the camera" conveying a sense of interaction and demand (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 43, 122). In contrast, when the person is turned away, it conveys an absence of interaction and the viewer may "scrutinize the represented characters as though they were specimens in a display" (*ibid.*). Kress and van Leeuwen have adopted the theoretical notion of 'metafunction' from Michael Halliday's work (1985) for this, which cannot be presented in detail in the scope of this thesis. Also, the fact that whether or not the picture is a real photograph or a color drawing might involve suggestions of reality vs. non-reality (Kress and van Leeuwen in Bateman 2008: 41).

An interesting comparison with the RCMP and Kress and van Leeuwen's example can be made. They discuss and Australian primary school text book, in which different

Australians are presented, and point out that "hardly any of the Aboriginal participants look at the viewer" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 119). They are clearly depicted as 'other' and as objects of contemplation instead of subjects that the pupil could enter into an imaginary social relation with (*ibid*.). The frame can also create personal and social distance, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, "at far social distance we see the whole figure 'with space around it'" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 125) as in the RCMP pictures. What is more, Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that the angle makes a difference, meaning that "between the oblique and the frontal angle is the difference between detachment and involvement" (2006: 136). The oblique angle example by Kress and van Leeuwen depicts "Abogirines", in a picture where the photographer/viewer is not aligned with the subject, meaning that they view them 'from the sidelines' and this in fact means that "What you see here is not part of your world; it is their world, something we are not involved with" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 135-136). As a final note is the back view that is depicted in RCMP's second picture. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, "to expose one's back to someone is also to make oneself vulnerable, and this implies measures of trust, despite the abandonment which the gesture also signifies" (2006: 138). The level of the picture, whether or not eye level, can create a certain power relation as well (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 140).

For the short commentary on the layout, van Dijk provides sufficient basis. He claims that nonverbal structures, such as a racist picture, "a headline size or page layout that emphasizes negative meanings about 'Them'" can be seen as discriminatory interaction against or biased discourse about minority group members (van Dijk 2002: 147). Drawing from van Dijk's example of news discourse, the "headlines summarize the most important information of a news report, and hence also express its main topic" (van Dijk 2002: 152). Kress and van Leeuwen claim that diagrams, maps, and charts are most often presented in contexts that carry a kind of knowledge that, in Western culture, "has traditionally been valued highly – objective, dispassionate knowledge, ostensibly free of emotive involvement and subjectivity" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 121).

4 Data & Methods

In this section, the data and methods are presented in more detail. First, a short introduction of the features of the data and then methods for analysis are presented.

4.1 Data: the RCMP National Operational Overview

The RCMP National Operational Overview is a report published online both as web page format and a downloadable PDF-file on the RCMP web page. It has been widely referred to in the media with links to the original report. It is 22 pages and 6,287 words long and includes text as well as two pictures and 12 figures. The main target of the analysis is the text and only general comments from multimodal perspective are provided of the pictures and figures. The two pictures present an Indigenous woman on the first and third pages. The general layout is that the text is in three columns and the figures are spread throughout the report and placed in different parts of the pages, mainly close to associated text. Colors vary from brown to dark yellow to red/burgundy with the text itself being black and headings red/burgundy. When published, other figures and tables were published for media use, however, they are not included in the data since focus is not on multimodal analysis and the scope for this thesis is limited.

The report states that in 2013 the Commissioner of the RCMP initiated an RCMP led study and that the "collation of this data was completed by the RCMP and the assessments and conclusions herein are those of the RCMP alone" with the help of Statistics Canada (RCMP 2014: 3). Any specific names of the authors have been impossible to find online. The report only indicates the following of authorship "© 2014 HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA as represented by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police" (RCMP 2014: 2).

4.2 Methods

The data was acquired online as a PDF-file. First, I went through the report as a whole by hand in order to choose the right methods. The form and register of the report lack overtly expressed discrimination, which provided a challenge. The report focuses on reporting statistics and describes the people in question as well as the situation in general mainly by comparing statistics and commenting on them. This made the use of any sentence level analysis not suitable for my goals. Therefore, more general structures, in other words topics, needed to be explored to get past the jargon, which led to van Dijk's macroanalysis. As I aim to study the discriminatory nature of the RCMP report and how it presents these women and this issue as well as the police force itself,

in other words the negative presentation of the other versus positive self, Reisigl & Wodak's discursive strategies provide the best tools.

The *macrostructures*, or macropropositions, of data are analyzed first. This is done by following the model of van Dijk's macroanalysis. Van Dijk presents examples of a macroanalysis in his work *Macrostructures* (1980: 67-71), where he explains that in the first level of analysis, the text fragment is segmented into sentences expressing FACTS, after which the macropropositions or MACROFACTS are specified in the column for *Macrostructures* through the use of the macrorules (van Dijk 1980: 66). These are marked as M1, M2, M3 and so forth in the analysis. He then points out, that this first analysis hardly reduces the amount of facts, in his examples 24 facts was reduced to 18 or 21 to 11, since many of the arguments are equally important (*ibid*.). In the second analysis, then again, the information can be further reduced to the most important macropropositions by deleting or constructing macropropositions from the first level (van Dijk 1980: 69). This has to be done so that the argumentation stays relevant and the macrostructure specific enough (*ibid*.). In his short example, the order of the propositions is changed in the second analysis to create the most reduced version of the text, however, in the case of the data for this thesis, consisting of 312 facts and 141 macrofacts, the changing of the order was mostly impossible. This second level macrostructures are named M_21, M_22, M_23, and so forth.

While conducting the macroanalysis for this thesis, it was at times difficult to apply the macrorules and construct the macrostructures, since in addition to difficulties with choosing the right macrorule, I noticed that my personal background knowledge and beliefs among others had great impact on the process. On the other hand they seemed necessary, as the process might be impossible without any previous knowledge of the situation around the report. This presented another possible approach to explore the meaning of the report by studying different readers' reactions to it. Interestingly, also van Dijk stresses that the application of the macrorules is still *partly intuitive* due to the "lack of explicit knowledge, belief, attitude, or interest systems involved" in the process (van Dijk 1980: 73). In the case of this particular thesis, the macrorules themselves are not the focus of the analysis, rather means of acquiring the macrostructures for further

study. The discursive strategies and multimodal aspects support the findings from the macroanalysis.

The discriminatory nature, then again, is studied through Reisigl & Wodak's discursive strategies. The macroanalysis provides the topics of the data from which these are studied, as suggested by Reisigl and Wodak. The data on the base level does not present as clearly discriminatory language, as e.g. a news article would, which also supports the need for a macroanalysis. The discursive strategies were challenging to analyze, which resulted in the fact that they had to be altered to some extent. The strategies were not as clearly present as in the examples provided by Baker et al, since the text is not as overtly discriminatory as journalism may be. Hence, the strategies should be considered in relation to different genres and registers and studied further. As a consequence, the use of these strategies has been altered to some extent in this thesis, as pointed out in Table 1. The negative and positive topics by van Dijk were examined together with the discursive strategies.

In the end, the reports visual form is briefly studied through multimodal analysis, to support the findings from the textual analysis. The multimodal analysis is rather brief due to the scope of this thesis and therefore focuses mainly on the front and third page pictures with general comments on the other aspects. Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of picture analysis was used as the basis for analyzing the pictures.

5 Analysis

This section presents the findings from the analysis. First, the macrostructures are discussed, as they were the first phase of the analysis. Next, the discursive strategies are examined quantitatively but with the main focus on qualitative discussion on the victim and offender characteristics. I then point out the unsaid, meaning what is left out of the report, before supporting these other findings with a brief multimodal analysis. The textual analysis is visible in Appendix 1 and includes the numbered macrostructures and discursive strategies but further commenting was excluded due to lack of space.

5.1 Macrostructures

From two levels of macroanalysis, the following results were found:

- 312 facts

- 141 macrofacts/macrostructures (1st level)

- 35 macrofacts/macrostructures (2nd level)

The second level of analysis could even be reduced further, however, this felt sufficient for the purposes of this thesis and worked well with the discursive strategies. The macrorules were marked only for the first level of the analysis, as was done by van Dijk as well, and *zero* (91 cases) and *generalization* (87 cases) were most commonly used to create the macrostructures. *Construction* (24) and *deletion* (17) were followed by different mixtures: deletion/construction (22), generalization/deletion (15), and generalization/construction (4). Two cases were a bit unclear (M44 & M62, see Appendix 1), resulting in zero/deletion. From the 312 facts, 52 were headings that were not part of the macroanalysis. Contrary to van Dijk's suggestion, the construction rule was not the most commonly used one. This might be due to the different nature of this data and support his thoughts about further studies on the matter. On the other hand, it might be due to my personal knowledge while conducting the analysis. Rather often it felt that I was not in the position to make new propositions that might alter the original message of the RCMP. The rules for the second analysis were not marked as I focused on limiting the macropropositions to the most relevant ones, however, construction was needed here. Two of the propositions on the second level could be further constructed to mean "typical Indian" ($M_2$19 that presents the offender characteristics) or "squaw" ($M_2$24 that presents the victim characteristics). For this thesis, the macrorules did not present any real value for analysis, they were mere guidelines for acquiring the more global topics from the data.

Mainly, the macrostructures revolve around creating a positive self-image for the RCMP and highlighting their actions towards solving these crimes and this situation. This creates an impression for the reader that this situation is taken care of by the RCMP and supports Stephen Harper's claim. Creating a sense of a negative other and an out-group is clearly present as well. All of the macrostructures do not carry a discursive strategy

and remained, for example, neutral descriptions of statistics. Neutrality has clearly been the goal of the RCMP. On a more general level, I identified positive and negative topics that create the sense of "Us" through e.g. tolerance and aid and "Them" through e.g. crime and violence, as pointed out by van Dijk (2002). These findings are illustrated in the following Figure 1.
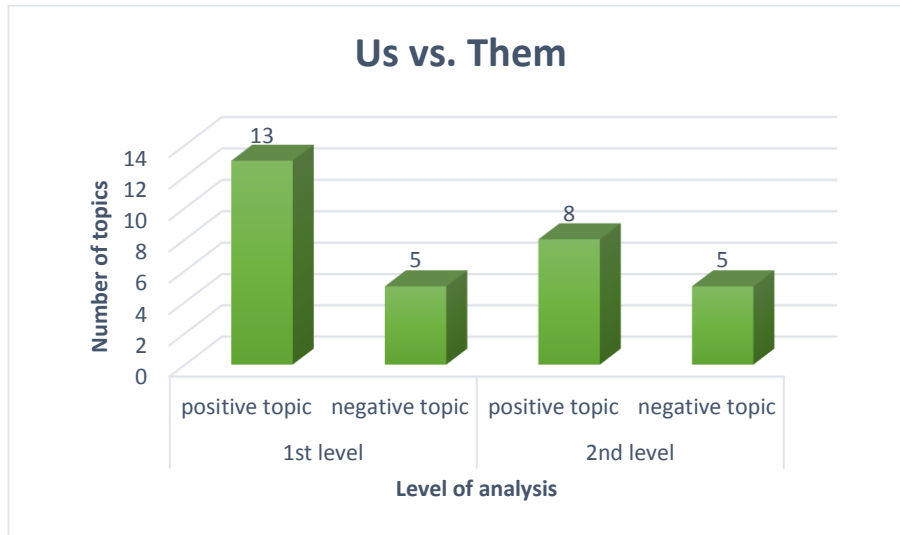
Us vs. Them

Figure 1. Positive and negative topics creating the sense of Us vs. Them.

On the first level, there are 13 clearly positive topics and five negative topics, whereas on the second level there are 8 positive topics and five negative ones of which one was focused on the offenders. Interestingly, the amount of negative topics remains the same on both levels. These findings support and summarize the overall impression, that the report is mainly focused on ameliorating the RCMP's image.

The report also includes clear *face saving* on both levels of the analysis. It was to be expected, since as van Dijk suggests, it is essential when social norms are rather strict and delicate topics are discussed (van Dijk 1987: 22). For example, the RCMP try to deny any accusations of victim-blaming prior to stating the "risk factors" of the victims – before there is any chance for the reader to do so:

- **M92**: Even though any discussion of victim characteristics is vulnerable to the accusation of victim-blaming, there is no such intent here.

This presents an example of the mitigation of the discriminatory utterances that follow this statement. The discursive strategies are presented in more detail in the next section. Also, as shown on the second level, the RCMP are saving face through mitigating the

MMIW issue and arguing for the negative attributions, while creating a positive self-image by stating that they are sorry to state this and the reasons, such as "most likely wandered off" and "presumed drowning":

- **M₂12:** Unfortunately, the disappearances of Aboriginal women are often clearly non-suspicious. This is claimed, even though according to RCMP, 64 percent of the disappearances are suspicious.

In order to prove that the analysis is unbiased, I can demonstrate how the M₂12 second level macrostructure is clearly present in the base level of the data. After stating their statistics, they claim that: "Recognizing the clearly non-suspicious nature of many of these disappearances..."(fact 86) and "It might seem odd to describe any missing person's disappearance as non-suspicious. Unfortunately, however, this is frequently the case" (fact 87-88). This could be seen as one form of victim-blaming and as means to create the impression that this issue in general is not as suspicious as people may think and the Indigenous women just happen to disappear voluntarily or accidentally. This is emphasized by the fact that the voluntary disappearance is mentioned in the running text, even though it includes only one percent of the victims. Not all the details from all the tables and figures are separately pointed out.

The macrostructures by themselves provide little for discussion, in contrast, the findings in relation to the discursive strategies based on the macrostructures present more points for analysis as well as discussion. Hence, they are presented next.

5.2 Discursive Strategies

From the discursive strategies, four were studied, of which intensification and mitigation are presented as their own category in the Figure 2. The following figure summarizes the overall frequency of the strategies and demonstrates how argumentation is the most prominent, followed by predication, and reference. The epistemic status of a proposition or in the case of this thesis the issue of the MMIW among others, is more often mitigated than intensified.
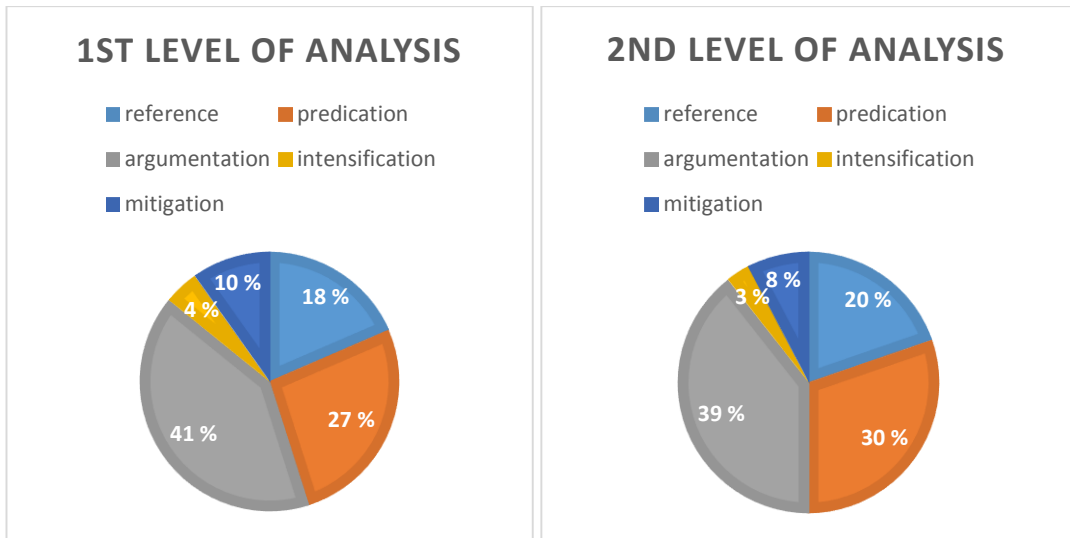
Figure 2. Discursive strategies on both macroanalysis levels

The fact, that the overall occurrence relation remained the same on both levels of the analysis, proves that the macroanalysis was successful and the macrostructures included the most important and similar information on both levels. Next, the strategies are discussed in more detail in their order of frequency, hence starting from argumentation.

Argumentation is about justification of negative and positive attributions. Here, it is divided a little further, the topics in the following Figure 3 are clearly the main themes of argumentation.
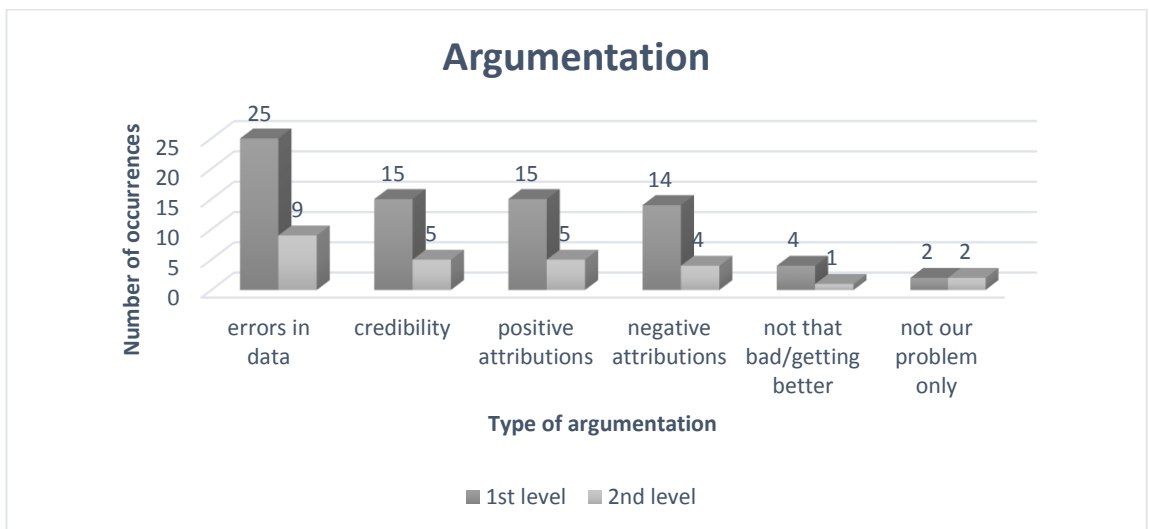
Figure 3. Argumentation

Most commonly, argumentation is used to explain and justify errors in the RCMP dataset and thus in their statistics and results of the study. On the first level, there were 25

instances and on the second level nine. Reasoning includes, for example, pointing out different timeframes and datasets than previous and other studies and difficulties in victim and offender identification. Here is an example:

- **M41:** The best understanding of this is entered as the "probable cause" in CPIC by the police of jurisdiction at the time the person is reported missing.

This high visibility and admitting of the possibility of error is rather curious, as the accuracy of their data is highly criticized, as discussed in the background section. On the other hand, it might create a more positive image, since the RCMP admit that they are not perfect and suggests that more studies are needed. This could be also seen as support for the national inquiry, however, the report also brings forward the idea of action that needs to be taken and that the police is solving these crimes. To no surprise, the RCMP does not take any clear stance in this report.

