Unsettled Grounds: Settler Colonialism, Discourses of Violence, and the Limitations of Settler Research

By Katherine Morton Richards © 2022

A dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

Memorial University of Newfoundland

September 2022

St. John's Newfoundland and Labrador

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Darrell Ross and the Chief of Council of the Tseshaht First Nation for their support, consideration, generosity, and openness to collaborating on this work. Thank you, especially to the community members, Elders, and leaders within the Tseshaht First Nation for welcoming me to attend your Residential Schools Survivors Healing Event and for generously sharing your time, knowledge, and perspectives. I remain extremely appreciative of the time and effort that went into our working together and although the project as initially imagined did not move forward, I am excited to stay in contact and seek out collaborative opportunities in the future.

Thank you to Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Steve Crocker for being absolutely essential to the work on this project as mentors and as committee members. Thank you for bringing your dedication and perspectives to this work and for encouraging me to grow and improve in so many ways.

To Dr. Ailsa Craig, my supervisor and the strongest most dedicated mentor and advocate I could have had. From endless resources, wisdom, and feedback all the way through to my tears on zoom calls during the peak of the pandemic, nobody would have given me what you have throughout this entire program. I will continue to look to your example for how I can be better and do better as an academic and as someone invested in social change. Thank you for your guidance, patience, and support always. Thank you for being in my corner.

Thank you to my incredible family on both sides of this country. My parents, who are potentially the only parents to never once say “are you sure….” about my desire to be in

academia. Thank you for showing me as a youngster (as I watched you complete your own grad studies and become academics) that you can truly be an incredible parent and spouse while also being a researcher and writer. Thank you for always instilling in me a love of reading, writing, and questioning the social world. Thank you for the sighs and eye rolls and also for the words of encouragement and multitude of other supports you have always provided.

To Lyall and Thomas, who were 3 and 5 when I first started this work and who will have no recollection of me not being a PhD student, thank you for the hugs, praise, and tolerance of freezer lasagna after long writing days. I hope you kidlets will always love books and debate as much as you do now and remember that your kindness, curiosity, and hard work will get you far. I love you both to the moon and back.

Thank you to Darwin for reminding me to get out in the woods and when in doubt to go for a walk. Thank you for howling only when I was in zoom meetings and for cuddles when I needed them. Thank you for only eating one of my flash drives during my PhD.

To Brad, my husband /voice of reason/ constant support. I love you. I love our little family and couldn't have seen this project through to the end without you.

Land Acknowledgement

We respectfully acknowledge the territory in which we gather as the ancestral homelands of the Beothuk, and the island of Newfoundland as the ancestral homelands of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk. We would also like to recognize the Inuit of Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut and the Innu of Nitassinan, and their ancestors, as the original Peoples of Labrador. We strive for respectful relationships with all the Peoples of this province as we search for collective healing and true reconciliation and honour this beautiful land together.

*(*https://www.mun.ca/indigenous/LAND_ACKNOWLEDGEMENT-_MEMORIAL.pdf*)*

I would also like to acknowledge the territory that I call my home and where this work began. I acknowledge that I am a resident and have lived, worked, and researched on the unceded territory of the Tseshaht Nation and more broadly on the land of 14 nations that make up the Nuu-Chah Nulth Peoples. This territory encompasses the lands of Broken Islands Group, the Alberni valley, Alberni inlet, and central Barclay Sound, including what is now called Port Alberni by settlers on Vancouver Island.

Tseshaht First Nation | Traditional Territory

Abstract

Too often within settler-colonial academia, Indigenous Peoples and communities are treated as “sources” of data, available for harvesting and settler analysis. Even in work that seeks to be *with* and *for* Indigenous Peoples, there is an all-too-common pressure for research to be extractive (McCall, 2020). Over the course of several years, embedded colonialism within academia clashed with my intentions as a settler colonial researcher interested in exploring the meaning-making found within Indigenous-state relations and their symbols in Canada. In this dissertation, I discuss not only the decision based on the current political climate and shifting research priorities to end my PhD research field work, but also offer 3 critical discourse analysis based papers related to colonial violence in Canada. These papers, completed while in the midst of my PhD work, demonstrate my interest in unpacking the meaning-making found within settler colonial framing and responses to colonial violence perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples. These papers and what remains of the initial project read together as an exploration of what alternative data collection may look like for settler-colonial researchers pursuing research involving Indigeneity, colonialism, and Indigenous-state relations.

Introduction

How do I do good work, as a settler? This perhaps could have been the title for my dissertation and became the most important learning and challenge for me of this project. How do I, as a settler, from considerable privilege both directly and through my family, work collaboratively to do good work collaborating with the Tseshaht First Nation? Good intentions were not sufficient and as I will explain in this section, this project emerges from a considerable and often winding road of building trust, establishing communication, and shaping this work to be in line with anti-oppressive aims, goals, and values.

This dissertation is two-fold in that it encompasses a collection of my research completed while in my PhD program and reflections on my initial project design and work that did not proceed to the interviewing stage. The initial project was designed to be a collaborative interview-based analysis of the contemporary meaning-making and understandings of the closed and now demolished Alberni residential school site. As I will explain within this dissertation, shifting band priorities and the new and urgent pressures to address the rediscovery of unmarked burials at residential schools from Coast to Coast to Coast, resulted in the mutual decision to end the initial project. This dissertation captures this initial project and explains the mutual decision to refuse to continue to pursue that work while acknowledging how the experiences and learning within the incomplete project were productive and contributed

to ongoing conversations about settler responsibility, resisting colonialism within research, and the slippery idea of what “good” work is.

In this chapter, I outline the initial research project and the work that went into the initial project design. I locate my experiences with the initial project within the existing literature on anti-colonial research, and feminist standpoint theory, and offer some personal context for the decisions I made regarding the initial project. I then tell the story of how the initial project ended and centre the concepts of refusal and failure within the end of the first project and my reflections connected to that work. I have provided a literature review that acts as a springboard for the three articles included in this manuscript. The literature review is inclusive of the research that informed my initial project, the literature surrounding ethical research relations, and research on colonial violence. Finally, I outline my practice of reflexivity and critical discourse analysis as approaches that I have incorporated into my efforts as a settler researcher to resist the extractive model of data collection and damage-centered narratives.

Following this introduction and literature review, this dissertation incorporates three articles that further explore how the settler colonial State of Canada obfuscates colonial violence and the various ways in which the State makes sense of the ongoing impacts of colonialism in Canada. In all three articles, I explore things that are often viewed as seemingly neutral or overlooked entirely. In the first article, I examine hitchhiking as a contested mobility, which is commonplace within the space of the Highway of Tears. In this article, I offer a critical discourse analysis of the billboards, placed along the notorious Highway of Tears, telling Indigenous women not to hitchhike. In the second article, I explore the political category of “ugly” as a means for the colonial

State to make sense of the enormous problem of MMIWG2S2S, with a focus on how MMIWG2S2S cases in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside are framed and presented both within missing posters and also in memorials and commemorative sites. Finally, in the third article, I offer a critical discourse analysis of the apologies offered by Prime Ministers Harper and Trudeau, first for residential schools and more recently, for the discovery of unmarked graves on the grounds of these schools. Following these three articles, the conclusion of this dissertation will demonstrate the need for ongoing research that grapples with the issue of how settler researchers can engage in (good) anti-colonial and reflexive work to actively combat the colonial tendency in academia to validate and support extractive research practices with Indigenous-focused work.

The Initial Project

This is a story of research unfolding and I want to start at the beginning, which is how I came to undertake the initial project and who I am as a researcher. I am a white cis female researcher, from a largely Irish/ Scottish/ Western European background. I am third generation Canadian. I was born and raised on unceded Coast Salish territory and spent considerable time as a child and young adult on unceded Nuu-Chah-Nulth territory. I have considerable privilege and social capital from my education, my whiteness, my parent's and family's socio-economic positions, and various other components of my identity. Centering my position in relation to this work is critical in showing how respect, gratitude, and openness cannot change that I am a product of a settler society that benefits people like me disproportionately. I have benefitted from systems of colonial oppression, and as a white settler woman with Canadian citizenship,