The argumentation of errors is followed by argumentation creating credibility, 15 instances on the 1st level and five on the 2nd, providing means for backing up their findings and maintaining positive and reliable image. For example, cooperation with Native Women's Association of Canada is pointed out among other authoritative sources. This is in line with van Dijk's statement that "credibility rather than truth is managed by referring to authoritative sources or opinion makers" (van Dijk 2002: 157). Positive and reliable image is also emphasized through the justification of the positive attributions of the RCMP (15 instances on the 1st level and five on the 2nd). The negative attributions of the victim, and in a few instances the offender, are justified in order to save face (14 instances on the 1st level, and four on the 2nd). Also, the RCMP argue that the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women is "not that bad", for example in

- **M49:** The number of Aboriginal female victims of homicide has remained relatively constant while the number of non-Aboriginal female victims has been declining.

Lastly, they argue that this is not a concern of the RCMP alone. They point out other police jurisdictions that are responsible of almost half of the unsolved cases and suggest need for a wider societal response.

Predication and *reference* are presented in a joint Figure 4, which again demonstrates how clearly this report is about ameliorating the RCMP's image. Also, this shows how the reference emphasis is on creating a sense of an out-group.
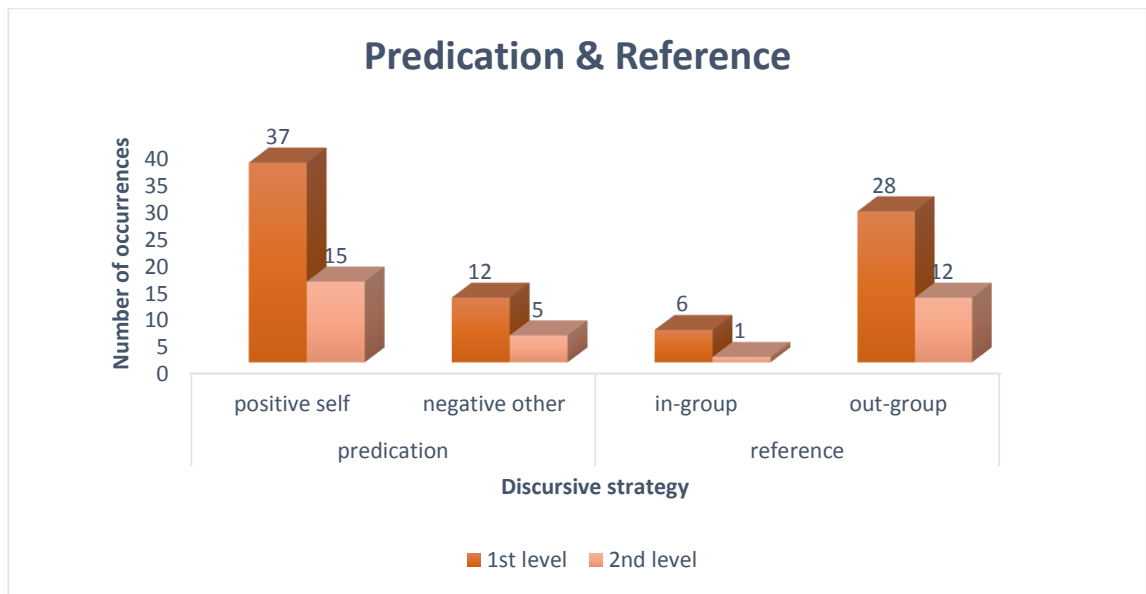
Figure 4. Predication & Reference

Predication was mainly used to create a positive self for the RCMP, for example by noting their concern for the matter, their actions towards improving the situation, their cooperation with other partners, such as the Native Women's Association of Canada, the fact that their data is aimed at being in line with previous studies, such as NWAC and Dr. Pearce, and how they solve almost all of the cases. These could be seen as pieces of a stereotypical "good cop" image. In contrast, the negative other image was created through the stereotypical presentations, for example the idea of "typical Indian" was clearly present, as seen for example in M70, M97, and M98 (see Appendix 1). On the second level of analysis $M_2$19 about the offender and $M_2$24 about the victim characteristics (see Appendix 1) could be further constructed to state "typical Indian" or "squaw" for the victim, as pointed out earlier. Also, the offender characteristics created the sense of an Indigenous person and a "typical Indian", even though the ethnicity factor was not stated. Hence, it was to no surprise that the RCMP stated later, in order to support Minister Valcourt, that 70 percent of the perpetrators are Indigenous men. In the light of the high possibility of error in the data and the release of this one ethnicity factor without a larger context and evidence to support the federal government, its accuracy can be seen as unreliable.

Stereotypical presentation is one realization of predication. Mills presents stereotypes also as one form of sexism (Mills 2008: 127), and stereotypes are in fact the only clear

evidence of sexism in this data. However, the data does not present a possibility for a closer discourse analysis of sexism, as pointed out in section 3.2.2. The RCMP present a rather a negative image of the victims which is surprisingly identical to the stereotype of the "squaw". According to Pearce, a squaw means that the women in question is promiscuous and largely disposable (2013: 67-68) and Gilchrist explains that a "squaw" is dirty, lazy, degraded, and easily sexually exploited (Gilchrist 2010: 384). Compare with the following macrostructure from the 2nd level of analysis:

- **M$_2$24:** The Aboriginal victims compared to the non-Aboriginals, were less likely employed, more likely to support themselves through illegal activities, more likely on some form of social assistance, more likely under the influence of intoxicants, and slightly more likely to be involved in sex trade (but not noteworthy difference).(M96 – M103)

In general, the victims are presented stereotypically, only characteristics that fit the stereotypical image of an Indigenous woman are presented for them: employment status, use of intoxicants, and involvement in sex trade. Also, the binary of good, worthy, and pure versus bad, unworthy, and impure is clearly present. According to Mills among others, different stereotypes about women are kept alive by certain groups (*ibid*.) and this is how these groups can influence the power relations of a society. The stereotypes of Indigenous women seem to be actively kept alive and affirmed on institutional level, as proven by the RCMP report, and this way these women, like the Indigenous Peoples in general, are kept in an inferior position. This supports the view that this issue is a wider sociological phenomenon, since it proves how deeply rooted these negative stereotypes and prejudiced views are in the Canadian society. It is difficult to view these incidents as individual crimes.

Reference was mostly used to create a sense of an out-group. The most common reference types to create an out-group were *social problematization* through e.g. unemployment or criminalization*,* and *collectivization* with a few instances of *somatization* referring to victim and offender being under the influence of intoxicants. For example social problematization:

- **M97**: Aboriginal victims were less likely to be employed than non-Aboriginal victims (16% versus 40%).

The reference for creating in-group was not as prominent and was focused on *professionalization* of the police force. It was rather difficult to identify which instances

of the discussion on the police force was to be included. These are just to provide an overall idea of the types of reference, however, no figure of these is presented as they are not a target of analysis as such. Main focus is on the final in- and out-group aspect.

In addition, the main actors were counted from the base level of the text, in order to create a sense of who is the main actor in the report. The results are well in line with the overall stance of the report; the RCMP is the actor in 34 instances (including police and the study/report), woman/victim is the actor in 20 instances of which Indigenous women/victims accounted for *only* six instances, and the offender/perpetrator is the actor in 14 instances. This could be seen as an example of *backgrounding* through *passivation* (van Leeuwen 1993 & 1996) of the Indigenous women as discussed by Reisigl and Wodak in relation to reference from the discursive strategies (2001: 47). The term Aboriginal was chosen by the RCMP and necessary to use throughout the report, therefore is not a target of the analysis of the discursive elements as such. The RCMP uses the term Aboriginal in all of its discourse. It is the term used in the Canadian context rather often and the term in legal context as well. The RCMP does point out how the choice of this term was difficult due to its varied meanings across multiple organizations and systems.

Intensification and **mitigation** were used in two senses, since they were somewhat challenging to apply to this type of data. Firstly, as the way of mitigating or intensifying the possibly discriminatory utterance as described by Reisigl and Wodak, and secondly, in the sense that the utterance mitigates or intensifies the issue of MMIW or for example RCMP's actions or promises for 'better future'. Since this text has very little clear racist (and sexist) discourse on the surface level, this way of adding these categories felt useful for the purposes of this study. The following Figure 5 presents the findings in more detail.
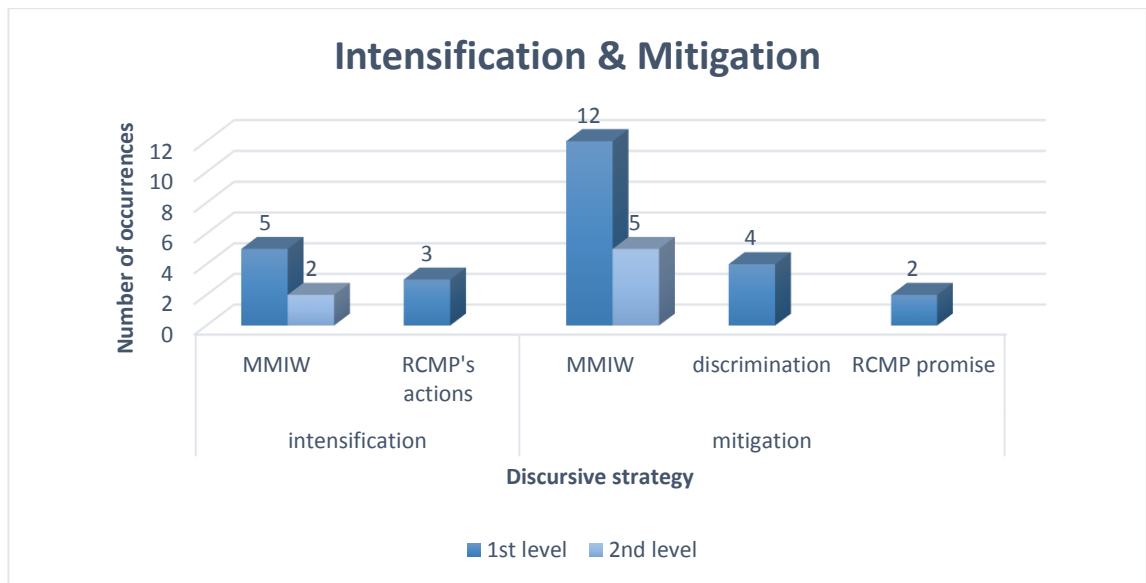
Figure 5. Intensification & Mitigation

On the first analysis level, the most common type was the mitigation of the MMIW issue, followed by its intensification, and mitigation of discrimination. The next was the intensification of the RCMP's good actions and mitigation of their promises about future, for example:

- **M22:** The result *should* serve as a foundation upon which to target crime prevention and crime reduction efforts by the police.
- **M23:** It *may* also provide additional information for communities and all levels of government.

Modal verbs are not used throughout the report, which is why this can be viewed as mitigation of these utterances. On the second level of the analysis, only intensification and mitigation on MMIW were clearly present.

Perspectivation / framing came up only twice. This proves that the report is clearly keeping distance and not expressing any involvement. There was no reason for further analysis in relation to this strategy.

The discursive strategies provided some information on the victim characteristics, however, as they are so central to this thesis, they are discussed separately in the next section.

5.3 Characteristics of the Victims and Perpetrators

As already mentioned in relation to predication, the characteristics of the murder victim include only information on employment, use of intoxicants, and involvement in sex trade. Interestingly, any characteristics of the disappeared women are not discussed. The presentation of the murder victims is so limited that it does not provide anything for the reader to feel sympathy for and leaves out all those women that do not fit into this stereotype of an unemployed drug addict (sex worker). Not even the age of the victim is presented, it is only mentioned on a separate info-graphic by the RCMP. The victims are mainly presented as numbers and percentages instead of vulnerable victims, even one of the headings says: "Murdered and missing Aboriginal women overall – by *the numbers*". Characteristics of the missing women are not discussed at all, they are only implied through the probable causes of disappearances. Interestingly, the more detailed information on these causes is presented in the appendix. There is also a clear link to Gilchrist's as well as Jiwani's notion of good/bad binaries in the media (Gilchrist 2010: 375, Jiwani 2008: 140), since when *only* these aspects of the victims are discussed and *compared* (RCMP uses word opposed to) to the non-Indigenous victims, this creates a binary of good, worthy, and pure victim against bad, unworthy, and impure victim. What is more, it suggests the stereotypical image of a "squaw".

In addition, the way these women are represented, can be viewed as victim-blaming. Gilchrist's discusses victim-blaming in news discourse based on several other studies:

> Meyers (1997) argued that compared with high-status White women, poor and/or racialized crime victims are often depicted in the news as more blameworthy for their victimization. To illustrate, in sexual assault and sexual homicide cases, if a victim is judged to have deviated from patriarchal notions of appropriate feminine behavior by drinking/using drugs, dressing provocatively (or not conservatively), and especially if she engages in sex for money, she is likely to be constructed as, at least partially, responsible for violence against her (Ardovi-Brooker & Caringella-Macdonald 2002; Jiwani & Young 2006; Madriz 1997 in Gilchrist 2010: 376).

The RCMP report lists the risk factors that include use of intoxicants and sex work, in addition they state that certain occupations of the victim, such as involvement in sex trade, may reduce the changes of solving the case.

Also, this heading for the section on murder victim characteristics says "Understanding certain risk factors of murdered Aboriginal females", which suggests that these

characteristics create a risk for the victim. Jiwani argues that media presents "Aboriginality" as related to sex trade work and drug addiction and the press condenses this within the label of "high-risk" lifestyles (Jiwani 2008: 141). This implies that these women put themselves at risk, rather than they are put at risk by social conditions and societal factors governing and shaping their lives (*ibid*.). Gilchrist adds that in *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival*,

> Aboriginal scholar Martin-Hill (2003) maintained that the disappearances/ murders of the Downtown Eastside women and the high number of missing/murdered Aboriginal women in Canada, signals that Aboriginal women are viewed as disposable and so brutal victimization against them is justified because victims are stigmatized as prostitutes, street people, and addicts—even if they are not. The invocation of such stereotypes mitigates the seriousness of their victimization; signaling to the public that crimes against them do not matter (Gilchrist 2010: 376).

As pointed out earlier, Amnesty suggests that these racist and sexist stereotypes deny the dignity of Indigenous women and are viewed as signals to men that they can get away with violent acts towards these women (Amnesty International Canada 2014) – if the women are presented by the media to begin with. The actions of the police force and justice system do not help the situation.

The offender characteristics include offender's relationship to the victim, previous history of family violence, gender and age, employment status, involvement in illegal activities, use of intoxicants, suspected mental or developmental disorder, and offender's motive. Depending on the cognitive frame of the reader, these aspects may imply Indigenous offender, a "typical Indian". This could be also based on a racist assumption that Indigenous women have only indigenous partners. There is no comparison between Indigenous and non-Indigenous offender, since the ethnicity is not stated. However, the comparison between the offenders of Indigenous and non-Indigenous female victims in a way creates an idea of there being these two groups of offenders as well.

5.4 A Brief Multimodal Analysis

This section presents a brief multimodal analysis of the report, mainly in the form of qualitative discussion. First, the pictures are discussed, followed by the headings, figures, and lastly the layout.

5.4.1 Front and Fourth Page Pictures

Many aspects of multimodal picture analysis discussed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) are clearly present in the pictures provided by the RCMP and support the findings from the textual analysis. The pictures are presented in the following figures but appear somewhat blurrier than the original ones.

"This photo/illustration cannot be published on the Web due to copyright restrictions"

Figure 6. The first picture in the RCMP report

"This photo/illustration cannot be published on the Web due to copyright restrictions"

Figure 7. The second picture in the RCMP report

It is unclear whether the pictures are touched up real photographs or paintings/drawings, however, they are not totally realistic which may suggest that the

pictures represent non-reality. The depicted woman is not addressing the viewer directly, as in Figure 6 she is facing sideways and in Figure 7 she is dancing away from the viewer who only sees her back. This does not create any appeal for the viewer, and according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), conveys an absence of interaction and the viewer may scrutinize the represented woman as though she was a specimen in a display. Also, the way the woman's face is blurred in Figure 6, denies the viewer from any access to her thoughts and feelings, although some hints of sadness and emotionless may be traced. This further strengthens the distance and lack of interaction between the viewer and the woman, making it easier to present these women as blameworthy or not worthy to be saved. The fact that she is dancing away in Figure 7, creates an idea of the possibility of any interaction ending and these women disappearing. This can be connected to Gilchirst's (2010) concern about the "symbolic annihilation" of Indigenous women from the Canadian social landscape. The blurriness of her face could also be seen as indication of her being a ghost, which would fit the topic of the report.

The position of the woman is also in line with Kress and van Leeuwen's example of Australian Aboriginals in school text book pictures, where hardly any of them look at the viewer. This means they are clearly depicted as 'other' and as objects of contemplation rather than subjects with which the students could enter into an imaginary social relation with. The frame of the picture is also meaningful and in the case of the RCMP report, the viewer can see the whole figure of the woman in both pictures, with space around it. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), this creates an idea of social distance. Also the angle makes a difference, creating either detachment or involvement, and here the angle is oblique and the viewer or photographer is not aligned with the woman and she is viewed from the sidelines in the first picture. Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that this means that "What you see here is not part of your world; it is their world, something we are not involved with" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 135-136). As a final note is the back view in Figure 7. The woman has exposed her back, which according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) makes to woman vulnerable and signals abandonment. However, it also implies measures of trust. Interestingly, the RCMP pictures are seen almost on eye level, which according to Kress and van Leeuwen means equality and no power difference involved (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 140), however,

there seems to be a slight high angle to create a slightly more powerful position for the viewer and preserve the power relations of Canadian society. Or it might be a conscious choice to create the sense of equality and deny oppression.

The woman or girl in both pictures is wearing a traditional Indigenous costume and she is placed on empty prairies. This is a very stereotypical image and can be highly criticized. One does not need to search the internet too long to find several examples of how the use and presentation of traditional Indigenous outfits by non-Indigenous people is viewed rather negatively. It mitigates Indigenous traditions and history as well as presents Indigenous Peoples as something historic and not as a living part of our modern world. She is also placed alone on the prairies somewhere far away from other people, emphasizing social distance. Prairies are clearly associated with Indigenous Peoples due to Western movies as well as to population demographics and the fact that, according to the RCMP, after the territories, prairies have the highest proportion of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Also, the very dark and brownish color orientation highlights the historical and unappealing image. It seems as if the prairies are dead around the woman. A curious idea is that the lands that Indigenous women so eagerly try to protect are dying around them. The pictures are also very dark with light in the far distance behind the woman. In Figure 7 she is dancing towards it, as if going towards the light and finding peace or that a brighter future awaits. The red dress can mean a variety of things, for example, red is often associated with blood, danger, power, and love. Color red is also a color associated with Canada and it is the main color in the RCMP ceremonial outfit.

All in all, this short multimodal analysis on the pictures has supported the findings from the textual analysis and further strengthens the overall impression of the report. The notions of social distance and "otherness" are clearly highlighted.

5.4.2 Headings

The headings highlight the main points of a text. Even though the RCMP report is not news discourse, van Dijk's (2002) claim about how "headlines summarize the most important information" of a text and "express its main topic", is applicable. Also, the nonverbal structures, such as a headline size or page layout that emphasizes negative

meanings about 'Them' can be seen as discriminatory interaction (van Dijk 2002: 147). In the report, the highest level of headlines are bolded, black, and in a bigger font with the subheadings being red/burgundy and italicized. Only the Appendix presents the subheadings with a slightly bigger font. These styles are consistent throughout the report and do not provide any real basis for analysis. The color choice seems to be in line with the general color scheme of the report around red and brown. The title of the report, *Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview* implies that this is about the operational actions of the RCMP in relation to these women, but it also gives the impression that it is rather wide in its scope as it is a "national overview". However, it does not solely discuss the operational side of the story nor does it take into account all the actions of the RCMP. The fact that it is an overview, is clearly present, although, it seems that some points are discussed more than or over others. Even this title can work in favor of the federal government when it is claiming that a national public inquiry is not needed.

The headings and their order is presented in the following Table 2. It demonstrates how the report starts from and therefore underlines how and why their data may differ from previous research. This is in line with the fact that argumentation is most often used to justify and explain errors, as presented in Figure 3 in section 5.2 Discursive Strategies. Also, the relationship of the victim and perpetrator as well as previous family violence are presented first in relation to perpetrators, hence already the surface level of the report gives the impression that this issue as an internal problem of the Indigenous community.

Heading	Subheadings
Executive Summary	
Introduction	-Context
	-On other research to date and why our totals differ from previous research
	-On violence against Aboriginal females in Canada generally
Murdered and missing Aboriginal women overall – By the numbers	Aboriginal females as a proportion of Canadian population
	-Missing
	-Murdered
	-I. Over-representation
	-II. Trend in proportion of victims
	-III. Cause of death
	IV. Location of homicide
	V. Related criminality
The perpetrators	-Offender's relationship to the victim
	-Previous history of family violence
	-Gender and age
	-Employment status
	-Involvement in illegal activities
	-Use of intoxicants
	-Suspected mental or developmental disorder
	-Offender's motive
Unsolved Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing Aboriginal female occurences	-Overall
	-Solve time
	-Unsolved murdered and missing
Understanding certain risk factors of murdered Aboriginal females	-Employment status
	-Use of intoxicants
	-Involvement in the sex trade
Next steps	(1) Enhancing efforts on unresolved cases
	(2) Focusing on prevention efforts
	(3) Increasing public awareness
	(4) Strengthening the data
Appendix A – Understanding the numbers	-Calculating missing Aboriginal women
	-Calculating probable cause of missing
	-Calculating murdered Aboriginal women
	-General comments on collecting about "origin" or "identity"
	-On RCMP collaboration with Statistics Canada

Table 2. Headings and subheadings in the RCMP report

As seen in Table 2, the highest level of headings includes *Murdered and missing Aboriginal women overall —By the numbers*, which presents the general statistics;

Perpetrators for stating offender characteristics; *Unsolved Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing Aboriginal female occurrences*, presenting statistics; and *Understanding certain risk factors of murdered Aboriginal females*, for the characteristics of the murder victims'. The subheadings for the perpetrators include: offender's relationship to the victim, previous history of family violence, gender and age, employment status, involvement in illegal activities, use of intoxicants, suspected mental or developmental disorder, and offender's motive. If the reader only skim or scan reads the report, these headings may easily construct the image of a "typical Indian". Presenting the motive last implies that it is not high on the list for the RCMP, which is rather curious.

Interestingly, the section that presents these women beyond numbers is presented last before the *Next steps* discussing the RCMP's future actions and *Appendix*. Its heading implies that the reader is being educated and underlines the importance of these *risk factors* that turn out to be presented under headings *Employment*, *Use of intoxicants*, and *Involvement in sex trade*. These choices of headings alone support the mostly stereotypical and negative image portrayed in $M_2 24$ (see Appendix). Also, since these victim characteristics, which are very limited, are presented as the last part of the information about the disappearances and murders, they are not viewed as the most important factors. Hence, the backgrounding of these women is visible on this heading and structural level of the report as well.

As already mentioned, the positioning of the characteristics of the women last emphasize their unfair treatment and marginalization. Even though, this report is about them, their characteristics are presented last. Also, the fact that the report ends with the RCMP's next steps and the Appendix explaining their methods and the numbers highlight the fact that this report is mostly about ameliorating the image of the RCMP. The last sentence of the report, "As a result, approximately 40 homicide incidents were updated from the status of unsolved to solved", leaves the reader with a good impression that this situation is now under control even better than what was previously thought.

5.4.3 Consistency of the Figures with the Text

First of all, the amount of the figures implies that the information in this report is reliable and official, thus creating credibility for the RCMP. The figures are in line with Kress and van Leeuwen's claim that diagrams, maps, and charts are most often presented in contexts that carry knowledge that is valued highly; objective, dispassionate knowledge, ostensibly free of emotive involvement and subjectivity (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 121). There seems to be no emotive involvement and no subjectivity, if looking at the figures alone. However, these figures mitigate the somewhat subjective or biased view of these Indigenous women that is present in the report as a whole.

There are 12 figures and an additional pie chart showing that there are 120 unsolved homicides and 105 missing (unknown or foul play suspected) which could have been stated without a chart. The figures are:

- Figure 1 – Probable cause for missing Aboriginal females, as of Nov. 2013
- Figure 2 – Female homicides, 1980-2012
- Figure 3 -- Female homicides per year, 1980-2012
- Figure 4 – Aboriginal female homicides as proportion of total female homicides per year, 1980-2012
- Figure 5 – Female homicide victimization rate
- Figure 6 – Cause of death, female homicide victims, 1980-2012
- Figure 7 – Female homicides by location, 1991-2012
- Figure 8 – Offender-to-victim relationship, female homicides, 1980-2012
- Figure 9 – Offender motive, 2005-2012
- Figure 10 – Female Homicide Solve Rates, 1980-2012
- Figure 11 – Unsolved Aboriginal Female Homicides and Unresolved Missing Aboriginal Females by province, all jurisdictions
- Figure 12 – Unsolved Aboriginal Female Homicides (1980-2012) and unresolved missing Aboriginal females (according to CPIC as of Nov 4, 2013) by year of incident / disappearance, all jurisdictions

These figures touch upon the main topics of this issue, from the causes and circumstances to solve rates and statistics. If looking at the figures only, it seems that the report discusses everything rather evenly. However, the focus of the running text is not spread out accordingly. The focus is more on the actions of the RCMP, already the *Next steps* and the appendix explaining the numbers and methods alone take up four

and a half pages of text only of the total report (22 pages). The figures are referred to in the text but at times all the characteristics of a figure are not discussed. For example, Figure 7 about the location of the homicide is discussed only shortly, not mentioning the fact that Indigenous women are killed more often in an open area than non-Indigenous and non-Indigenous then again killed more often in a residence, which is inconsistent with the general view that this is solely an Indigenous issue and often related to family violence. No difference between these two groups of victims is pointed out. It is only stated that "there were similarities" between these two groups when it comes to the location of the homicide, and the most common places overall are stated.

Also, there are some shortages, such as that Figure 2 includes Indigenous victim proportion (of the province/territory's victims) but does not include the proportion of Indigenous people of the general population of that province/territory, which would put these findings into a context more suitable for understanding the statistics. It is also unfortunate, that Figure 9 about offender's motive can only include information from between 2005 and 2012. There are also some minor mistakes in the percentages of the figures. When counting together the percentages of offender-to-victim relationships in Figure 8, the total in Aboriginal cases is 101 percent. This is one of the most referred to figure of this report and still contains errors. Some figures also seem to be missing. For instance, there should be a figure about the related criminality, since Indigenous female homicides are slightly more likely (39% vs. 31%) to include an associated offence, sexual assault is the associated offence in ten percent of Indigenous cases versus six in non-Indigenous, and other assault counted 18 percent in Indigenous cases versus eight in non-Indigenous. There is a clear pattern that Indigenous homicides include more related criminality, and the most noteworthy is sexual assault which is not discussed at all. As a final note, the risk factors related to the murder victims are not presented in the table even though percentages are provided in the running text. Yet again, an example of the way these women are deserving less attention and being backgrounded. The lack of this figure is perhaps evidence of how the RCMP have tried to keep the image that they remain free of emotive involvement and subjectivity.

Even though these figures presents interesting points and possibilities for further analysis, a thorough analysis on an individual level is not possible in the extent of this

thesis. The figures were not downloadable, thus, for the actual figures, see the RCMP (2014) report online.

5.4.4 Layout

Layout cannot be studied to a great extent here, as it would need a complete multimodal analysis of its own that would study the position of every figure and aspect of text. As a minor note the headings and general page layout can be discussed.

Worth mentioning is, that there is only one box in the report with text separated from the running text, clearly a sign of highlighting the information. The box on page 7 called *Why focus study of murdered Aboriginal females on 1980 to 2012?* points out that this time-frame was chosen to align with the work of Native Women's Association of Canada to allow comparison and corroboration. This highlights the cooperation between the police and Indigenous community, which does exist, and emphasizes the idea that the RCMP data is similar to "recent public work". Thus, it creates a sense of credibility, yet again, and draws attention away from all the shortages and errors in data.

There are footnotes in extremely small print at the bottom of almost every page including references and information that clarify or add to points in the text, however, these might not reach every reader. They could be studied further, now only the most relevant points for the analysis have been mentioned. The fact that there are footnotes may also emphasize the professional and reliable image of the report, even without the reader reading them. Also, they are not included or known when this report and its statistics are referred to outside the RCMP.

6 Discussion - Individual Crimes or a Sociological Phenomenon?

In this section, the findings from the analysis are discussed on a more general level. First, the representation of the MMIW issue, the blameworthy portrayal of the Indigenous women victims, as well as the RCMP's positive image are discussed. Next, the aspects that the RCMP fail to present in the report are presented, before moving onto the power relations in the Canadian society in relation to the MMIW. Last, the future of the situation is considered.

6.1 Representation of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

As Blommaert (2005) states, the deepest effect of power is inequality. The clearly unequal status of the Canadian Indigenous Peoples, and in this particular case women, is evident in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's National Operational Overview, even though the RCMP aim at being unbiased. The issue of the missing and murdered Indigenous women is both intensified and mitigated, with emphasis on the latter, and the women presented through negative stereotypes that reproduce prejudiced thoughts and ideologies. In contrast, the image of the RCMP is ameliorated and the report obviously argues against all the accusations publically aimed at the RCMP. The relationship between the RCMP and the Indigenous community is highlighted by means of bringing forward the cooperation between Native Women's Association of Canada and also the reconciliation to date is mentioned. All of these aspects are discussed more in this section. Interestingly, all the points by van Dijk (1987) are present in the report for positive self and negative other: stereotypical topics, disclaimers that save face, argumentative fallacies, similar lexical choices when talking about 'Them', and emphasis on bad characteristics.

6.1.1 The Issue of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

The issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women is mitigated by placing it as the subset of a bigger problem and giving the impression that the situation is under control. This is done by emphasizing violence towards women in general worldwide. It is also stated that thousands of people are missing every day in Canada and the whereabouts of many are established quickly. The fact that the RCMP claim that police solve almost all cases, can be both a way to create positive self and to mitigate the seriousness of this issue. All the cases not investigated by the police or the ones identified as non-suspicious although that might not be the case, create a conflict with the RCMP's claim that the majority of all female homicides (9 out of 10 cases) are solved and with Harper's claim that police solve these crimes and this issue can be left in their hands. The fact that this situation is under control, is emphasized by claiming that this most comprehensive report compiled by the Canadian policing community thus far provides information for

all levels of government and will guide future prevention efforts and operational planning of the police. The solve time is also said to be roughly the same for Indigenous and non-Indigenous cases, even though it differs by 19 days when comparing the given numbers.

The rising proportion of Indigenous women victims is explained by the fact that the amount of non-Indigenous victims has been declining, even though this is not enough to explain the situation. The RCMP also state directly that the disappearances of Indigenous women are often non-suspicious, in spite of the fact this statement is partly due to the RCMP's own categorizations of these cases. The RCMP claim that there are similarities between the murders and disappearances even when there are clear differences, and all the differences are not discussed. This among the other points help to create the image that these truly are individual crimes that are similar to those of non-Indigenous women and are dealt with in the similar matter and as effectively. The situation is also intensified, for example in $M_2$2: "Aboriginal females are over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women and the numbers exceed previous estimates". The RCMP also state that Indigenous women are at a three times higher risk of being victims of violence than non-Indigenous and that their proportion is far greater than their proportion of Canada's female population. However, as demonstrated in the analysis, the mitigation is more prominent and this intensification could be viewed as means to merely save face.

In addition, the situation is implied to be an internal issue of the Indigenous community. Family violence is highlighted as is done by the federal government in a more straightforward matter. The RCMP bring forward the issue of family violence in the running text and through the choice of heading/section order in relation to the perpetrators, even though Indigenous women are less likely killed by a former or current spouse (29% compared to 41% for non-Indigenous women). The investigators were asked to note whether they were aware of any previous family violence, reported to the police or not, and it was identified more often in the cases of Indigenous women (62% compared to 43%), however, this was based on the evaluation of the investigators, not statements by the victims' families. Factors that do not support the idea of family violence are not discussed, such as differences in location of homicide when it comes to

open area and residence. The RCMP state that they work as partners in the federal Family Violence Initiative which creates further credibility for their concern over family violence and simultaneously highlights it as an issue. Also, the representation of the offenders that clearly fits the stereotype of the "typical Indian" supports the view that this is an internal issue of the Indigenous community. The fact that it was later released that 70 percent of the offenders are Indigenous, in order to support the federal government's claims, further highlights this stance. The release of these new statistics without any context and evidence right after Valcourt's claims is rather controversial and gave the information more public visibility.

The idea of victim-blaming is also present when discussing this issue, which can be viewed as one way of mitigating it. The RCMP presents the victims in highly stereotypical and unappealing way, listing the unemployment, use of intoxicants, and sex work as the underlying risk factors. This is discussed in more detail in the next section. They state that certain occupations, such as sex work, may reduce the chances that the case is solved. Curiously, voluntary disappearance is pointed out in the running text even though it is the case in only one percent of the disappearances. One example of how some aspects of the figures are chosen to be mentioned over others. Next, the blameworthy victim is discussed in more detail.

6.1.2 The Blameworthy Victim: Stereotypes & Prejudices

The unequal status and prejudices attitudes and images are reproduced and perhaps even strengthened in the RCMP report as demonstrated through both the textual and multimodal analysis. The RCMP portray the Indigenous women rather negatively and signs of victim-blaming are present as well, in addition, the women are mainly in a passive and backgrounded role. As stated by Amnesty International, the "degrading images and portrayals that denigrate Indigenous women persist in Canadian society and contribute to denying Indigenous women the full enjoyment of their basic human rights, regardless of where they live" (2009: 6). Unfortunately, the RCMP reproduce these degrading and stereotypical portrayals of Indigenous women both in the text and in the two images in the report. This proves how these negative stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes are deeply rooted in all levels of the Canadian society and this situation that

started with colonialism and residential schools, only continues. This supports the view that this truly is a systemic problem with institutionalized discrimination and therefore also a sociological phenomenon. Hence, this situation needs a response beyond crime prevention.

The idea of these women as the 'other' is created by reference of an out-group and by the negative topics creating a sense of 'Them' through indications of crime and violence. They are represented as this group of women separate from the rest of the Canadian female population. It is necessary for the comparisons in the report but the whole report is focused on comparing these two groups of women which intensifies the out-grouping. The pictures further emphasize this, as they indicate social distance and present the women as something that do not "belong to our world", facing away from the viewer and placed alone on the seemingly dying prairies. The idea about these women not belonging to our world is also pointed out through them wearing the traditional outfit on the prairies, which creates a sense of history, hence these women are a part of the past. These women are positioned in the pictures in a way that also disallows any social connections with them, creates no appeal, and makes it rather difficult for the viewer to feel sympathy for them, as is the case with the textual representation as well. This helps to depict them as blameworthy and not worthy of help. However, the women are positioned almost on eye-level, implying that the power relations are not unbalanced. This may be unintentional or with good intentions, or it can indicate face saving.

The Indigenous victims as well as the offenders are to a great extent presented as the "typical Indian" and in the case of the women also as a "squaw". This is done by providing only those characteristics for the victims that are comparable with these stereotypes. The headings further emphasize this since when the reader only skims or scans the text, they alone create the stereotypical image. This image can be demonstrated by M$_2$24 that summarizes the presentation of the negative other:

> "The Aboriginal victims compared to the non-Aboriginals, were less likely employed, more likely to support themselves through illegal activities, more likely on some form of social assistance, more likely under the influence of intoxicants, and slightly more likely to be involved in sex trade (but not noteworthy difference)".

As already pointed out, these macrostructures are the information the reader memorizes. This macrostructure also shows how these women are referred to through

social problematization, somatization, and collectivization, social problematization being the most common as stated in the analysis. They are presented as lazy and a drain to public resources as they live on some form of social assistance and are unemployed, as dirty since they are users of intoxicants, and as immoral and sexually loose as they are sex workers, thus placing themselves under risk voluntarily. Nothing of the reasons for these problems are stated, therefore, as they exist without a context, they are easily perceived as something these women have chosen themselves and as the "natural" state of things. The way these women are stigmatized, for example as addicts and sex workers, justifies the brutal victimization against them. The Indigenous women are also backgrounded and in a more passive role as was shown in the analysis. The fact that their characteristics are presented as the last section before the *Next steps* and *Appendix*, indicates how they are marginalized even in relation to solving the crimes against them that often originate from their marginalization.

The RCMP states that a wider societal response is needed to tackle this issue but does not explain clearly why, it is for the reader to understand. When the general picture is created so that the Indigenous women can be labeled through these "risk factors", family violence is often the reason behind this issue, and nothing is stated about those women or their characteristics who have been employed, not under the influence of intoxicants, nor involved in sex trade, it is difficult not to perceive this as victim-blaming and racial and sexual stereotyping. It is not enough that the RCMP state that the aim is not to blame the victim when they list these "risk factors". The aspect of victim-blaming is further stressed by claiming that *certain occupations* reduce the chances that the cases get solved. Otherwise, the RCMP state that they solve almost all the cases, despite of the origin of the victims. This and other aspects of the RMCP's positive presentation of self are discussed next.

6.1.3 Positive Image of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

This report is an Operational Overview, which legitimizes the fact that this is more about the RCMP's actions. However, the RCMP and St. Julie Gagnon have stated that this report has provided more than just numbers, it has provided key vulnerability factors of the victims and information on the perpetrators (Do 2014) and can therefore serve as

the basis for future prevention, intervention, and enforcement policies (CBC News, The Canadian Press 2014). This is what was highlighted in the press and by the government as the content of this report, yet it is more about the RCMP's image.

The RCMP creates credibility through arguing its various errors in data, as is evident from the fact that argumentation was the most often used of the discursive strategies and the most common argumentative type was that of arguing errors. Also, the inclusion of multiple figures enforces credibility, as well as the footnotes, and the emphasis on the RCMP's collaboration with authoritative sources and partners, such as the NWAC, and how their report aims at being in line with and contributing to these previous studies. Credibility is part of the positive image created for the RCMP. As was evident from the discursive strategies, predication was focused on positive presentation of self. This was done through noting how the RCMP solve almost every case and equally fast, as well as showing their concern over this matter and how they are sorry for the situation. The second picture that shows the back of the woman can also be seen as a sign of vulnerability and trust, indicating that Indigenous women trust this issue in the hands of the RCMP. An idea the federal government is also trying to support.