I am embedded in the processes of colonialism and anti-Indigenous oppression with which this project grapples. I benefit from processes that not only allowed for the residential school system but persist in the present day through a wide range of oppressions and inequalities faced by Indigenous Peoples from Coast to Coast to Coast. My settler status is ultimately intrinsic to this work as much as my intentions of doing this work well. I have sat with my own reflections and feelings on what it means for a settler to engage in this kind of work and what my responsibilities and accountabilities are, and that is necessary work. I am at the most basic level accountable to the Tseshaht First Nation. The Tseshaht are the first Peoples of the land that I learned, lived, and grew up on and it is on their unceded territory that I call "home." As both research partners and collaborators and as the First Peoples of the territory that was formative in my life, I am responsible to the Tseshaht First Nation in my work and in my personal ethics. I am offering up this explanation of how I come to this work, to clarify how I approached the initial project design and how my positionality contributed to the limitations and eventual end of the initial project.

I entered the initial project, by way of my family's existing connections and collaborations with members of the Tseshaht First Nation and broader Nuu Chah Nulth cultural group. Raised in Victoria B.C. on unceded Coast Salish territory, I split time during my childhood between Victoria and Port Alberni, due to my mum and dad's work and research. My historian and researcher parents awarded me incredible opportunities throughout my childhood to visit heritage sites, museums, galleries, studios, and Indigenous cultural resource sites. Both of my parents throughout their careers in cultural heritage and academia, were strong in their personal ethics toward

collaboration, leveraging their privilege to amplify Indigenous voices, and celebrating the histories and strength of Indigenous nations. I was particularly fortunate to be raised by two researchers, who were committed to active collaboration with Indigenous artists, researchers, and community leaders and to be brought along, even as a young child to Potlatches, community events, artist workshops, and onto reserves. In the 1990s, our family bought a second property in a community called Port Alberni, on unceded Nuu Chah Nulth territory on Vancouver Island. I spent a lot of time in Port Alberni, particularly as my father collaborated with members of the Tseshaht First Nation of the Nuu Chah Nulth. My father worked collaboratively with a group of residential school survivors who attended the Alberni Indian Residential School (AIRS), and this was how I began to make connections, receive introductions, and learn from my family's pre-existing connections and partnerships in the community. My research and the decisions I have made in terms of the kinds of questions I ask and the ways that I position myself within sociology are grounded in these experiences and this project has come from these pre-existing family connections. I have directly benefitted from and am responsible to these relationships that led to research opportunities that emerged from my family and community-based connections within Port Alberni.

The initial project was designed as a collaborative qualitative research project, where data would be collected through semi-structured interviews and would centre around contemporary engagements of Tseshaht First Nation members with the site of the Alberni residential school. The project grappled with the ongoing meaning-making of the site and was focused on the present-centered, tangled, and layered social meaning of the place for the nation. Although the project was not able to enter the formal

interviewing/ data collection stage, a lot was gained, learned, and built through this initial project. I was guided, through the winding process of collaboration, conversation, and observation of Tseshaht First Nation priorities and existing research to the research question of how the demolished site of the Alberni Residential School continues to coordinate the social lives of members of the First Nation and what knowledge and interactions with the place of the residential school do members of the First Nation have, even decades after its closure and demolition.

In 2012, the Tseshaht First Nation hosted residential school survivors on their territory, where the remaining buildings and structures of the residential school were still standing (Ha-Shilth-Sa Newspaper, 2012). Peake Hall, the main building of the residential school, at that time was still standing and was continuing to impact survivors and the Tseshaht First Nation more broadly. In 2012, there was a ceremonial demolishing of Peake Hall, led and organized by the Tseshaht First Nation. Survivors and their families were encouraged to do what they needed to do with the space and the material of the remaining residential school. Participants smashed windows, burned paperwork, wrote on walls, and kicked down parts of the structure. They also shared in collective mourning and remembering, with many survivors reconnecting and exchanging support during this event. Peake Hall and the site of the AIRS, lie in the middle of the reserve of the Tseshaht, across the Somass River (over the bridge) from downtown Port Alberni. Elders and survivors of the Tseshaht First Nation have been of critical importance within the TRC and other truth-telling processes to make sure that

the experiences of First Nations children within residential schools are recorded and understood. The Tseshaht First Nation has been particularly committed to supporting their survivors, and they also recognize that there are survivors from First Nations all up and down the west coast of British Columbia that were sent to AIRS. They have hosted multiple events for community healing, survivor testimony, and community building.