The RCMP's future plans for improving the situation and working in collaboration with important partners were clear signs of creating a positive image for themselves. When the positive and negative topics in the report were examined, the positive topics were clearly the more prominent ones. They indicated "aid and tolerance" and the idea of "Us", as suggested by van Dijk, and supported the findings that the RCMP aims at ameliorating their own image. The intention is by no means to say that these are not in fact the actions, thoughts, and goals of the RCMP. On the basis of this analysis, it is still evident that there is more to the story, in addition, the discriminatory discourse on the issue of MMIW as well as on the Indigenous women underrates the good intentions of the RMCP. The RCMP itself mitigate their promises of future actions and the usefulness of the report by modality, as demonstrated in the analysis. There is a clear link in the report to the accusations towards the RCMP by multiple entities, such as Amnesty, Human Rights Watch, and the Special Committee. For example, the Human Rights Watch recommended that the RCMP should "make public a report on best practices and lessons learned" that could "contribute to more successful police investigations" in the

future (Human Rights Watch 2013). Yet, the part of the lessons learned is rather narrow in the report, mainly focusing on the identification problems in relation to victims and perpetrators. Nothing about their own previous and present discriminatory and violent actions are stated, the focus is rather on praising the future improvements.

In conclusion, the RCMP is presented as a credible and trustworthy figure of authority that aims at improving the already well taken care of situation of missing and murdered Indigenous women. They point out need for further studies but the main focus is on action. Thus, this report itself does not support a national public inquiry, although many, such as the NWAC, have done so on the basis of the report. The RCMP point out need for wider societal response to this situation, such as education and health care. However, there is no discussion of the links of history, discrimination, and reasons behind the societal situation of these women in relation to the underlying factors in the cases. As stated, this is in line with Harding's view of unhinging the present from the past. Furthermore, as the risk factors are compared to those of non-Indigenous women, they are all viewed equally as individual crimes.

6.2 What the RCMP Fails to Present in the Report

The RCMP report fails to discuss many relevant topics. One of the most criticized, especially recently, has been the lack of information of the ethnicity of the perpetrators. The RCMP have claimed that this is due to their "bias-free policing", however, this has left room for speculation and accusations. This was to be expected, thus it is rather curious that the RCMP did not take this into account. This helped to create a positive image for the RCMP as they do not want to blame the Indigenous community, however, when doing it later, the effects are stronger and the topic more visible in the media. As already pointed out, the situation changed in April 2015, when Minister Bernard Valcourt stated that 70 percent of the offenders are Indigenous, and the RCMP confirmed it. Based on the analysis for this thesis, this came as no surprise, since the image of the perpetrator is created by only listing characteristics that fit the stereotype of a "typical Indian". Now, many believe that there are serious gaps in RCMP data and that more information should be made public. This new information, whether or not accurate, may work in benefit of the federal government, since it has been noted that the blame of the problems of the Indigenous community are often put on the

community itself. In its official response to the RCMP report, the government did point out only those aspects of the report that fit the idea of family violence. This report provides the grounds for the government to not act upon it, in addition, as a reason to not have a national public inquiry or action plan.

The next crucial matters not mentioned, are the offences and attitude problems of the police officers towards Indigenous women. The silence about this together with the high level of argumentation for the good actions and intentions of the RCMP and the overall positive image created for them, tells its own story. It creates an idea of the RCMP trying to cover its actions and argue that they are not doing anything wrong. It is rather curious, that this aspect is not discussed at all, as it is an issue expressed by many human rights organizations, among other entities. Admitting the problem, organizing more training to tackle it, and stating it could help to heal the relationship between the police and the Indigenous women and community in general. Now, there is no real chance for healing the relationship, since many of the ideas expressed in the report are not in favor of the Indigenous women and abusive actions by police officers seem to not exist. The presentation of the negative other cancels the effects of the positive image of the RCMP and questions the fact that the situation is under control and that there is fruitful cooperation between the RCMP and the Indigenous community.

Also, the failure of the police to solve cases is not discussed at all, only the fact that certain occupations may reduce the changes that cases are solved. Instead, it is highlighted that they solve almost every case. The solve time is said to be roughly the same, although the cases of Indigenous women victims are solved on average 19 days slower, which can be counted from the numbers presented. The possibility of wrong classification of cases as unsuspicious is not pointed out. Other issues concerning the data reliability are not discussed, such as that some of the data has only been collected during certain years of the whole period studied. For example, "illegal activities" as a part of the employment factor has only been collected between 2005 and 2012. This is mentioned in footnotes and may not be noticed by most readers or taken into account when these statistics are referred to elsewhere. Also, there is no mention about missing women who have been found after filed missing, nor about reported incidents that are

not under investigation. The RCMP admit and argue their errors in data throughout the report, but it does not present all the possibilities for error.

Some aspects of the figures are not discussed. For example, the full extent of the location of the homicides, even though it carries relevant information. Figure 7 is about the locations but it does not include information whether the homicide took place in urban or rural area, or on a reserve vs. in the city, which might have unwanted influence on the general image of who is to blame. The most common locations are in a residence (68% for Indigenous and 77% for non-Indigenous) or in an open area (12% for Indigenous and 6% for non-Indigenous). In the running text, the RCMP state that there were similarities in the locations, even though this information on residence vs. open area has a clear difference. Indigenous women are more often killed in an open area than non-Indigenous, whereas non-Indigenous women are more often killed in a residence. This is again one example of the fact how similar differences in percentages are at some points viewed as a difference and in some cases no. It is also an aspect that does not support the government's response to this that highlights family violence.

The listed characteristics of the victims are very limited, as already mentioned. Employment status is mentioned, first of them all, but information about studying is not included. As if none of the victims were studying. For example, Loretta Saunders, one of the recent high profile homicide victims, was a university student. Only stating that a person is unemployed, and not for how long, is better suited to create an image of someone as lazy and a burden to the state. The relationship status of the victim is not mentioned or perhaps even collected, making it easier to create the image of a prostitute and giving less possibility for the reader to feel sympathy. Also, sexual assaults are not discussed and sexual violence as a motive not mentioned in the running text even though it is present in Figure 9 (10% in Indigenous cases and 6% in non-Indigenous). The fact that there is no real difference in prevalence of involvement in sex trade between the two groups of victims (12% for Indigenous vs. 5% for non-Indigenous) is mentioned even though their clearly is, perhaps to mitigate the problem of sex trade or to avoid or challenge the stereotypical image of a prostitute.

The RCMP state in the report that the victim characteristics "**may** help provide **some** descriptive statistics to inform future social interventions or operational crime

prevention planning. It should also emphasize the need to engage not just police tools, but broader response options (social services, health, education, etc.)" (RCMP 2014: 17, emphasis added). However, the listed characteristics alone do not support the need for social services, health, and education. This proves how limited a description of the situation this report is. Stating that this report *may* help provide *some* descriptive statistics is rather vague and does not support the idea of full commitment. This may be due to the fact that the RCMP reproduce and maintain the unequal power relations of the Canadian society in this report. This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

6.3 The MMIW and the Power Relations of the Canadian Society

As Amnesty stated, the dominant society has wielded the power over these women through every aspect of their lives, from education to earning a living and the way they are governed – and now even to the way their murders and disappearances are handled and viewed. These dominant ideologies appear as neutral and hold onto assumptions that stay largely unchallenged, as is the case with Indigenous women. This may result in the top-down effects of racism (van Dijk 1993), which in relation to this means that offenders believe they can get away with violent acts towards Indigenous women and may therefore conduct them more easily.

When these unbalanced power relations and negative portrayals of Indigenous people are enhanced, the well-being gap becomes even more difficult to close between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The situation that has its roots in colonialization and residential school era is still waiting for true reconciliation and the day when these old ideologies and prejudices are truly challenged and even forgotten. At the moment, the RCMP present this issue as is best suited for them and the federal government's interests, by creating a sense of positive self and negative other. They point out that there are societal issues that need to be dealt with and present their next steps for improving this situation and their own understanding, yet the crucial underlying factors such as racism and sexism are ignored. The schema the non-Indigenous Canadians have of the Indigenous people is reproduced, thus supporting the fact that it is still relevant and a part of the modern ideology and worldview. This means that the idea of hegemony is present, since this worldview has been manipulated by those in power, in this case

the RCMP and the federal government. This slows down the work towards reconciliation.

The power relations can be also explained through Foucault's "biopower", which means that populations are managed and controlled from top down. In the case of this thesis, the Indigenous women are exploited and controlled and the issue of MMIW can be also seen as a form of a genocide which is the harshest manifestation of biopower. As pointed out by Kuokkanen, direct sexual and physical violence are the most severe manifestations of the oppression of women. She argues along with other feminist scholars that there are clear links between colonization, patriarchy, and capitalism (2008: 221). She continues that "[i]f capitalism depends on both colonialism and patriarchy, colonialism also necessitates patriarchy" (*ibid*.). In the Canadian context this patriarchal dominance over Indigenous women seems to continue which supports the claims that colonialism is still alive in Canada. Kuokkanen suggests that "[i]f the contemporary sociopolitical and economic system requires hierarchical, exploitative gender relations and an asymmetric sexual division of labour, the current global economic order driven by profit has only intensified the exploitation and structures of violence" (Kuokkanen 2008: 222). In Canada, Indigenous women are forced to the margins of the society – they are exploited, oppressed and thus forced in a position where they are vulnerable and easy targets for violence.

The denial of the federal government to study and tackle this issue as the general population demands suggests that they see no need for it. While Indigenous people and especially women fight for their human rights and right to their land, they also fight to protect the nature and its resources. In addition to ignorance towards its own Indigenous Peoples and the land they protect, the Canadian government is also funding a construction in Hawaii that would destroy Mauna Kea Mountain and surrounding water, a sacred place for Native Hawaiians (Idle No More 2015). Capitalism and profit driven globalization, for example in the form of territorial interests, present possible reasons for the government to not be interested in solving the issue of MMIW thoroughly, in other words, and excuse to keep these women marginalized and powerless. This is further supported by the fact that the government seems to have concentrated the dealing of this issue to the RCMP, keeping it under supervision. For

example, the NWAC data initiative funding was stopped in 2010 and Hedy Fry claimed that their committee was not allowed to finish their report of the situation based on several interviews. The RCMP is also accused of lack of action and commitment and their report gives reason for these accusations, as they still have attitude issues and hold biased thoughts when it comes to Indigenous women and people in general. On the other hand, operational planning of the police alone cannot solve this issue. Much broader societal response is needed, starting from the education of all Canadians and braking of the old prejudices.

At the root of this issue is racism, which can be both structural and psychological (Zong 1994). Racism in Canada is structural, as it is visible in political and economic arrangements, such as the denial of an inquiry, denial of this issue as a sociological phenomenon, centralizing of finances to study this issue as is best suited for the Conservative federal government's needs, and not including Indigenous people to all decision-making processes, among other realizations. Racism is also psychological, meaning exclusionary thinking and prejudicial attitudes that are influenced by racial beliefs, such as those presented by the RCMP. The psychological racism can affect the structural and vice versa, but it is the former that needs to be broken first. Otherwise the future of the issue of MMIW in Canada looks hopeless. What gives hope, is the expanding protest movement protecting Indigenous rights in Canada and worldwide. Modern technology and knowledge together with strong sense of cultural pride and communality, for both the older and now also younger generation of Indigenous Canadians, provide a great platform for education and raising awareness, dialogue, understanding, and societal development. However, this is a matter of all Canadians.

6.4 The Future of the MMIW Issue

The fact that the RCMP reproduce these negative stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes of Indigenous women may reinforce their naturalization and internalization, hence making it almost impossible to solve or improve this situation. As it was pointed out, Canadians know very little about Indigenous issues, history, and the reality of Indigenous women's modern lives, therefore the way these women are depicted in relation to this high-profile crisis is crucial. The macrostructures are what the reader will memorize and

conveniently they carry the stereotypical presentation of these women. In addition, they suggest that the RCMP have this situation under control and this report has now provided new insight and presents the first step in the RCMP's better understanding of this issue. However, it also point out errors in data, which supports the thoughts of many that more studies are needed.

While conducting this thesis, this situation was constantly evolving and news about relevant topics were regular, making it also difficult to keep the thesis focused enough. On the other hand, this proved that this topic is still very current and important. In April 2015, it really surfaced again due to the new statistics provided in relation to the offenders. The media and activists were now more straightforward in its reviewing of the RCMP's report and supported my findings and understanding of this matter. Furthermore, in June 2015, the RCMP published their update to the report and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission published their final report. At the moment, it is difficult to state to which direction this situation will evolve. Indigenous and other concerned groups have started planning their own inquiry into this matter, the government has shown signs of opening the dialogue with the Indigenous people as it held a roundtable on MMIW in February 2015. The roundtable brought together victims' families, national Indigenous organizations, and the provinces, territories, and the federal government. Next roundtable is to take place in 2016, "which will bring police and justice officials together from across the country to reconsider systemic issues facing Canada's at-risk indigenous women" (Taylor 2015).

I see the national public inquiry as necessary, since it could help to educate all Canadians, even though action is what is needed now to improve the lives of Indigenous women in Canada (and worldwide). However, action is difficult to target properly if the general knowledge of the situation and the reasons behind it are not clear to all Canadians. Most importantly to those in power. Making sure that the Canadian education system would include Indigenous history and contemporary issues is necessary as well. Slips, such as the RCMP's bacteria comparison in relation to Idle No More, can no longer happen. The efforts and understanding of all Canadians are needed, in order to free all Indigenous women, and communities in general, from the colonial shackles and prejudiced attitudes and give them equal access to work and income, health care, education, family,

happiness, and human rights, as well as the right to preserve and practice their cultural heritage. Help is also needed inside the Indigenous communities in order to heal the possibly damaged and distorted self-image of the Indigenous Peoples and to deal with the possible frustration and anger towards the dominant society. Sadly, this is a multidimensional issue and a slow process. Cairns' (2002) idea of ultimate reconciliation through when Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians include each other when they see 'we,' seems to be at the moment, at least in relation to MMIW, a distant goal.

It is for certain, that the Canadian government cannot keep on acting as if this is not a sociological phenomenon. The up-coming federal election in October 2015 may provide basis for change in the future, even though a new government alone cannot solve this situation. Today, Idle No More movement and other channels, for example in social media, provide such a firm base for uprising, that this problem cannot be ignored and thrust as something the RCMP alone can handle for too long.

7 Conclusion

This thesis was set to examine the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's Operational Overview on missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada and to explore the possibly discriminatory discourse involved in the reporting. The aim was to study representation of the victims and how the circumstances, offenders, and the RCMP itself are viewed in relation to the issue, in order to see whether this report reproduces discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes, therefore reproducing the unbalanced power relations of the Canadian society as well. In addition, the aim was to explore whether this report supports the view of individual crimes or that of a sociological phenomenon.

First, background knowledge and some history on the Indigenous women and Peoples struggles in Canada was provided, in relation to the State, the police, racism, and stereotypical representation and inequality of Indigenous women. The RCMP was briefly presented, in addition to their Operational Overview. This exhaustive presentation of the research context was necessary for the understanding and analyzing of the report and the wider context around it. The theoretical tools to study this issue were provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), as well as

some ideas from Multimodal Analysis. Van Dijk's macroanalysis was conducted on two levels and from the acquired macrostructures Reisigl and Wodak's discursive strategies (DHA) were examined with some alterations to fit the purposes of this study. The two pictures in the report were analyzed with the help of Kress and Van Leeuwen's work on multimodal analysis of images. This multilayered type of analysis provided stronger results, as all of these results support each other. The data focused on statistics and was rather neutral and unbiased on the surface, therefore macroanalysis provided good means to condense the material for the study to a more global level and reveal the actual message. The discursive strategies were then more clearly visible and yielded results. However, macroanalysis was by no means simple to conduct on this type of text and genre, which is why it should be further studied as a method. The macrorules might differ between genres and registers. Also, the background knowledge of the reader affects the way she or he perceives the victims and offenders and interprets the report in general. This presents basis for further studies as well.

As has been pointed out, the report proves wrong the idea that Canada is uniquely tolerant and free of racism. The RCMP create both the idea positive self and negative other, as well as in-group and out-group in its report. The RCMP present the victims in a rather unappealing way through negative stereotypes generally associated with Indigenous women and people in general, both racism and sexism are visible. These women are presented as unemployed, using intoxicants, and as sex workers, in other words as lazy and drain to public resources, dirty, and immoral and sexually loose. This is exactly what the stereotypical image of a squaw indicates, thus the RCMP legitimate it. The RCMP also intentionally or unintentionally blame the victim. In addition to listing these risk factors that present these women as if they voluntary place themselves in harm's way, the RCMP state that some occupations, such as sex work, reduce the chances that the cases are solved. Also, the idea of a "typical Indian" is present for both the victims as well as for the perpetrators, which together with the implications of family violence as a strong factor help to frame this as an internal issue of the Indigenous community. The reader is given no chance to feel sympathy for the victims, which is further implied through the pictures that support the idea of social distance and depict these women as the 'other' and not part of "our world".

In contrast, the RCMP present themselves rather positively, as was evident through the analysis of predication and reference as well as the positive topics that created the sense of 'Us' through ideas of aid and tolerance. The RCMP is depicted as this 'good cop' that, for example, solves most of the cases, is tolerant, has improved and will improve their understanding of this issue, will provide information to all levels of government and other partners, educate the public, create prevention measures, and enhance operational planning. In other words, the report supports the federal government's view that a national public inquiry is not necessary as the RCMP are taking care of the issue. Credibility is created, for instance through argumentation, reference to authoritative sources, and presentation of the cooperation with Native Women's Association of Canada. The RCMP also emphasize the fact that they aim to contribute to previous studies. They state that this report will provide a solid foundation for future planning of the police, however, the report cannot work as a solid base while it contains discriminatory ideas and portrayals of Indigenous women and ignores the RCMP's own negative actions. Also, the way the RCMP mitigate the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women works against their credible image.

The Indigenous women's struggle to gain equal rights and status both in the Canadian society and their own communities is further complicated by this reproduction of negative stereotypical images and prejudiced ideologies. Even though the RCMP is not overtly stating that these women are squaws or blameworthy for their victimization, it is evident between the lines and unraveled through the macroanalysis and further with the discursive strategies. This view is not openly supported by the RCMP, but perhaps the fact that it is nevertheless visible in this supposedly unbiased report, suggest that a lot of educational work is needed inside the RCMP. Not before, are they able to fight for the rights and fair treatment of the Indigenous women in Canada. The actions and motives of the RCMP are most likely influenced by the federal government, which is why this issue and the answer to solving it are not straightforward nor thoroughly explainable in the scope of this thesis. Hence, this is not the problem of the RCMP alone, the federal government and especially the Conservatives need to question their prejudiced attitude and actions. At the moment it seems as if their goal is to keep these women

marginalized, hopeless, and helpless. This way, it is impossible to work towards true decolonization and reconciliation.

In Foucault's idea of biopower, populations are managed, exploited, and controlled in a way that suits the ruling class. Modern profit driven globalization may also influence the situation of Indigenous women in Canada, since as Kuokkanen suggests, "[i]f capitalism depends on both colonialism and patriarchy, colonialism also necessitates patriarchy" (2008: 221). This can manifest itself in sexual and racial violence when it comes to vulnerable women. The fact that these women or the Indigenous Peoples in general remain marginalized may work in favor of the ruling class aiming at profit, which is why the root causes of this issue are not being investigated thoroughly. The easier option that has been used since colonialization, is to blame the Indigenous people for their own problems and deny any political or historical reasons. Harding's view of media's actions is applicable; unhinging the present from the past in relation to Indigenous issues and perpetuating damaging stereotypes "create a supportive environment for state structures and practices" through which material and social inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are reproduced (2006: 206). Thus, as it stands it is impossible for the State of Canada to close the well-being gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and to heal their relations with the Indigenous community.

In conclusion, it is evident that these cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women are hardly individual crimes. Discrimination, stereotypical images, and prejudiced attitudes are involved in the causes behind these crimes as well as in the general response to them. Thus, discrimination against Indigenous women (and Peoples) appears to be institutionalized and impacts of history are still visible. This issue can be viewed as one aspect of the dysfunctional relationship between Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian State, with the RCMP report providing only a small window into the larger problem at hand. All Canadians need to engage in re-education, for which a good basis would be a national public inquiry that could raise awareness and pave the way for true decolonization and reconciliation. It could also give the missing and murdered Indigenous women and their families the peace and justice they deserve. The fact that Indigenous women are over-represented when it comes to Canada's missing and murdered women, is clearly a sociological phenomenon.

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Appendix 1: Textual Analysis

A condensed version of the analysis is presented in the following table for reference.

For argumentation, the letters mean the following: errors (E), credibility (C), positive attributions (PA), negative attributions (NA), not that bad/getting better (NB), and not our problem only (NOP).

For reference, the abbreviations mean the following: social problematization (social prob.), collectivization (collect.), somatization (somat.), and professionalization (prof.).

	Microstructure, facts (data)	Macrorules	Macro-structure (M)	Discursive strategies	Higher-order macro-proposition(M₂)	Discursive strategies
1	*Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview*	ZERO	M1			
2	*Executive summary*		-			
3	In late 2013, the Commissioner of the RCMP initiated an RCMP-led study of reported incidents of missing and murdered Aboriginal women across all police jurisdictions in Canada.	GEN	M2: RCMP alone is responsible for this study across all Canadian police jurisdictions.	-predication, positive self -positive topic -reference (prof., in-group)	M₂1: RCMP has compiled this study and this effort will guide Canadian police in relation to this matter in the future, and provide information to communities and all levels of government. (M2, M3, M10, M15, M23)	-predication, positive self -reference (in-group, prof.) -positive topic
4	This report summarizes that effort and will guide Canadian Police operational decision-making on a solid foundation.	GEN	M3: This report will guide Canadian police in the future.	-predication, positive self		
5	It will mean more targeted crime prevention, better community engagement and enhanced accountability for criminal investigations.	CONSTR	->M3 (consequence of M3)			
6	It will also assist operational planning from the detachment to national level. In sum, it reveals the following:	CONSTR	->M3 (consequence of M3)			
7	Police-recorded incidents of Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing	DEL/GEN	->M4 (illustration)			

	Aboriginal females in this review total 1,181 – 164 missing and 1,017 homicide victims.					
8	There are 225 unsolved cases of either missing or murdered Aboriginal females: 105 missing for more than 30 days as of November 4, 2013, whose cause of disappearance was categorized at the time as "unknown" or "foul play suspected" and 120 unsolved homicides between 1980 and 2012.	DEL/ GEN	->M4 (illustration)			
9	The total indicates that Aboriginal women are over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women.	GEN	M4: The total numbers of police-recorded cases indicate Aboriginal females are over-represented among Canada's missing women.	-intensification of the issue -reference (collect.,out-group)	$M_2$2: Aboriginal females are over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women and the numbers exceed previous estimates. (M4, M7)	-intensification of the issue -reference (collect. out-group)
10	There are similarities across all female homicides.	ZERO	M5	-mitigation of the issue -M51: There were differences in the cause of death		
11	Most homicides were committed by men and most of the perpetrators knew their victims — whether as an acquaintance or a spouse.	CONSTR	->M5 (illustration)			
12	The majority of all female homicides are solved (close to 90%) and there is little difference in solve rates between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal victims.	GEN	M6: Majority of all female homicides are solved.	-predication, positive self -mitigation of the issue	$M_2$3: Majority of all female homicides are solved, and the solve-time is roughly the same (on average 19 days longer in Aboriginal cases), but certain occupations such as prostitution may reduce the chances of solving the case. (M6, M82,	-predication, positive self -predication, negative other -mitigation of MMIW -reference (prof., out-group) -positive topic vs negative topic (us&them)

					M83, M86, M87)	
13	This report concludes that the total number of murdered and missing Aboriginal females exceeds previous public estimates.	ZERO	M7	-intensification of the issue		
14	This total significantly contributes to the RCMP's understanding of this challenge, but it represents only a first step.	ZERO	M8	-argumentation (PA) -predication, positive self -positive topic	$M_2$4: RCMP understands the challenge and intents to work with other agencies and partners to make information more widely available and contribute to previous studies (M8, M9, M20, M31)	-predication, positive self -positive topic -argumentation (PA)
15	It is the RCMP's intent to work with the originating agencies responsible for the data herein to release as much of it as possible to stakeholders.	GEN	M9: RCMP intends to work with the originating agencies responsible for the data herein to make information more widely available.	-predication, positive self -positive topic		
16	Already, the data on missing Aboriginal women has been shared with the National Centre for Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains (NCMPUR), which will be liaising with policing partners to publish additional cases on the Canada's Missing website.	GEN / DEL	->M9 (illustration)			
17	Ultimately, the goal is to make information more widely available after appropriate vetting.	GEN	->M9 (consequence of M8)			
18	While this matter is without question a policing concern, it is also a much broader societal challenge.	ZERO	M10	-intensification of the issue -argumentation (NOP)		
19	The collation of this data was completed by the RCMP and the assessments and conclusions herein are those of the RCMP alone.	GEN / CONSTR	->M2 (confirms, highlights M2)	-intensification -predication, positive self		

20	The report would not have been possible without the support and contribution of the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics at Statistics Canada.	ZERO	M11	-argumentation (C)		
21	As with any effort of such magnitude, this report needs to be caveated with a certain amount of error and imprecision.	ZERO	M12: This report might include errors.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (E)	$M_2$5: This report might include errors, differ from previous public and other research and RCMP statements, and the information will change. (M12, M13, M24, M27, M37, M38, M132)	-argumentation (E)
22	This is for a number of reasons: the period of time over which data was collected was extensive; collection by investigators means data is susceptible to human error and interpretation; inconsistency of collection of variables over the review period and across multiple data sources; and, finally, definitional challenges.	DEL/ CON STR	->M12 (illustration)			
23	The numbers that follow are the best available data to which the RCMP had access to at the time the information was collected.	GEN	M13: This data is the best available for the RCMP and the most comprehensive ever assembled by the Canadian policing community but will change as police understanding evolve.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (E) -reference (collect., in-group)		
24	They will change as police understanding of cases evolve, but as it stands, this is the most comprehensive data that has ever been assembled by the Canadian policing community on missing and murdered Aboriginal women.	GEN	->M13 (illustration)			

25	*Introduction*		-			
26	This report is organized around four topics: the numbers of murdered and missing Aboriginal females; homicide perpetrator characteristics; what we understand about the outstanding cases; and, victim circumstances.	GEN / DEL	M14: The report is organized around four topics.			
27	Additionally, the report briefly outlines some immediate steps to be taken by the RCMP to build on present efforts.	GEN	M15: This report outlines the future actions and evolving understanding of the police.	-predication, positive self		
28	These are reflective of this report as a snapshot of an evolving understanding and not definitive conclusions.	GEN	->M15 (illustration)			
29	One particular challenge in conducting this research was the use of the term "Aboriginal" because of its different meanings across multiple organizations and systems.	ZERO	M16	-argumentation (NA)		
30	Details on this issue, project methodology and data sources are available in Appendix A.	DEL	--			
31	*Context*		-			
32	It would be premature to focus on research outcomes without first addressing the context of the research.	ZERO	M17	-argumentation (PA)		
33	Violence against women is a significant societal issue.	ZERO	M18	-mitigation of the issue of MMIW -argumentation (C)	$M_2$6: Violence against women is a significant societal challenge worldwide and this study focuses on its subset, Aboriginal women, who are at close to three times higher risk of being victims of violence than other Canadian women.	-mitigating the problem by framing it as the subset of a bigger problem -reference, collect. out-group

				(M18, M19, M28)	
34	According to the World Health Organization, it affects one-third of women around the globe and represents a health problem of "epidemic proportions".	GEN / CON STR	->M18 (illustration)			
35	This project focused on a subset of that challenge, particularly related to the disappearance and murder of females of Aboriginal origin in Canada.	ZER O	M19	-mitigation of the issue		
36	It treads a path similar to recent studies by the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) and Dr. Maryanne Pearce.	GEN	M20: This study seeks to contribute to and follow previous studies, such as NWAC and Dr. Pearce.	-argumentation (C) -predication, positive self		
37	This study seeks to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on this important matter.	GEN	->M20			
38	What this project did differently was to supplement publicly available data with a comprehensive extract of information from law enforcement holdings from across all police jurisdictions in Canada.	GEN	M21: This project fills a significant gap by supplementing publicly available data with law enforcement holdings.	-predication, positive self -intensification of RCMP actions	$M_2$7: This project fills a significant gap by supplementing publicly available data with law enforcement holdings. (M21)	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA, C)
39	This fills a significant gap.	GEN	->M21			
40	The result should serve as a foundation upon which to target crime prevention and crime reduction efforts by the police.	ZER O	M22	-predication, positive self -reference (prof. in-group) -mitigation of the utterance (should) -reference		
41	It may also provide additional information for communities and all levels of government.	ZER O	M23	-argumentation (PA) -mitigation of the utterance (may)		
42	*On other research to date and why our totals differ from previous research*		-			
43	The totals of murdered and missing Aboriginal females outlined in this report differ from existing publicly available	GEN / DEL	M24: The totals in this report differ from existing publicly	-argumentation (E)		

	research for a variety of reasons including differences in scope, collection methodology, data mismatches, and/or purging of records from closed files.		available research. (-> M12)			
44	The RCMP has almost completed cross-referencing the data it collected from police records with NWAC and Dr. Pearce's research.	ZER O	M25	-predication, positive self -argumentation (C)		
45	Reconciliation to date has been valuable in establishing these findings and improving police record data quality.	ZER O	M26	-positive topic		
46	The totals in this report also differ from previous statements by the RCMP.	CON STR	M27: Previous statements of the RCMP differ since they were based on smaller studies.			
47	These have always focused on datasets narrower in scope or more limited in time frames surveyed.	CON STR	->M27			
48	For example, in September 2013, the RCMP reported to the UN Committee for Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that it had 36 ongoing investigations of missing Aboriginal women where foul play was suspected and 327 Aboriginal female homicides in its jurisdiction.	DEL	->M27 (illustration)			
49	These numbers were smaller because they focused solely on RCMP jurisdictions and spanned a relatively short period of time.	DEL	->M27 (illustration)			
50	*On violence against Aboriginal females in Canada generally*		-			
51	When looking at the issue of murdered and missing Aboriginal females, it is important to remain cognizant of the broader reality of violence affecting Aboriginal women in Canada.	GEN	M28: It is important to remain cognizant of the broader reality: Aboriginal women are at	-intensification of the issue -reference, (collect.) out-group		

			a three times higher risk of being victims to violence than non-Aboriginal women.			
52	They are at a higher risk of being victims of violence than non-Aboriginal females.	GEN	->M28			
53	According to the 2009 General Social Survey (GSS) on Victimization, nearly 67,000 Aboriginal females reported being a victim of violence in the previous 12 months.	GEN	->M28 (illustration)			
54	The rate of victimization among Aboriginal females was close to three times higher than that of non-Aboriginal females.	GEN	->M28 (illustration)			
55	The broader reality is particularly relevant to ongoing work to identify communities of concern.	ZERO	M29		M_28: Work to identify communities of concern is ongoing due to lack of sufficient data. (M29, M30)	-reference, out-group (social prob.) -argumentation (E)
56	Preliminary analysis suggests there is not enough data for meaningful community-by-community analysis.	GEN / DEL	->M30			
57	Combined with data on communities with high rates of violence against women year-to-year, a more useful picture materializes.	GEN	M30: Insufficient data needs to be combined with data on communities with high rates of violence against women, in order to get a more useful picture.	-argumentation (E) -negative topic		
58	Many of these communities match locations in the data collected for this project.	GEN	->M30			
59	Box: Why focus study of murdered Aboriginal females on 1980 to 2012?	GEN	->M31			
60	Box2: The 1980 to 2012 time frame was chosen to align as much as possible with that of the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) Sisters in	GEN	M31: Time frame (1980-2012) for this study was chosen to align as much	-predication, positive self -argumentation (C)		

	Spirit initiative to allow for comparisons and corroboration with recent public work on murdered and missing Aboriginal women.		as possible with NWAC's recent public work on this issue.			
61	*Murdered and missing Aboriginal women overall — By the numbers*		-			
62	Police-reported incidents of Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing Aboriginal female investigations in this review total 1,181.	ZERO	M32			
63	This number includes 1,017 Aboriginal female homicide victims between 1980 and 2012, and 164 Aboriginal women currently considered missing.	CONSTR	->M32 (normal component)			
64	Of these, there are 225 unsolved cases of either missing or murdered aboriginal women.	CONSTR	->M32 (normal component)			
65	*Aboriginal females of as a proportion of the Canadian population*		-			
66	According to recent data from the 2011 National Household Survey, 1.4 million people identified as Aboriginal in 2011, representing 4.3% of the Canadian population.	CONSTR	M33: In 2011, the proportion of Aboriginal females in Canada's female population was similar to the proportion of Aboriginal people in the Canadian population.	-reference (collect., out-group)	M_29: In 2011, the proportion of Aboriginal females in Canada's female population was similar to the proportion of Aboriginal people in the Canadian population. (M33)	-reference (collect., out-group)
67	The proportion of Aboriginal females in Canada's female population is similar.	CONSTR	->M33			
68	In 2011, there were 718,500 Aboriginal females in Canada, representing 4.3% of the overall female population that year.	CONSTR	->M33			
69	The largest percentages of persons identifying as Aboriginal as a total of the population were found in the territories (Nunavut at 86.3%, Northwest Territories at 51.9% and the Yukon at	GEN	M34: The percentages of persons identifying as Aboriginal as a total of the population varied in	-reference (collect., out-group)		

	23.1%), followed by Manitoba (16.7%) and Saskatchewan (15.6%).		different areas, with the highest being in the territories followed by the prairie provinces (MA & SK).			
70	Persons self-identifying as Aboriginal represented less than 8% of the total population in the remaining provinces.	GEN / DEL	->M34			
71	*Missing*		-			
72	Thousands of people are missing in Canada on any given day.	ZERO	M35	-mitigation of the issue	$M_2$10: The whereabouts of many of the thousands of people in Canada that are missing daily are established quickly. (M35)	-predication, positive self "we solve" -mitigation of the issue -positive topic
73	The whereabouts of many are established quickly.	ZERO	M36	-predication, positive self -positive topic		
74	As a result, there is a certain challenge in arriving at an accurate count of what is a moving picture.	ZERO	M37	-argumentation (E)		
75	The total of missing Aboriginal females was based primarily on a report of all women listed as missing for more than 30 days across all police jurisdictions on the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) system as of November 4, 2013.	GEN	->M38			
76	According to this extract and subsequent quality assurance review and follow-up, there were 164 missing Aboriginal females as of November 4, 2013.	GEN	M38: According to CPIC, there were 164 missing Aboriginal females (11,3% of the total of missing females) as of Nov 4, 2013.	-reference, (collect., out-group)		
77	They make up approximately 11.3% of the total number of missing females (1,455 total).	GEN	->M38			

78	The most recent was reported in September 2013.	DEL	->M38			
79	It is possible that the total number of missing Aboriginal females in this data set is different than the actual number due to a variety of factors including a missing female not being identified as Aboriginal during the investigation and/or a disappearance not being reported to police.	GEN	M39 (->M12?) The total number of the missing Aboriginal women in the data may differ from reality due to a variety of reasons.	-argumentation (E)		
80	For example, a number of cases that surfaced in NWAC and Dr. Pearce's research may not have surfaced in this project.	GEN / DEL	->M39 (illustration)			
81	*Figure 1 – Probable cause for missing Aboriginal females, as of Nov. 2013*	-	-			
82	The reasons that these 164 individuals are missing vary.	ZERO	M40		$M_2$11: The reasons the 164 Aboriginal women are missing vary from violent crime and accident to voluntary disappearance, according to the understanding of the police. (M40, M41)	-mitigation of the issue -argumentation (E)
83	An individual may be a victim of a violent crime, may have gone missing due to an accident, or may have disappeared voluntarily for personal reasons.	GEN / CONSTR	->M40 (illustration)	-mitigation of the issue		
84	The best understanding of this is entered as the "probable cause" in CPIC by the police of jurisdiction at the time the person is reported missing.	ZERO	M41	-reference, (prof.), in-group -argumentation (E)		
85	This breaks down as follows: 37% (61 cases) unknown; 27% (44) foul play suspected; 27% (45) accident where a body was never recovered; 7% (12) lost or wandered off; and, 1% (2) runaway.	DEL/ CONSTR	->M40 (illustrations			
86	Recognizing the clearly non-suspicious nature of many of these	GEN	M42	-argumentation (NA)	$M_2$12: Unfortunately, the	-predication, positive self

	disappearances and the reality that the longer an individual is missing for unknown reasons, the more reason there is to be apprehensive about their fate, the research has aggregated these probable causes further into suspicious/unknown circumstances (64%, 105 individuals) and non-suspicious, (36%, 59 individuals).			-mitigation of the issue -predication, positive self ("we are apprehensive")	disappearances of Aboriginal women are often clearly non-suspicious. (M42, M43)	-mitigation of the issue -argumentation (NA) -face saving
87	It might seem odd to describe any missing person's disappearance as non-suspicious.	GEN	M43: Unfortunately, missing Aboriginal women's disappearances are frequently non-suspicious.	-argumentation (NA) -mitigation of the issue -predication, positive self "we are sorry" -reference, collect., out-group		
88	Unfortunately, however, this is frequently the case.	GEN	->M43	-face saving		
89	A number of people disappear as a result of mishaps, e.g. a boating accident or recreational swimming drowning (43 of the 59 non-suspicious missing Aboriginal females are categorized as presumed drowning).	GEN / CONSTR	->M43 (illustration)			
90	While there is reason to believe they are very likely deceased, there is insufficient information to officially categorize them as such.	DEL	->M43 (illustration)			
91	*Murdered*					
92	Five elements of the data related to murdered Aboriginal females are discussed below: over-representation as a proportion of victims; trends as a proportion of victims; location of death; cause of death; and, related criminality.	ZERO/ DEL	M44/ -			
93	*I. Over-representation*		-			
94	Between 1980 and 2012, there were 20,313 homicides across Canada, which averaged approximately 615 per year.	GEN	M45: Between 1980 and 2012, there were 20,313 homicides	-mitigation, starting from the bigger picture	$M_2$13: The proportion of Aboriginal female victims of all female homicide	-intensification of the issue -reference, (collect,. out-group)

			across all police jurisdictions in Canada of which females represented 32% .		victims is far greater than their representation in Canada's female population and the proportion is rising due to the decrease in non-Aboriginal homicides. (M45, M46, M49)	
95	Females represented 32% of homicide victims (6,551 victims) across all police jurisdictions between 1980 and 2012.	GEN	->M45			
96	Every province and territory was implicated.	GEN	->M45 (normal component)			
97	There were 1,017 Aboriginal female victims of homicide during this period, which represents roughly 16% of all female homicides — far greater than their representation in Canada's female population as described above.	GEN	M46: The number of Aboriginal female victims of homicides is far greater than their representation in Canada's female population.	-intensification of the issue -reference, collect. out-group		
98	Eastern Canada exhibited lower proportions of Aboriginal victims than Western Canada and the North, keeping in mind overall population demographics for the provinces and territories will significantly impact proportional percentages.	DEL/CONSTR	->M47 (illustration)			
99	Over-representation of Aboriginal female homicide victims appears to hold for most provinces and territories (See Figure 2 for a breakdown).	ZERO	M47 (->M46)		M$_2$14: Over-representation of Aboriginal female homicide victims appears to hold for most provinces and territories with some differences due to the overall population demographics. (M47)	
100	The finding of over-representation is consistent with other research conducted in	ZERO	M48	-argumentation (C)		