Seeing this demolishing of the building, realizing the power of the site for families and survivors, and seeing the release of energy and power that took place when Peoples of the Tseshaht and other local First Nations attacked the material structure of the school was an important moment for me and I began to see the site and the building itself as productive and as a site of social coordination. It wasn't just an empty vessel through which assimilation and violence were enacted; the place itself did something and continues to do something socially. At this point, I had finished my undergrad in Political Science and English at the University of Victoria. I immediately gained employment in Ontario, working with the Ontario Public service on what was then the "Aboriginal policy file" with the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. I started conducting intensive research on Indigenous cultural heritage topics such as repatriation of Indigenous artifacts and human remains, Indigenous cultural landscapes, Indigenous cultural heritage sites/ spaces, and also on existing approaches to Indigenous heritage across Canadian and international jurisdictions. I kept thinking about Peake Hall. I kept hearing from Indigenous leaders and Indigenous cultural heritage experts in my work about how power-laden places are.

I started also researching residential schools from Coast to Coast to Coast. I realized quickly that in addition to the truth-telling and recognition that was forthcoming

with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, there was also significant work to be done to address the material schools themselves. There was uncertainty with these structures- what could or should potentially be done with them and who truly had the ability or the jurisdiction to decide what happened with them. The question of who is responsible for/ who these sites belong to is more complex than it appeared at first glance. The question of what will become of these sites as they slowly disappear is also something I approached within my work. I learned of schools like Alberni that had been knocked down and others that had been repurposed or sold. I read about St. Eugene's, the residential school that had become a luxury golf resort, and of schools that had become buildings to house universities and academic facilities such as the Labrador Institute in North West River, Labrador or Algoma University in Sault St. Marie, Ontario (CBC, 2017). Other schools have been made into commemorative or memorial sites, and some house museums about the genocide of the residential schools (CBC, 2017). I learned of proposals to turn these sites into treatment centres and care homes (CBC, 2017). Other residential schools have just been left to crumble. Although with the increasing focus of the TRC, a great deal of research began or gained attention regarding the experiences of survivors of residential schools, very little has focused on the places themselves.

During this period, my father worked with the Tseshaht on several heritage-based projects, exhibits, publications, and events. He (along with my mother) fostered close relationships and partnerships with many AIRS survivors and elders. At this point, I had begun my master's degree in Political Science and was completing research on Canadian public inquiries into violence faced by Indigenous Peoples. Stephen Harper's

apology for residential schools on behalf of the government of Canada and the ushering in of the era of apology in Canadian federal politics was continuing to shape my research choices and questions. I was extremely invested in understanding what my role as a settler and as a researcher was in ongoing reconciliation work and how I might be able to contribute to the efforts by survivors, such as those that had become friends and colleagues of my parents, to memorialize and to mark the violence of the residential school project.

In my analysis of the TRC and the ongoing work of reconciliation, I observed a gap in how research tended to treat the residential school buildings themselves as mere vessels through which acts of violence were committed. I was interested in locating these structures as in and of themselves being locations of meaning-making and by extension, materiality that continues to matter, even after they were closed and, in some cases, demolished. With this interest and drive in mind, to uncover the meaning-making processes of the remaining residential schools, I entered ongoing dialogue with members of the Tseshaht First Nation. I indicated my interest in helping the band to continue to respond to the Calls to Action of the TRC, particularly concerning commemoration and memorialization of the residential school. In the case of the Tseshaht First Nation, following the ceremonial demolishment of the main building the physical footprint of the school has been utilized frequently for survivor healing events, cultural ceremonies, and day-to-day community happenings. The school, even demolished is still coordinating and shaping communities' patterns of cultural use of the space and in my ongoing communications, including informal chats at community events I was invited to, this coordination was clearly worthy of analysis and exploration.