	Canada on homicides of Aboriginal peoples.					
101	*Figure 2 – Female homicides, 1980-2012*	-	-			
102	*II. Trend in proportion of victims*	-	-			
103	The number of Aboriginal female victims of homicide has remained relatively constant while the number of non-Aboriginal female victims has been declining (Figure 3).	ZERO	M49	-mitigation of the issue -argumentation (NB)		
104	*Figure 3 — Female homicides per year, 1980-2012*	-	-			
105	Aboriginal women accounted for 8% of female victims in 1984 as compared to 23% in 2012 (Figure 4).	CONSTR	->M49 (normal component)			
106	*Figure 4 – Aboriginal female homicides as proportion of total female homicides per year, 1980-2012*	-	-			
107	The growing proportion of Aboriginal female homicides is a direct reflection of a decrease in non-Aboriginal female homicides.	CONSTR	->M49 (explanation)			
108	The Aboriginal female homicide rate per 100,000 population dropped from 7.60 to 4.45 between 1996 and 2011, the years data on this statistic was reviewed (Figure 5).	DEL/GEN	M50: The Aboriginal female homicide rate has dropped.	-argumentation (NB)		
109	*Figure 5 – Female homicide victimization rate*	-	-			
110	*III. Cause of death*		-			
111	There were differences in the cause of death between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female victims.	ZERO	M51		$M_2 15$: There were differences in the cause of death between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female victims, (the most common causes for Aboriginal women were physical beating and stabbing, whereas for	-reference, out-group

					non-Aboriginal women they were stabbing and shooting.) (M51, M53)	
112	Additional research to understand these differences in detail is required.	ZERO	M52	-argumentation (E)		
113	Among Aboriginal female victims, approximately one-third (32%) died as a result of a physical beating.	GEN	M53: Aboriginal women died most frequently, and twice as often as non-Aboriginal women, as a result of physical beating (32%). (->M51)	-reference, (collect., out-group)		
114	This was the most frequent cause of death among Aboriginal female victims and was reported almost twice as often as it was for non-Aboriginal female victims (17%).	GEN	->M53			
115	Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female victims of homicide were similarly likely to be victims of stabbing (31% Aboriginal versus 27% Non-Aboriginal).	ZERO	M54 (->M51)			
116	Non-Aboriginal female victims were more likely to have died as the result of a shooting (26% versus 16%) and were also more likely to have been strangled, suffocated or drowned (22% versus 13%).	ZERO	M55 (->M51)			
117	*Figure 6 – Cause of death, female homicide victims, 1980-2012*	-	-			
118	*IV. Location of homicide*		-			
119	Data on where the victim was killed was only available for the period from between 1991 and 2012.	GEN	M56: Between 1991 and 2012, when data was available, there were similarities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal	-argumentation (E) (similarities – differences in table not discussed)		

			female homicides.			
120	During this period, there were similarities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female homicides.	GEN	->M56			
121	Approximately three quarters of victims were killed in a residence.	DEL	->M56			
122	Vehicles, public transport and open areas were the next most frequent location of the homicide.	DEL	->M56			
123	*V. Related criminality*		-			
124	One element captured was whether the offender had the original intent to kill the victim.	ZERO	M57			
125	An associated or related offence led to the homicide in approximately one third of all female homicides.	ZERO	M58 (->M57)			
126	Aboriginal female homicides were slightly more likely (39%) to involve an associated or related offence than non-Aboriginal female homicides (31%).	ZERO	M59 (->M57)			
127	The two most frequent associated offence types were "other assault" and "sexual assault" and both were more likely to occur in Aboriginal female homicides.	ZERO	M60 (->M59)		$M_2$16: Aboriginal female homicides were slightly more likely to involve a related offence and the two most common types, "other assault" and "sexual assault", were both more likely in Aboriginal female homicides. (M59, M60)	-reference (collect, social prob.) out-group
128	"Other assault" was the precursor in 18% of Aboriginal female homicides (compared to 8% of non-Aboriginal female homicides); "sexual assault" was the precursor to 10% of Aboriginal female homicides (compared to 6% of non-Aboriginal female homicides).	DEL/ CON STR	->M60 (illustration)			

129	It should be noted that only a small proportion of Aboriginal female homicides (approximately 2%) were described by investigators as linked to the drug trade or gang or organized crime activity.	ZERO	M61	-argumentation (NA) -reference "out-group", criminalization: as if this is a common problem with Aboriginal people OR mitigates the fact that some women are forced to prostitution		
130	*The perpetrators*					
131	It is worth noting some of the characteristics of the offenders responsible for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female homicides.	ZERO/ DEL	M62 / -	argumentation (NA)		
132	*Offender's relationship to the victim*		-			
133	Female homicide victims generally know the person who kills them – more than 90% had a previous relationship with them.	ZERO	M63	-argumentation (generalization, C) -mitigation of the issue	$M_2$17: Female victims generally know the perpetrator, but Aboriginal women were more likely murdered by an acquaintance than non-Aboriginal, who then again were more likely killed by current or former spouse than Aboriginal. (M63, M64, M65)	-reference, out-group
134	This is true for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female victims.	DEL/ GEN	->M63			
135	*Figure 8 – Offender-to-victim relationship, female homicides, 1980-2012*	-	-			
136	Aboriginal female victims were most often murdered by an acquaintance (30% compared to 19%).	ZERO	M64			
137	Breaking this down further, Aboriginal females were more likely to be murdered by a casual acquaintance (17% compared to 9%) or by	DEL/ GEN	->M64 (further explanation)	-predication, negative other =criminal relationship pointed out		

	someone with whom they had a criminal relationship (7% compared to 3%).			-reference, out-group (social prob.) -negative topic		
138	Spousal relationships (married, divorced, common-law and separated individuals) were also prominent, though Aboriginal female victims were less often killed by a current or former spouse (29% compared to 41%).	GEN / DEL	M65: Aboriginal female victims were less often killed by their spouse than non-Aboriginal.			
139	*Previous history of family violence*		-			
140	In cases of homicides where the offender and the victim are in a familial relationship, investigators are asked to note on the Homicide Survey whether they were aware of any previous history of violence between the two.	ZERO	M66	-reference (prof., in-group)		
141	More often, they cited a known history of previous family violence (which may or may not have been reported to police) between Aboriginal female victims and their offenders than their non-Aboriginal female counterparts (62% compared to 43%).	ZERO	M67	-reference (social prob., out-group) -predication, negative other -mitigation of the issue -argumentation, (C) -negative topic	$M_2$18: Known history of family violence was cited more often between Aboriginal victim and their offender than in the cases of non-Aboriginal victims. (M67)	-reference (social prob.) -predication, negative other -negative topic -argumentation (C)
142	*Gender and age*		-			
143	Offenders accused in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female homicides were mostly male (89%) as opposed to female (11%).	GEN / DEL	M68: Offenders were mostly male, the average age being 35.		$M_2$19: Offenders of Aboriginal victims were mostly male, c. 30 years, and compared to offenders of non-Aboriginal victims they were less frequently employed, more often on some form of social assistance, less likely identified as making a living through illegal activities	-reference (somat., social prob.), out-group -predication, negative other "typical Indian" -negative topic

				(even though they had a criminal record more often), more often under the influence of intoxicants, and less likely to have a developmental disorder. (M68 – M78)	
144	Their average age was 35 years old, with the youngest being a youth and the oldest being over ninety years old.	GEN / DEL	->M68		
145	Those accused of killing Aboriginal females, however, were slightly younger (30 compared to 36 years old).	ZERO	M69		
146	*Employment status*		-		
147	Offenders accused of killing Aboriginal females were less frequently employed than those accused of killing non-Aboriginal females (41% compared to 26%).	ZERO	M70	-reference (social prob.) -predication "typical Indian"	
148	They were more often on some form of social assistance or disability insurance (24% compared to 10%).	ZERO	M71	-reference (social prob.)	
149	Those accused of killing Aboriginal females were less likely to be identified as making a living through illegal activities (5% compared to 8%).	ZERO	M72	repetition of "those accused of")	
150	*Involvement in illegal activities*		-		
151	Offenders accused of killing Aboriginal females were more likely to have a criminal record (71% compared to 45%).	ZERO	M73	-reference (social prob.) -predication, negative other -negative topic	
152	The most common serious conviction among offenders accused in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal homicides was related to a violent offence, yet those accused of killing Aboriginal females were more likely to have this type of offence on their	GEN	M74 (->M73) Violent offence was the most common serious conviction in both cases, but more common for those accused	-reference, out-group (social prob.)	

	criminal records (53% compared to 27%).		of killing Aboriginal women.			
153	*Use of intoxicants*		-			
154	An offender consumed alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the incident in more than a third of female homicides (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal).	ZERO	M75			
155	Those accused of killing Aboriginal females were more likely to have consumed an intoxicating substance (71% compared to 31%).	ZERO	M76	-predication "typical Indian" -reference (somat.) out-group		
156	*Suspected mental or developmental disorder*		-			
157	Overall investigators indicated that 19% of offenders were likely to have, or be suspected of having, a mental or developmental disorder.	ZERO	M77	-reference, out-group (social prob.)		
158	Perpetrators of Aboriginal female homicides, were less likely to have, or be suspected of having, a developmental disorder (10% compared to 20%).	ZERO	M78	-predication (they are criminally responsible)		
159	*Offender's motive*		-			
160	Motive refers to the offender's purpose in killing the victim.	DEL	-			
161	Between 2005 and 2012, the apparent motive was unknown in 14% of female homicides (possibly because a chargeable suspect has yet to be identified).	ZERO	M79			
162	The most frequent motive in Aboriginal female homicides was "argument or quarrel" representing 40% of all incidents (compared to 23% for non-Aboriginal females).	ZERO	M80		$M_2$20: The most frequent motive in Aboriginal female homicides was "argument or quarrel". (M80)	-implies family violence? ->reference (out-group) collect.
163	"Frustration, anger or despair" was the second most frequent motive identified in Aboriginal female homicides at 20% (compared to 30% for non-Aboriginal females).	ZERO	M81			
164	*Figure 9 – Offender motive, 2005-2012*	-	-			

165	*Unsolved Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing Aboriginal female occurrences*	ZERO	-			
166	The data collected indicates that police solve almost 9 of every 10 female homicides, regardless of victim origin (88% for Aboriginal female homicides, 89% for non-Aboriginal female homicides).	GEN	M82: The data indicates that police solve almost 9 out of 10 female homicides, regardless of victim origin.	-predication, positive self -positive topic (aid & tolerance, Us)		
167	Other factors, such as victim involvement in certain occupations, may reduce the chance their murder will be solved.	ZERO	M83	-victim-blaming -predication, negative other -reference (social prob., prof.)		
168	The term "solve rate" or "solved" is used synonymously with clearance rate for the purposes of this report.	DEL	-/ ->M83 irrelevant, illustration?			
169	*Figure 10 - Female Homicide Solve Rates, 1980-2012Footnote 29*	-	-			
170	*Figure 11 – Unsolved Aboriginal Female Homicides and Unresolved Missing Aboriginal Females by province, all jurisdictions*	-	-			
171	*Overall*		-			
172	Police-reported data indicates that solve rates are comparable between incidents involving Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female victims of homicide.	GEN	M84: Solve rates seem to be comparable regardless of victim's origin.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA)		
173	Overall, 5,770 of 6,551 incidents from 1980 to 2012 were solved.	DEL	->M84 (irrelevant, illustration)			
174	In the data collected solve rates varied across the country, from as low as 80% (Nova Scotia) to as high as 100% (New Brunswick) for Aboriginal females, and as low as 84% (British Columbia) to as high as 100% (PEI, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories) for non-Aboriginal females.	GEN / DEL	M85: Solve rates varied across the country; lowest for Aboriginal women was 80% and for non-Aboriginal 84% with highest 100% for both.			
175	Solve rates for the provinces and territories	DEL	- (illustration)			

	are illustrated in Figure 10.				
176	These fluctuate significantly when the numbers involved are small, for example, in Atlantic Canada.	DEL/ CON STR	->M85 (normal component)		
177	While solve rates remain similar between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal female homicides, certain homicides appear to be solved less frequently than homicides overall.	GEN	M86: Homicides related to sex trade or other illegal activities are solved less frequently than homicides overall.	-argumentation (PA) -reference (social prob.)	
178	For example, homicides involving women who were reported to be employed as prostitutes were solved at a significantly lower rate than homicides overall; for Aboriginal victims in the sex trade, the solve rate was 60%, whereas for non-Aboriginals it was 65%.	GEN	->M86	-predication, negative other	
179	Similarly, homicides involving female victims employed in other illegal activities were cleared at a lower rate than the overall; Aboriginal victims had their cases solved 65% of the time and non-Aboriginal victims 60%.	GEN	->M86		
180	*Solve time*		-		
181	On average, homicides involving Aboriginal female victims are solved in roughly the same amount of time as ones involving non-Aboriginal female victims.	ZER O	M87	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA) (arguing against accusations)	
182	Where the data was provided, the average clearance time for Aboriginal female homicides was 224 days whereas the average for non-Aboriginal female homicides is 205 days.	CON STR	->M87 (illustration)		
183	The overall average time to solve was 212 days	CON STR	->M87		
184	*Unsolved murdered and missing*		-		

185	Criminal intelligence analysis of collected data will be necessary to ensure there are no previously unknown suspicious clusters of occurrences.	ZERO	M88			
186	While it is preliminary to draw any conclusions from the data, it appears that multi-agency task forces on missing or murdered women have been established in several of the highest volume areas of unsolved murdered and missing Aboriginal female incidents.		M89	-argumentation (E)		
187	The total number of unsolved missing and murdered Aboriginal women occurrences as of the time of data collection was 225.	ZERO	M90			
188	This includes 105 cases of missing Aboriginal women categorized as "unknown" or "foul play suspected" and 120 unsolved Aboriginal female homicides.	DEL/ CON STR	->M90 normal component			
189	The RCMP is the police force of primary jurisdiction for about half of these cases (121), including 53 of the missing and 68 of the murdered.	ZERO	M91	-argumentation (PA, NOP)	$M_2$21: There were 225 unsolved cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal females when the data was collected and only half of these fall within RCMP's jurisdiction, but the RCMP will provide these other municipal and provincial police forces with relevant data to assist in their efforts. (M91, M106)	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA, NOP)
190	Unresolved cases of missing and unsolved cases of murdered Aboriginal females stretch across the period studied.	DEL	->M91 (explanation)			
191	*Figure 12 – Unsolved Aboriginal Female Homicides (1980-2012)*	-	-			

	and unresolved missing Aboriginal females (according to CPIC as of Nov 4, 2013) by year of incident/disappearance, all jurisdictions					
192	*Understanding certain risk factors of murdered Aboriginal females*		-			
193	Any discussion of victim characteristics is vulnerable to the accusation that blame is being assigned to the victim.	GEN	M92: Even though any discussion of victim characteristics is vulnerable to the accusation of victim-blaming, there is no such intent here.	-mitigation of the following discriminatory utterances -argumentation (NA)	M$_2$22: The intent is not to blame the victim, but certain vulnerability factors make the victim more susceptible to violent victimization, and these emphasize the need to engage not just police tools but broader response options (social services, health, education etc.) (M92 – M94)	-predication, positive self-reference, out-group (social prob.) -argumentation (NOP, NA) -face saving -positive vs. negative topic (Us vs. Them)
194	There is no such intent here.	GEN	->M92	-intensification		
195	There are certain factors that will make an individual more susceptible to violent victimization.	ZERO	M93			
196	The presence of these vulnerability factors in the cases of murdered Aboriginal women as opposed to the cases of murdered non-Aboriginal women may help provide some descriptive statistics to inform future social interventions or operational crime prevention planning.	ZERO	M94	-argumentation (NA) -reference (collect.) out-group		
197	It should also emphasize the need to engage not just police tools, but broader response options (social services, health, education, etc.).	CONSTR	->M94 (normal component/consequence)			
198	There is insufficient data relating to currently missing Aboriginal women from which to draw reliable conclusions with respect to risk	ZERO	M95	-argumentation (E)	M$_2$23: There is need for further studies, (for example the data on homicide	-argumentation (E)

	factors contributing to their disappearance.				causes as well as data on currently missing Aboriginal women is insufficient for drawing any reliable conclusions of the risk factors). (M95, M52)	
199	*Employment status*		-			
200	The data suggests differences between Aboriginal female homicide victims and non-Aboriginal female homicide victims in terms of employment status.	ZER O	M96		M$_2$24: The Aboriginal victims compared to the non-Aboriginals, were less likely employed, more likely to support themselves through illegal activities, more likely on some form of social assistance, more likely under the influence of intoxicants, and slightly more likely to be involved in sex trade (but not noteworthy difference). (M96 – M103)	-reference, (somat., social prob., collect.) out-group

-predication, negative other "typical Indian" and "squaw" stereotypes

-negative topic

-argumentation (NA)

-Binary |
201	Aboriginal victims were less likely to be employed than non-Aboriginal victims (16% versus 40%).	ZER O	M97 (->M96)	-predication, "typical Indian" -reference (social prob.)		
202	Aboriginal victims were more likely to support themselves through illegal means (18% versus 8%), be unemployed but still part of the labour force (12% versus 8%), and be on some form of social assistance or disability insurance (23% versus 9%).		M98 (->M96)	-predication, "typical Indian" -reference (social prob.)		
203	This is in line with data from the 2006 census about the Aboriginal population in Canada.	ZER O	M99	-argumentation (NA, C) -mitigation of the discriminatory utterance		

204	*Use of intoxicants*		-			
205	Another vulnerability factor that is more prevalent in the cases of murdered Aboriginal females is the consumption of drugs, alcohol or other intoxicants by the victim prior to the incident.	ZER O	M100 (->M102)	-predication "typical Indian" -reference (somat.)		
206	This information is generally obtained from the toxicology results on the Coroner's Report or from witness accounts of the event where available.	ZER O	M101 (->M102)	-mitigation of the discriminatory utterance -argumentation (NA)		
207	From the data available between 1997 and 2012, Aboriginal females were more likely than non-Aboriginal females to have consumed some form of alcohol and/or drugs or other intoxicating substance prior to the incident (63% versus 20%).	GEN	M102: Aboriginal females more likely under the influence of toxicants when murdered.	-predication ("typical Indian", victim-blaming) -reference (somat.)		
208	*Involvement in the sex trade*		-			
209	The lack of a large difference in the prevalence of the involvement in the sex trade among victims is noteworthy.	GEN	M103: Number of Aboriginal female homicide victims involved in sex trade was slightly higher (12% vs. 5%) than that of non-Aboriginal female victims, therefore it would be inappropriate to suggest any significant difference.	-mitigation of the prevalence of Aboriginal women in sex trade -argumentation (NB)		
210	From 1991 to 2012, the survey identified 255 female homicide victims as being involved in the sex trade.	GEN	->M103			
211	The percentage of Aboriginal female homicide victims involved was slightly higher than	GEN	->M103			

	that of non-Aboriginal female homicide victims — 12% versus 5% respectively — which are both relatively small components of the available population.					
212	As a result, it would be inappropriate to suggest any significant difference in the prevalence of sex trade workers among Aboriginal female homicide victims as compared to non-Aboriginal female homicide victims.	GEN	->M103			
213	*Next steps*		-			
214	The completion of this report marks the beginning of the next phase of the RCMP's effort as a component of a more global response to the challenge of murdered and missing Aboriginal women.	ZERO	M104	-predication, positive self -positive topic	$M_2$25: This report marks the beginning of the next phase of the RCMP's effort as a component of a more global response to the challenge of the murdered and missing Aboriginal women and includes enhancing efforts on unsolved cases, focusing prevention efforts, increasing public awareness, and strengthening the data through various means. (M104 – M119)	-predication, positive self -positive topic -argumentation (PA)
215	This effort will be sustained nationwide along four key lines:	DEL/ CONSTR	->M104			
216	*(1) Enhancing efforts on unresolved cases*		-			
217	RCMP Divisions have been provided with data from this project and have been directed to review all outstanding cases within their areas of responsibility to ensure all investigative avenues have been explored; and,	GEN	M105: RCMP Divisions have been provided with data from this project and directed to review all outstanding	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA)		

	ensure units responsible for missing and murdered cases are resourced sufficiently.		cases to ensure thorough investigations, which are monitored at the RCMP National Headquarters.		
218	Progress will be monitored at RCMP National Headquarters.	GEN	->M105		
219	Of the unresolved cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal females, approximately 46% fall within the jurisdiction of other provincial or municipal police forces.	GEN	M106: Other provincial or municipal police forces are in charge of 46% of the unresolved cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women, and the RCMP will provide them with relevant data to assist in their efforts.	-predication, positive self -positive topic	
220	The RCMP will provide partners with data relevant to their jurisdictions to assist in their efforts on these outstanding cases.	GEN	->M106		
221	Additionally, the RCMP has dedicated resources to develop a National Missing Persons Strategy.	GEN	M107: The RCMP has dedicated resources to develop a National Missing Persons strategy that will guide RCMP's approach to missing persons' cases and increase the quality of investigations in a variety of ways.	-predication, positive self -positive topic	
222	The strategy will guide the RCMP's approach to missing persons cases and will increase the quality of investigations in the following ways:	GEN	->M107		

223	Ensuring the necessary level of supervision and guidance is provided on all missing persons investigations;	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
224	Ensuring available victim services are provided to support the families;	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
225	Providing ongoing and timely communication to the family or reporting party;	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
226	Conducting interviews with located individuals to determine possible risk factors for prevention and early intervention;	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
227	Updating the RCMP National Missing Persons policy to incorporate best practices;	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
228	Initiating the mandatory use and completion of a national missing persons intake form; and,	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
229	Implementing a mandatory national risk assessment tool as an investigative aid.	DEL/ CON STR	->M107			
230	*(2) Focusing prevention efforts*		-			
231	The RCMP will use the data gathered to enhance its efforts at preventing Aboriginal females from going missing or being murdered.	ZER O	M108	-predication, positive self -positive topic		
232	Based in part on the data collected, the RCMP will identify communities with the highest risk of violence against women.	GEN	M109: The RCMP will identify communities with the highest risk of violence against women and it will maximize support and appropriate community treatment programs focused towards at-risk individuals.	-predication, positive self -reference (social prob.) -negative topic		
233	Within these communities, intervention, diversion and family violence prevention initiatives will be focused towards at-	GEN	->M109			

	risk individuals to maximize support and referrals to appropriate community treatment programs, such as the community-led, police-assisted program, Aboriginal Shield.					
234	The RCMP will also work with other government departments and agencies to introduce and initiate crime prevention programs within these communities.	ZERO	M110	-predication, positive self -positive topic -argumentation (C)		
235	For example, the RCMP will collaborate with Public Safety Canada and other federal partners to help these communities identify issues and mobilize resources through the Community Safety Plan process.	DEL/ CON STR	->M110 (illustration)			
236	The RCMP will also track the progress of prevention and intervention initiatives through detachment performance plans to ensure appropriate accountability of local commanders.	ZERO	M111	-predication, positive self		
237	*(3) Increasing public awareness*		-			
238	To further discussions about policing issues involving Aboriginal women, the RCMP will maintain its dedicated NWAC liaison — an RCMP employee who works collaboratively with NWAC to develop public awareness tools and resources focused on the prevention of violence against Aboriginal women.	GEN	M112: The RCMP will continue to collaborate with NWAC to further discussions about policing issues and develop public awareness in order to prevent violence against Aboriginal women.	-predication, positive self -positive topic -argumentation (C, PA)	$M_2$26: The RCMP continues to work in collaboration with the Native Women's Association of Canada. (M112)	-argumentation (C) -predication, positive self -positive topic
239	As a partner in the federal Family Violence Initiative, the RCMP's National Crime Prevention Services distributes funding to detachments to work with non-profit community organizations	ZERO	M113: As a partner in the federal Family Violence Initiative, the RCMP's National Crime Prevention	-predication, positive self -positive topic		

	and all levels of government.		Services funds others' work to address the issue of family violence in high-risk communities.			
240	This funding is used to support initiatives that address the issue of family violence as part of the Family Violence Investment Project.	CON STR	->M113 (explanation, normal component)			
241	The RCMP will re-focus the funding for this project to target high-risk communities.	GEN	->M113			
242	The RCMP will continue to work with stakeholders and partners to encourage the lawful and appropriate public release of data from this exercise.	ZER O	M114: The RCMP will continue to collaborate with partners to encourage lawful and appropriate public release of the data from this exercise for future research.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (C)		
243	Also, the RCMP will provide information collected during the project to Statistics Canada so that any new information can be included as part of its official holdings.	DEL/ CON STR	->M114			
244	Once this is completed, the information will be available for future publications or analysis via regular Statistics Canada disclosure mechanisms.	DEL/ CON STR	->M114			
245	*(4) Strengthening the data*		-			
246	The list of outstanding murdered and missing Aboriginal females compiled for this project represents the most comprehensive list of police-reported murdered and missing data to date.	ZER O	M115	-intensification -predication, positive self -argumentation (PA, E)		
247	It is important that it remains current because it provides a single common operating baseline from which	ZER O	M116	-intensification (RCMP)		

	agencies can assess and deploy response strategies.					
248	To that end, the data on missing women has been shared with the National Centre for Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains (NCMPUR), which will work to publish these cases on its Canada's Missing website.	GEN	M117: The data has been shared with NCMPUR, therefore expanding their public data holdings.	-predication, positive self		
249	This will greatly expand the number of cases that are in NCMPUR's holdings and that are publicly available on its website.	GEN	->M117 (consequence)			
250	To continue to ensure there is solid data available for operational decision-making and to ensure RCMP members record the most relevant information possible for Statistics Canada, the RCMP will roll out changes to how it collects data on homicides and missing persons.	ZERO	M118	-predication, positive self -argumentation (PA)		
251	As a result of this project, the RCMP will ensure that Aboriginal origin is captured as part of Homicide Surveys.	ZERO	M119		M$_2$27: As a result of this project, the RCMP will ensure that Aboriginal origin is captured as part of Homicide Surveys.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (C)
252	*Appendix A – Understanding the numbers*		-			
253	*Calculating Missing Aboriginal Women*	ZERO	-			
254	It is standard practice that all missing persons reported to police are entered into the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) database, though policy and procedure may differ from one police service to another about what gets reported and when.	ZERO	M120	-argumentation (NA, E)	M$_2$28: It is standard practice that all missing persons reported to police are entered into the CPIC, though the policy and procedure of what gets reported and when may differ from one police service to another. (M120)	-predication, positive self -argumentation (NA, E)

255	The figure of missing Aboriginal women in this report is derived from a file review of cases involving women in Canada who, on November 4, 2013, had been categorized on the CPIC database as missing for a period exceeding 30 days.	GEN	M121: The data on missing Aboriginal women in this report is limited since it includes women who had been categorized missing for 30 or more days and remained so on Nov 4, 2013 on CPIC database.	-argumentation (E)		
256	This limits the size of the data set described in this report.	GEN	->M121			
257	The missing women included herein are those who remained missing on November 4, 2013, and they are all deemed to be of Aboriginal origin.	GEN	->M121			
258	Limiting the search was the first methodological step of the team assigned to this project.	GEN	M122: Limiting the search, time-frame, and subsequent file review by the ethnicity entry on CPIC, with Aboriginal origin previously added, were first methodological steps of the team assigned to this project in determining unresolved cases.	-argumentation (E)	$M_2$29: The data on missing Aboriginal women was narrowed by limiting the search, time-frame, and subsequent file review by the ethnicity entry on CPIC, in which the Aboriginal origin is a recent addition. (M122)	-argumentation (E)
259	The second was to limit the subsequent file review to missing women whose CPIC entry categorized their "ethnicity" as "non-white" female (558) or "blank" (152) — a total of 710 records.	GEN	->M122			
	Aboriginal origin is a recent addition to the ethnicity field in CPIC.	DEL/CONSTR	->M122			
260	Of these cases, file reviews determined that 419 were non-Aboriginal	DEL/CONSTR	->M122 (illustration)			

	females and 127 did not meet the parameters of the project (88 because they had been found despite remaining listed as missing on CPIC, 20 because they were confirmed to be deceased but remained listed as missing on CPIC, eight because they had yet to reach the 30 day mark, one because he was confirmed male but was listed as female on CPIC, and 10 because the file review could not confirm an ethnicity).				
261	The remaining cases were assessed to be unresolved cases of missing Aboriginal women as of November 4, 2013.	GEN	->M122		
262	The following were not included in this project: women missing for a period less than 30 days as of November 4, 2013; women who, since November 4, 2013, have become missing for more than 30 days; women who previously had been missing for a period exceeding 30 days but whose disappearance had been resolved; Aboriginal women missing for a period exceeding 30 days whose "ethnicity" field erroneously identifies them as "white;" and, women who were reported missing to a police service but never uploaded to CPIC.	DEL/ CON STR	->M122 (illustration)		
263	As a result, not all Aboriginal females who have — at one time — been reported to police as missing are included in this study.	ZER O	M123	-argumentation (E)	$M_2$30: As a result, not all Aboriginal females who have – at one time – been reported to police as missing are included in this study. (M123)	-argumentation (E)
264	A number of the missing Aboriginal females in the data set have a reported Date Of Birth that would	ZER O	M124	-argumentation (E)		

	now put their age past the average life expectancy of women in Canada.				
265	As they were listed on CPIC as missing on November 4, 2013, they remain part of data set collected as missing.	CON STR	->M124		
266	*Calculating probable cause of missing*		-		
267	CPIC provides police officers with nine "probable cause" options to categorize why a person has gone missing: (1) abduction by a stranger; (2) accident; (3) wandered off/lost; (4) parental abduction with a custody order; (5) parental abduction — no custody order; (6) runaway; (7) unknown; (8) other; and, (9) presumed dead.	GEN	M125: Police officers identified six of the CPIC's nine "probable cause" category options for why a person has gone missing and all categories of suspected violence were marked as "foul play suspected".	-reference, in-group (prof.)	
268	This research did not identify any cases of "parental abduction" (either with or without a custody order) or "other."	GEN	->M125		
269	Researchers consolidated all categories of suspected violence as "foul play suspected."	GEN	->M125		
270	As a result, the definitions of the probable cause categories used in this report are as follows:	DEL	->M125 (irrelevant)		
271	Accident: the subject's disappearance is a presumed drowning in a swimming or boating mishap, airplane accident, fire, avalanche, hiking fall, etc. and the subject's body has not yet been recovered;	GEN	M126: Accident means the subject is presumed dead due to a mishap. (->M124)		$M_2 31$: The probable cause categories used in this report for missing persons are accident, wandered off/lost, runaway, unknown, and foul play suspected. (M125 – M130)	-mitigation of the seriousness of the issue/ of two most common probable causes (in addition to accident) since they are mentioned last
272	Wandered off/lost: the subject is presumed to have wandered away, in a confused state, from a hospital, mental institution, or chronic	GEN	M127: Wandered off/lost means the subject has gone missing			

	care (geriatric) facility; become lost in the woods; has not returned when expected from a hiking, camping, canoeing, or hunting trip; wandered away or is lost from the family location or has not returned when expected from school, a friend's house, meeting, etc.		due to varied reasons but is presumed to be alive. (->M124)		
273	The difference between "accident" and "wandered off/lost" is that the subject is dead whereas "wandered off/lost" assumes the subject is still alive;	GEN	->M126 & M 127		
274	Runaway: the subject (under 18) is suspected to have run away from home or substitute home care, e.g. foster home, group home, Children's Aid Society home/shelter.	ZER O	M128 (->M125)	-reference (social prob.) out-group	
275	Unknown: this code is used in cases where the police agency has no previous record on the missing person.	ZER O	M129 (->M125)		
276	There is insufficient background information to enable coding the record under any of the other causes.	DEL	->M129 (normal component, irrelevant)		
277	Foul play suspected: the investigator has indicated that violence has likely befallen the missing person.	GEN	M130: Foul play suspected means violence has likely befallen the missing person but a suspect may not have been identified or charged.		
278	A suspect may or may not have been identified and likewise charges may or may not have been laid.	GEN	->M130		
279	*Calculating murdered Aboriginal women*		-		
280	The figure of 1,017 murdered Aboriginal women used in this report was compiled based on the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS) Homicide Survey data from 1980 to	ZER O	M131	-argumentation (C)	

	2012 and follow-up review with police forces across Canada.					
281	Every non-RCMP police service in Canada agreed to allow Statistics Canada to provide its data to the RCMP for the purposes of this project.	CON STR	->M131 (normal component)			
282	Information on the Homicide Survey and the methodology used to gather the data from police services can be found on the Statistics Canada website.	DEL	->M131 (illustration, irrelevant)			
283	Homicide data reported to Statistics Canada only includes incidents that have been substantiated by investigators as an offence of culpable homicide and are a part of the official record — suspected homicides or deaths deemed suspicious are not a part of the analysis in this report.	GEN	M132: This project included only culpable and official record homicides reported to Statistics Canada via the Homicide Survey.	-argumentation (C, E)	$M_2$32: The data received from Statistics Canada via the Homicide Survey only includes information of culpable homicides on official record from RCMP as well as all non-RCMP police services in Canada. (M132, M139)	-predication, positive self "admitting the lack of data" -argumentation (C, E)
284	The following were not included in this project: homicides that were never reported to Statistics Canada via the Homicide Survey; those homicides reported to Statistics Canada via the Homicide Survey where the victim was assessed by the investigator as not being of Aboriginal origin.	GEN	->M132			
285	The project dataset includes both system-derived data (i.e. offline queries of CPIC) and project-specific research (i.e. file reviews).	DEL	->M132			
286	As a result, the final dataset must be understood to be an RCMP data holding, albeit one that is subject to significant third-party originator restrictions on further sharing.	GEN	M133: The final dataset that was frozen in April 2014 is an RCMP data holding and subject to restrictions on further sharing.	-argumentation (E)		

287	The dataset was frozen in early April 2014.	GEN	->M133			
288	Developments on murdered cases described herein since that date are not included.	DEL	->M133			
289	*General comments on collecting information about "origin" or "identity"*		-			
290	Collection of information about Aboriginal origin or identity is challenging for a number of reasons.	ZERO	M134	-argumentation (NA, E)		
291	First, because the primary purpose for collecting this type of information in a police record is specifically to help identify an individual — whether as a potential victim, witness, person of interest or suspect — this can lend itself to a "perception-based" assessment by police.	CONSTR	->M135		$M_2 33$: The collection of information about Aboriginal origin is challenging (since defining identity based on perception can be difficult, the term "Aboriginal" has different definitions, the practices between police agencies makes it hard to create a dataset that is comparable across all jurisdictions, and the historical policies undermine the consistent collection and sharing of Aboriginal identity). (M135 – M137)	-argumentation (E, NA) -predication, positive self
292	In other words, it can correspond to how a police officer defines how an individual looks in terms of complexion and/or ancestry.	CONSTR	->M135			
293	Asking a police officer to judge a person's race based on his or her perception is difficult and can yield incomplete and inaccurate results.	CONSTR	M135: Police officers have difficulties in identifying persons of Aboriginal origin based	-argumentation (E, NA)		

#						
			on perception.			
294	What a person looks like does not always reflect how s/he would self-identify.	CON STR	->M135			
295	Second, the use of the term "Aboriginal" as a descriptor has different definitions in the different data sources that make up this research project.	GEN	M136: The term "Aboriginal" has different definitions in different sources but this report uses it as "origin" where possible, since it attempts to use Statistics Canada complaint language.	-argumentation (E)		
296	For example, CPIC captures Aboriginal as an "ethnicity" whereas Statistics Canada's official position is that "Aboriginal" is not an ethnicity but rather an origin.	GEN	->M136			
297	Where possible, the above report attempts to use Statistics Canada compliant language.	GEN	->M136	-argumentation (C)		
298	Third, differences in police practice between agencies make it hard to create a data set that is comparable across jurisdictions.	ZER O	M137	-argumentation (E)		
299	For example, in collecting data on homicides, some agencies use official Aboriginal "status" as the means to determine identity, others use officer discretion (as discussed above), and others rely on self-identification by individuals or their associations (family, friend etc.).	CON STR	->M137 (normal component, explanation)		$M_2$34: Identity can be determined by the official "status", by officer discretion, or by self-identification, meaning high number of identity marked as unknown and room for improvement in determining this variant. (M137, M138, M140)	-argumentation (E)
300	Fourth, historical police service (including the	ZER O	M138	-argumentation (E, PA, not		