Before I even finished my Master's, I knew that I wanted my PhD work to tease out this meaning-making of places of colonial violence. I was determined to use my PhD work to support the existing work of the Tseshaht First Nation to research, report, publish, and speak publicly on Tseshaht experiences. As a nation with a residential school located within their reserve and on their territory, they were leaders in the work to commemorate and truth tell regarding the ongoing and contemporary impacts of the residential school. Even decades after closure and years after the main dormitory of Peake Hall had been demolished, the site of the Alberni residential school remained a complex and socially important site for Tseshaht and for survivors from other First Nations that attended Alberni. At the time, my father was working directly with a small group of residential school survivors in his capacity as the heritage manager for the town of Port of Alberni and as the manager of the Alberni Museum. His collaborative work with many of these survivors resulted in several events, displays, and heritage resources and furthered the priorities for survivors, predominately of the Tseshaht First Nation moving forward. My father facilitated my more formal introduction to this group of research collaborators and residential school survivors, not just as his daughter (as I was already familiar to them) but as someone who was hoping to complete research that would be useful and needed by the Tseshaht and the other Nuu Chah Nulth nations in the future.

At the same time, I reached out to the Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council, the larger organization that supports the various First Nations who are part of the broader cultural group of Nuu Chah Nulth. I connected with Florence Wylie with the Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council, who brought my interests and my proposition of working collaboratively

with Nuu Chah Nulth to their executive committee. During their executive committee meeting, they had a closed-door (I was not included in these discussions) discussion about me, what I was hoping to assist with, what kinds of collaborative work I was hoping to undertake, and my own context. Following this review by the Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council executive committee, they deemed that I should focus my work specifically on collaboration with the Tseshaht and not the broader Nuu Chah Nulth, as the residential school site was on their land and their reserve and because of my pre-existing relations and connections through my family with members of the band. The tribal council connected me to the Elected Chief of the Tseshaht at the time, Chief Cynthia Dyck, who was already a collaborator and known to my father.

I consulted with the British Columbia Assembly of First Nations and had a phone-based meeting with Maureen Buchan, a senior policy advisor with the Assembly of BC First Nations. The BCAFN is the highest provincial level organization to represent and coordinate with First Nations in the province. My conversations with Maureen Buchan centered on seeking clarity and advice on the Assembly's interests in this kind of research, their own policies, and procedures for collaborative research in the province, the correct protocols, and Indigenous-based research design for this kind of work and gaining a sense of other existing research projects in the area. The connections I formed with the Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council and with the BC Assembly of First Nations were important in having the regional and provincial organizations not only aware of what I was hoping to do with and for the Tseshaht First Nation, but also allowed me to understand what other work, priorities, research designs, and forms of

meaningful settler-Indigenous collaboration were already happening in the area and in the province.

I consulted heavily with my parents and with Darrell Ross, Sr., Manager of Natural Resources with the Tseshaht First Nation. Darrell, as an employee of the Tseshaht First Nation, who was extremely active in research, cultural heritage, and commemoration work graciously undertook the role of my primary collaborator and point of contact for the band. We discussed existing Tseshaht protocols for contact, expectations for collaboration, the goals and needs of the Tseshaht in terms of upcoming and in-progress work, and how I might fit into those processes. I started to engage in email-based communication with Darrell, as well as other members of the Tseshaht First Nation. We discussed my interests, their ongoing research, and the needs of the Tseshaht First Nation in ongoing reconciliation. Darrell was already engaging in extensive work to support and foster healing for survivors, while also recording, archiving, and sharing knowledge and experiences of Tseshaht members. After connecting directly with Darrell, we began telephone conversations, where we would continue to discuss what projects he was completing, what was needed, and what kinds of work were being prioritized by the Tseshaht First Nation. We discussed the importance of recognizing the ongoing power and social coordination of the site of the residential school, even following the powerful demolishing of Peake Hall. I expressed how interested I was in contributing to research that specifically looked at the site in the present day and explored what the contemporary demolished site meant to the Tseshaht First Nation. Darrell was enthusiastic about what this could do in terms of

responding to community-based needs, and we began to discuss what collaborative research on this topic could look like.

The initial research project centered on completing in-depth interviews with members of the Tseshaht First Nation regarding their day-to-day interactions with and knowledge of the site of the former AIRS. I began to design this initial project based on conversations and observations I had with members of the Tseshaht First Nation and in particular in-depth conversations I had with Darrell. In these conversations (instigated by myself but building on many years of Darrell knowing and interacting with my family) we discussed the ongoing work that the Tseshaht First Nation was engaged in regarding commemoration and healing related to residential school experiences at AIRS. We discussed the importance of seeing the ongoing/ contemporary utilization of the site of the residential school. We discussed the recent installation of a statue/ monument to the survivors and children who never returned from the AIRS, created by well knowing Tseshaht artist Connie Watts, another friend of my mother's and a key contributor to memorialization of the residential schools experience. In 2015, while staying in Port Alberni, I spent time at this installation, reading the panels of information, quotes from survivors, and Indigenous motifs and symbols used throughout. The art installation includes the black silhouettes of Indigenous children, interspersed within the structure. In addition to the children's silhouettes, most of which are either crouched, crying, or looking down, are silhouettes in red of adult Indigenous Peoples, wearing traditional regalia. Silhouettes of the children, symbolizing images of fear, subordination, or pain, are balanced by the adult silhouettes, symbolizing resilience, power, and Indigenous cultural survivance. The presence of these silhouettes on the very ground

where the buildings of the residential school stood is powerful in how they frame the space as not only a site of trauma and harm, but also a site of cultural continuance and power.

Darrell was able to generously offer me insight into the protocols and processes for seeking approval from the nation for such work. As my point of contact and principal collaborator, he brought my ideas and his ideas to the Chief and Council, and the possibility of this research was discussed with other community members by Darrell. In the fall of 2018, I flew home for a visit and was able to meet with Darrell in person. We talked about the next steps and what Darrell wanted me to compile for him to secure a formal invitation from the Tseshaht First Nation for me to engage in research. Conversations through phone and email continued and my proposal was sent by Darrell to the Chief and Council for them to consider and discuss.

In 2019, I received a formal invitation and letter of support for my research in collaboration with Darrell Ross, with an endorsement for me to complete interviews with members of the nation. Also in 2019, I was invited by the nation to come to Tseshaht Territory to attend “Reclaiming Lost Souls of the Alberni Indian Residential School.” This event was designed to allow Indigenous survivors and Tseshaht First Nation members to come together to call home the souls of Children who never came home from the residential school. I was honoured to be invited to attend and flew back out to BC in the fall of 2019, to take part and to witness the ceremonies, celebrations, healing activities, and truth-telling that was arranged by the Tseshaht First Nation.

Although I had driven onto the Tseshaht Reserve many times, it was different when I arrived for “Reclaiming Lost Souls of the Alberni Indian Residential School.” The

bridge, the signage, and the traffic signs were covered in cedar boughs. In an informal conversation with Darrell later during the event, he explained that the Cedar was for protection and comfort for survivors that had not returned to this land since they were incarcerated in the residential school. The Tseshaht were using cedar boughs as a medicine to give survivors strength and comfort as they approached the site of the school. I was once again reminded of the meaning-making power of places- so powerful that the Band had covered the landmarks on the way to the residential school with protective medicine. Following welcomes and informal socializing, the hereditary Chiefs and Elected Chief and council welcomed all of us to the territory and the site of the school, lighting an enormous fire in the center of the site. It is not my place to speak more specifically on the events and protocols that I witnessed over the two days of this event, but I can say that the healing event continued to demonstrate the resilience and power of the Tseshaht First Nation to support survivors of the residential school and to actively commemorate and memorialize the experience on the very site where the residential school once stood. We had meals together and spent hours sitting together listening to participants share. As a settler and as someone who had spent time thinking and learning about colonialism, it was a critical period for me to be on the land and bear witness to the recounting of what the members of this Nation and the other First Nations in attendance experienced at this site.

Through these years, from early informal introductions and interactions through my parents, all the way through to the nation formally inviting me to complete this research and to attend this healing event, I was committed to trust-building and finding ways to use my privilege and academic training to counter the over-emphasis of

damage narratives within Indigenous based research and to explore the power of the site of the residential school, even following its demolition. The nation had followed its own internal processes and protocols for considering me and what I was proposing in terms of research. They assessed what I suggested in terms of research design and goals. Those in the meeting of the Chief and Council, explored what the potential risks and benefits to the community were and had ultimately found themselves in favour of and supportive of the work. We continued phone-based conversations as I returned to Newfoundland and continued working through subsequent ethics applications and revisions. The long and winding road towards interviewing continued throughout 2019, with an emphasis on balancing band and university-based requirements and upholding standards set forth by the university's internal ethics process. In the fall of 2019, following my return from the healing event on Tseshaht Territory, I was not in any way anticipating what 2020 and 2021 would bring and the impacts these enormous social, political, and cultural shifts would have on the initial project.