	RCMP) adherence to jurisdictional and organizational policies has undermined the consistent collection and sharing of information on Aboriginal identity.			stating ethnicity) -predication, positive self (adherence)		
301	This has meant a high number of Homicide Survey reports where the identity of the victim (and/or the accused) remained "unknown."	CON STR	->M138 (consequence)			
302	The designation of identity or origin in specific cases was made by the investigative agency in line with their policies and procedures and was not verified/adjusted by the RCMP without their input.	DEL/ CON STR	->M138			
303	*On RCMP collaboration with Statistics Canada*		-			
304	The RCMP approached Statistics Canada in November 2013 to obtain Homicide Survey information on female homicides between 1980 and 2012.	GEN	M139: For the RCMP to obtain information on female homicides between 1980 and 2012 from Statistics Canada, all non-RCMP police jurisdictions had to agree for Statistics Canada to share its Homicide Survey data for this project and the RCMP had to sign an Undertaking of Confidentialit y.	-predication, positive self		
305	For Statistics Canada to share records with the RCMP in accordance with the Statistics Act, certain steps and conditions were necessary.	GEN	->M139			
306	Namely, all non-RCMP police services had to agree, in writing, for Statistics Canada to share	GEN	->M139			

	its Homicide Survey data for the purposes of this project.					
307	In addition, the RCMP was asked to sign an Undertaking of Confidentiality that outlines conditions to which the RCMP must abide.	GEN	->M139			
308	In December 2013, the Chief Statistician of Canada signed an order to disclose the records for all police services who signed the agreement.	GEN	->M139			
309	This project did not definitively resolve the issue of data collection of the Aboriginal origin variable for the Homicide Survey, but it represents a first step towards this objective.	ZERO	M140	-intensification of error -argumentation (PA)		
310	The file-by-file review brought the overall unknown/unavailable factor for the "Aboriginal origin" variable from 20% down to 1.5% nationally and established an origin descriptor for close to 1,200 victims whose origin descriptor had previously been unknown (over 250 as Aboriginal, the rest as non-Aboriginal).	DEL/CONSTR	->M140	-predication, positive self	$M_2 35$: Due to this study, the unknown/unavailable factor for the "Aboriginal origin" variable was brought down from 20% to 1,5% and the reliability of the solve rate was enhanced, resulting in c. 40 homicide incidents being updated from unsolved to solved. (M140, M141)	-predication, positive self -argumentation (NB, PA) -positive topic
311	In addition, as a result of the follow-ups, the reliability of the "solve rate" variable was enhanced due to the inclusion of cases that had been solved but had not been reported to Statistics Canada in the form of revised Homicide Surveys.	GEN	M141: As a result of this study, the reliability of the "solve rate" was enhanced due to the inclusion of 40 homicide incidents that were updated from unsolved to solved.	-predication, positive self -argumentation (NB)		
312	As a result, approximately 40 homicide incidents were updated from the status of unsolved to solved.	GEN	->M141 (consequence)			

Finnish Summary

Alkuperäiskansojen naisia katoaa ja murhataan Kanadassa suhteessa huomattavasti enemmän kuin muita naisväestön edustajia. Ongelma voidaan nähdä jatkeena jo vuosikymmeniä alkuperäiskansoja vaivanneelle väkivalta- ja kuolemantapauskierteelle. Naisten tilanne on hyvin ajankohtainen sekä kriittinen ja siihen on paikallisten organisaatioiden lisäksi kiinnittänyt kansainvälisesti huomiota muun muassa Amnesty International sekä Yhdistyneet Kansakunnat. Ongelmallista tilannetta pidetään jo ihmisoikeuskriisinä ja sen puolesta puhuminen on osa laajempaa kansannousua alkuperäiskansojen oikeuksien puolesta. Kanadan hallitusta ja poliisivoimia on syytetty välinpitämättömyydestä sekä rasismista asian suhteen. Kanadan hallitus ei myönnä ongelman olevan sosiologinen ilmiö, vaan pääministerin mukaan naisten katoamiset ja murhat ovat yksittäisiä rikoksia ilman suurempaa yhteyttä ja niiden selvittämiseen riittävät pääasiallisesti poliisivoimat.

Kanadan poliisivoimat, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), julkaisivat vuonna 2014 operationaalisen raportin kadonneista ja murhatuista alkuperäiskansojen naisista. Raportti toi esiin shokeeraavat luvut, jotka ylittivät aiemmat arviot: 1017 poliisille raportoitua kuolemantapausta ja 164 kadonnutta naista vuosina 1980–2012. Raportti toimi herätyksenä kanadalaisille, mutta sen sisällön koetaan olevan ristiriitainen ja uhrien määrän mahdollisesti vielä suurempi. Tutkimuksen kohteena on selvittää, onko tämä poliisivoimien operationaalinen raportti diskriminoiva ja täten alkuperäiskansoihin liittyvää eriarvoisuutta, stereotypioita ja ennakkoluuloja ylläpitävä ja mahdollisesti vahvistava. Tarkemmin ottaen analysoidaan positiivisia ja negatiivisia tapoja kuvata uhrit, tekijät ja poliisivoimat sekä tilanne kokonaisuudessaan. Tällä tavoin tavoitteena on selvittää, voidaanko puhua sosiologisesta ilmiöstä vai yksittäisistä rikoksista.

Tilanteen taustat ovat ongelmalliset ja juontavat juurensa kolonialismista, alkuperäiskansojen pakkokoulutuksesta ja heidän kulttuurinsa ja identiteettinsä tuhoamisesta. Tämä synkkä aikakausi jätti jälkeensä rasismin ja seksismin perinnön syvälle Kanadan yhteiskuntaan sekä vahvan eriarvoisuuden alkuperäiskansojen ja Kanadan valtaväestön välille. Myös alkuperäiskansojen luottamuksen puute poliisivoimia kohtaan juontaa juurensa tältä aikakaudelta. Poliisin nähdään toimivan

ajoittain epäkunnioittavasti sekä hitaasti saadessaan tietoa kadonneista naisista tai käsitellessään tapauksia omaisten kanssa. Poliiseja on jopa syytetty seksuaalisesta ja rasistisesta väkivallasta alkuperäiskansojen naisia kohtaan, niin verbaalisella kuin konkreettisellakin tasolla. Myös valtion suhteet alkuperäiskansoihin ovat todella tulehtuneet ja vuoropuhelu vähäistä. Ennakkoluulot ja stereotypiat elävät yhä vahvana valtaväestön mielissä yhteiskunnan jokaisella tasolla, luoden heikon aseman alkuperäiskansojen edustajille ja tässä tapauksessa erityisesti naisille. Nämä naiset ajautuvat usein vasten tahtoaan ongelmien kierteeseen altistuen väkivallalle ja hyväksikäytölle. Heidän kohtaloitaan raportoidaan vähäisesti, heidät esitetään usein stereotyyppisesti negatiivisena vastakohtana puhtoisille valtaväestön naisille ja heitä syytetään usein omista ongelmistaan.

Tämä pro-gradu tutkielma käsittelee Kanadan poliisivoimien, RCMP, vuoden 2014 operationaalista raporttia Kanadan kadonneista ja murhatuista alkuperäiskansojen naisista sekä poliisivoimien toiminnasta nyt ja tulevaisuudessa asian suhteen. Vaikka raportti on operationaalinen ja täten oletettavasti enemmän poliisiin keskittyvä, ovat poliisivoimat julkisesti todenneet sen tunnistaneen avainasemassa olevia riskitekijöitä uhrien suhteen ja antaneen tietoa syytetyistä sekä rikosten olosuhteista. He myös lupaavat sen ohjaavan poliisivoimien tulevia operationaalisia päätöksiä vankemmalle pohjalle, antavan tietoa hallinnon ja yhteiskunnan kaikille tasoille sekä edistävän taistelua tätä ongelmaa vastaan. Poliisivoimat ovat yhteiskunnassa vaikutusvaltaisessa asemassa ja voivat osaltaan edesauttaa, jatkaa ja voimistaa syrjivää ajattelua, käytöstä ja viestintää. Lisäksi he mahdollisesti oikeuttavat hallituksen vähäisen toiminnan tilanteen suhteen ja ylläpitävät yhteiskunnan epätasapainoisia valtasuhteita. He voivat vaikuttaa myös oman henkilöstönsä toimintaan ja ajatuksiin alkuperäiskansojen naisten suhteen. Vaikka poliisivoimat ajavat alkuperäisväestön etuja monella tapaa, tulee heidän toimintaansa tarkastella myös kriittisesti.

Tämä tutkielma toteutettiin kriittisenä diskurssianalyysinä (Fairclough 1995, Wodak & Meyer 2009), sillä kieli ja diskurssi ovat välineitä, joilla epätasapainoisia valtasuhteita sekä negatiivisia ideologioita yhteiskunnassa luodaan ja ylläpidetään. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi haastaa dominoivia ideologioita ja stereotypioita, jotka nähdään jo

neutraaleina sekä mahdollisesti jopa asioiden normaalina tilana (Fairclough 1989). Poliisivoimien raportin teksti ei ole avoimesti diskriminoivaa ja keskittyy tilastojen ja lukujen raportointiin sekä vertailuun, luoden samalla kuvan asianomaisista sekä tilanteesta yleisesti. Raportti on poliisivoimien kattavin raportti asiasta tähän mennessä ja se on 22 sivua pitkä, sisältää 12 kaaviota sekä kaksi kuvaa ja se keskittyy pitkälti tilastotietojen vertailuun ja selittämiseen. Tällä luodaan myös vastakkainasettelu alkuperäiskansojen naisten ja muiden kanadalaisten naisuhrien välillä.

Makroanalyysi (van Dijk 1977, 1980) mahdollistaa korkeamman tason ajatusten ja ideoiden esille tuonnin paljastaen neutraaliuteen pyrkivän ammattikielen niin sanotun rivien välistä löytyvän mahdollisesti syrjivän viestinnän. Kun tavoitteena on tutkia tätä mahdollisesti diskriminoivaa kielenkäyttöä, makroanalyysin tuloksista etsitään vielä erilaisia diskurssistrategioita (Reisigl & Wodak 2001), joiden avulla luodaan mm. kuva positiivisesta itsestä ja negatiivisesta toisesta. Pääasiassa kohteena ovat argumentointi, viittaus- sekä kuvailutekniikat ja esitettyjen väitteiden mahdollinen vähättely tai tehostaminen. Näitä kategorioita muokattiin hieman, jotta ne vastasivat paremmin tutkielman tavoitteita. Tekstianalyysin tuloksia tuetaan lyhyellä multimodaalisella analyysillä, joka keskittyy pääasiassa raportin kahteen kuvaan (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006), joissa kuvataan alkuperäiskansoja edustava nainen perinteisessä asussa preerialla. Myös raportin ulkoasua sekä otsikointia kommentoidaan lyhyesti. Analyysin monikerroksisuuden ansiosta tulokset ovat vahvempia, sillä kaikki analyysin osat tukevat toisiaan. Lopuksi tuloksista keskustellaan suhteessa yhteiskunnan epätasapainoisiin valtasuhteisiin (Foucault 1976, Althusser 1970), rasismiin (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, van Dijk 1993 & 2002) ja seksismiin.

Makroanalyysin (van Dijk 1977, 1980) ensimmäisellä tasolla saatiin 312 lauseesta/väitteestä 141 makrorakennetta ja toisella 35. Diskurssistrategioiden osuudet molemmilla tasoilla pysyivät samana, todistaen, että makroanalyysi oli onnistunut eikä mitään relevanttia poistettu. Analyysin kaikki osat tukevat sitä tosiasiaa, että raportti keskittyy luomaan positiivisen kuvan poliisivoimille mm. avun ja suvaitsevaisuuden kautta ja pääasiassa negatiivisen kuvan alkuperäiskansojen uhreista mm. väkivallan ja rikollisuuden avulla. Diskurssistrategiat (Reisigl & Wodak 2001) keskittyvät

puolustelemaan ja selittämään mahdollisia virheitä ja ongelmia raportin datassa sekä luomaan uskottavaa kuvaa poliisivoimille mm. arvovaltaisiin lähteisiin ja yhteistyökumppaneihin vedoten. Poliisivoimia kuvaillaan positiivisesti, heidän toimintaansa tämän asian eteen korostetaan, yhteistyötä alkuperäiskansojen kanssa mainostetaan ja diskriminoivaa kielenkäyttöä vähätellään. Alkuperäiskansojen naiset taas kuvataan pääasiassa negatiivisessa valossa. Heidät esitetään selkeästi ulkopuolisina ja heitä verrataan muihin naisuhreihin ja täten luodaan vastakkainasettelu hyvistä ja puhtoisista valtaväestön naisista ja huonoista ja likaisista alkuperäiskansojen naisista. Riskitekijät eli uhrien vähäiset kuvaukset esitetään raportissa viimeisenä ennen poliisin suunnitelmaa tulevan toiminnan suhteen ja liitesivuja, mikä lisää naisten vähäteltyä asemaa. Riskitekijöiksi listataan vain työllisyyteen, huumausaineiden väärinkäyttöön sekä seksityöhön liittyvät tekijät eli juuri ne elementit, jotka ovat osa hyvin negatiivista ja stereotypistä kuvaa alkuperäiskansojen naisista. Myös syytettyjen kuvaus on pitkälti linjassa yleisen alkuperäiskansoja kuvaavan stereotypian kanssa, käsitellen edellä mainittujen piirteiden lisäksi muun muassa rikollisuutta. Raportti ei tosin ilmianna syytettyjen etnisyyttä ja jättää täten tilaa spekuloinnille.

Näitä tuloksia tuettiin multimodaalisella analyysillä (Kress & van Leuuwen 2006), joka keskittyi pääasiassa raportin kahteen kuvaan. Ensinnäkin kuvat antavat ymmärtää, että kyseessä ei ole todellisuus, sillä ne eivät ole oikeita valokuvia vaan muistuttavat enemmän maalauksia. Toiseksi kuvien rajaaminen niin, että esitettyjen naisten ympärille jää tyhjää tilaa luo kuvan sosiaalisesta etäisyydestä, jota tukee se, että naiset ovat yksin kaukana keskellä preeriaa. Lisäksi vino kuvakulma antaa ymmärtää, että se mitä katsoja näkee, ei kuulu hänen maailmaansa. Kuvatut naiset eivät myöskään katso ulos kuvasta katsojaan, sillä toinen kuvataan sivusta ja hänen kasvonsa ovat sumennetut ja toinen on selin katsojaan. Täten kuvat eivät vetoa mitenkään katsojaan tai anna aihetta kokea sympatiaa naisia kohtaan. Naisilla on päällään perinteiset alkuperäiskansojen asut, mikä on kyseenalaista ja antaa kuvan muun muassa siitä, että nämä naiset kuuluvat historiaan eivätkä ole eläviä nykyajan henkilöitä.

Kaiken kaikkiaan nämä naiset esitetään siis vahvasti ulkopuolisina, negatiivisien stereotypioiden kautta, syyllisinä omiin ongelmiinsa eikä myötätunnolle anneta juuri

syytä. Alkuperäiskansojen naiset joutuvat taistelemaan saavuttaakseen tasa-arvoisen aseman sekä omassa yhteisössään että Kanadan yhteiskunnassa monella eri tasolla. Tämä prosessi vaikeutuu entisestään, kun negatiivisia stereotypioita ja ennakkoluuloja pidetään yllä. Naiset kohtaavat niin poliittista, sosiaalista kuin taloudellista väkivaltaa ja ovat erittäin heikossa asemassa ja altistuneena niin seksuaaliselle kuin henkisellekin väkivallalle ja syrjinnälle. Tätä ongelmaa vähätellään esittämällä naiset syyllisinä omiin ongelmiinsa ja täten heidän kohtalonsa on oikeutettua. Raportti esittää tilanteen kokonaisuudessaan huolestuttavana, mutta myös enemmän alkuperäiskansojen sisäisenä ongelmana tuomalla perheväkivallan esille useaan otteeseen ja mainiten sen ja suhteen uhriin ensimmäisenä, kun syytettyjä tekijöitä kuvaillaan. Syytettyjen etnisyyttä ei raportissa kerrota, mutta heitä kuvaillessa mukaillaan selkeästi stereotyyppistä käsitystä alkuperäiskansojen edustajasta.

Analyysin perusteella raportti on selkeästi syrjivä. Se tuo esiin ja ylläpitää vanhoja stereotypioita ja ennakkoluuloja sekä jättää mainitsematta tilanteen taustat ja historian, kuten usein alkuperäiskansojen ongelmista puhuttaessa tehdään. Raportti luo hyvin positiivisen kuvan poliisivoimista (RCMP) ja antaa ymmärtää, että tilanne on heillä hallinnassa, vaikka he ehdottavatkin, että laajempaa osallistumista yhteiskunnan eri osa-alueilta tarvitaan. Historian ja nykyhetken erottaminen luo kannattavan ympäristön, jossa valtion rakenteet ja tavat tukevat sekä materiaalista että sosiaalista eriarvoisuutta alkuperäiskansojen ja valtaväestön välillä. Tällä tavoin raportti ylläpitää alkuperäisväestön naisten heikompaa ja marginalisoitua asemaa ja altistaa heidät myös jatkossa väkivallan eri muodoille. Se yhdessä Kanadan oikeuslaitoksen syrjivän toiminnan kanssa antaa syyllisille kuvan, että he voivat selvitä teoistaan jopa ilman seurauksia. Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma todistaa kuinka syvällä Kanadan yhteiskunnassa negatiiviset ja ennakkoluuloiset ajatukset sekä stereotypiat piilevät, jopa institutionaalisella tasolla. Kanada ei ole niin suvaitseva ja rasismivapaa kuin usein kuvitellaan. Rasismia esiintyy Kanadassa sekä rakenteellisella että psykologisella tasolla.

Poliisivoimien tulisi uudelleen kouluttautua sisäisesti, jotta he voivat uskottavasti työskennellä tämän asian puolesta. Raportin mukaan tilanne on poliisilla hallinnassa, mikä tukee hallituksen näkemystä siitä, että asian selvittämiseen ei tarvita laajalti

vaadittua valtakunnallista selontekoa yhteistyössä alkuperäiskansojen kanssa. Myös Kanadan hallituksen tulisi siis miettiä uudelleen arvojaan, asenteitaan ja tekojaan. Tilanne tulee selvittää juuriaan myöden sekä siihen puuttua laaja-alaisesti ja läpinäkyvästi. Tärkeänä osana tätä prosessia voidaan nähdä koulutus, vuoropuhelun vahvistaminen hallituksen ja alkuperäiskansojen välillä sekä ihmisoikeuksien turvaaminen kaikille taustasta riippumatta. Lisäksi alkuperäiskansojen sisäistä tukea tulisi lisätä, jotta myös he voivat korjata mahdollisesti vahingoittuneen ja vääristyneen kuvan itsestään. On siis vielä paljon tehtävää, ennen kuin Kanada saavuttaa todellisen sovinnon alkuperäiskansojensa kanssa. Alkuperäiskansojen naisten katoamiset ja murhat ovat selkeästi sosiologinen ilmiö, sillä diskriminaatio ulottuu näiden tapausten taustoista ja syistä sekä niiden selvittämiseen että käsittelyyn ja tilanne voidaan nähdä koko Kanadan yhteisenä ongelmana. Tämä ilmiö ja Kanadan alkuperäiskansat ylipäätään ansaitsevat enemmän akateemista näkyvyyttä sekä kadonneet ja murhatut naisuhrit ja heidän omaisensa oikeutta.