Shifting Social and Political Climate and Its Impact on Research

As the pandemic exploded throughout Canada and around the world, personal and band priorities shifted to weathering through the pandemic. Indigenous populations in Canada (and in other jurisdictions) were faced not only with the threat of COVID-19 but also with the damaging consequences of colonial and racialized health inequity (Power et al, 2020). Where social distancing and hand washing became the primary lines of defense, Indigenous populations in Canada continued to grapple with extreme housing shortages, overcrowding, and water security and safety issues (Power et al, 2020). Necessarily, this project was deprioritized.

In 2021, as vaccine rollouts marked the relaxation of health measures and a more hopeful future for re-committing to this work, the Tkemlups of British Columbia was engaging in the traumatic and challenging work of locating graves of Indigenous children who died or were killed while incarcerated in residential schools (Dickson and Watson, 2021). At the end of May 2021, the Tkemlups announced that using ground penetrating radar, they had located at least 215 burials of Indigenous children. (Dickson and Watson, 2021; Dangerfield, 2021). This discovery sent ripples throughout both settler colonial Canada and Indigenous nations and marked a new and desperately needed prioritization of the work of finding missing children and unmarked graves. Suddenly, studying the meaning-making of the demolished site of a residential school seemed less critical as physically relocating and hopefully identifying Indigenous children killed at residential schools became a pressing priority for countless locations of residential schools nationwide.

After considerable media coverage, public debate, and political attention, the Federal and several Provincial Governments publicly announced their support for efforts to locate all such burials at other residential schools (Dangerfield, 2021; Hopper, 2021). Indigenous nations that had been asking for funding to do this very investigatory work for decades had an opportunity to begin undertaking ground penetrating scans of residential school properties (CBC News, 2021; Hopper, 2021; Dangerfield, 2021). Although breaking news for the settler colonial population, there was intergenerational knowledge of the extreme violence and mortality associated with these schools (Dangerfield, 2021). Survivors and families had testified to the thousands of children who never returned home following residential school incarceration- the “missing

children” as they were referred to in the TRC were well known by Indigenous nations, but the State had until this point failed to react or even acknowledge that children were killed in enormous numbers and that their graves were at residential school sites (Dangerfield, 2021). More burials were found, and more investigations were undertaken (CBC News, 2021). Pressure from both Indigenous leaders and activists both in Canada and internationally sparked a reckoning that Canada as a settler colonial nation experienced in many forms (Hopper, 2021). Settlers ignorant of the residential school experience were soon seeing increasing media attention on the issue of residential schools (Hopper, 2021). Canadian flags were lowered in a symbolic demonstration of mourning for the children who had been found (Warburton, 2021). Statues of architects of the residential school program were toppled and destroyed in several Canadian provinces (Draaisma and Ng, 2021). Calls for the renaming of universities, streets, and buildings named after prominent colonial politicians were reinvigorated. Canada Day was a non-celebration for many, with major concerns raised about the appropriateness of celebrating a nation founded on colonial genocide, perpetrated against children (Warburton, 2021). The role of settler colonial researchers engaging in Indigenous-based research was necessarily interrogated, both within universities and within activist circles. Although this interrogation had been occurring for decades, led by Indigenous scholars and researchers, the unmarked burials allowed for increasing awareness of these critiques. In many ways, the discovery of the burials laid bare the often disappeared and obfuscated ongoing role that settler colonial research plays in constraining and sanitizing narratives of the residential school experience. Driven by the public discourse, academies across Canada and beyond began to look at their own

buildings, their own names, their own statues, and their own faculty, and in many instances, began attempting to dismantle some of the various ways that colonialism is allowed to remain in plain view on campuses and within the settler academy. The appropriateness of certain research questions and research approaches was called into question.

The current political climate in Canada has entered an important moment of reckoning from Coast to Coast to Coast. With the developing uncovering of previously unmarked burial grounds at residential schools throughout Canada, many within settler colonial Canada are being exposed to irrefutable and material evidence of the intensity of the violence of the residential school program. Where previously, the evidence of the genocidal violence of the residential schools was located within Indigenous testimony and fact giving during the truth and reconciliation commission and final report, now the popular discourse of Canada is saturated with images and reports of these graves (Blackstock and Palmater, 2021). Many within settler colonial Canada have responded with shock and horror, while Indigenous communities remind those having these responses that they have known for many decades and generations of Indigenous children being killed at residential schools (Blackstock and Palmater, 2021). The work of uncovering these locations, alongside the burden of consistently not being believed or being ignored regarding this violence compounds trauma for Indigenous survivors of residential schools, their families, and their nations (Blackstock and Palmater, 2021). Researchers were confronted with their own whiteness, their own settler status, and deeply important questions about the appropriateness of the work they were doing (Hayward, 2021; Krusz et al, 2020; Daigle, 2019; de Leeuw et al, 2013). I found myself

at a point of transformative disruption, where what I had held to be appropriate and needed suddenly felt anything but.

The project that had been central to my PhD work became increasingly challenging given the impacts both in terms of settler research and in terms of impacts to my potential research participants as a result of the discoveries of the unmarked burials at residential school grounds. I communicated with my primary contact with the Tseshaht First Nation. We discussed the power of these discoveries, the immense trauma and sadness of the discoveries, and how the band's research priorities had dramatically shifted given the new opportunity and momentum to engage in the same ground-penetrating work. We talked about the murder of children. We talked about the trauma for survivors and for the families that never had answers for what happened to loved ones. The Tseshaht First Nation as a nation that not only has numerous survivors but also a nation that has the site of a residential school inside of their reserve, needed to act quickly. The band needed to triage their research pursuits and without question, engaging in their own process of investigating unmarked graves was the top priority. Their needs and their responsibilities to survivors and their families had dramatically shifted. The project we had been working towards was no longer asking the kinds of questions needed at that moment. We agreed that the interviewing process placed yet more work on already burnt-out survivors and community members who needed time to process and heal from the existing discoveries and undoubtedly, future discoveries of more children killed at residential schools. At the same time, my university had recently passed a new policy for research with and for Indigenous participants, necessitating the creation of a new research agreement, which was quite different from the initial ethics

application materials. Although not the reason for the project ending, the ethics process and the changing standards during the project did add additional steps and requests to what I needed as a settler academic of the Band to proceed with the work. Although I had a formal letter of invitation to begin the work, the Chief and Council had already held meetings to discuss my proposed work, and I had engaged with both my key collaborator Darrell and other community members, I needed to complete additional university-based ethics paperwork according to the new policy before beginning any data collection. Asking the Chief and Council to review, discuss, hold consultation, and sign yet another agreement form from the ethics university approval process was at the absolute bottom of what the nation and their members needed. Through these conversations, along with my own reflexive examination of what my role was moving forward and how my research needed to shift to account for the political and social changes happening throughout our society, we collectively knew the project couldn't continue. Recognizing the limitations of settler-colonial researchers engaging in Indigenous-based research meant that with the same spirit of collaboration that created the research plan, we came to the decision to end the project. These external factors during my research necessitated a total overhaul of what kinds of questions I was asking and how I was understanding data collection and analysis. I began to interrogate my research approach, especially how I designed my project and what research methods I decided were the most conducive to the spirit of "good work" as a settler researcher. No longer was the approach of semi-structured interviews of band members regarding their ongoing use of the space of the demolished residential school tenable. Instead, in what felt like the vacuum of the collapsed project, I found the

potential of engaging more broadly with settler colonial contributions in ongoing anti-colonial research and analysis of the meaning-making of colonialism. The initially planned project was incomplete, but with its abrupt ending, the important work of interrogating the taken-for-grantedness of settler contributions within Indigenous research became more central. I turned my analysis away from a focus on the residential school sites themselves when that was no longer the band's priority and began to look more closely at the incomplete project itself- what it meant to refuse to continue and how failure in collaborative research can be a sign of good work rather than an obstacle.

Labelling/ Framing the Initial Project

I have a difficult time finding the correct or most accurate language to describe the initial project. I never completed the interviews I initially proposed, the interview questions from my proposal were never asked, and the kind of dissertation I assumed I would write, is not what I have written. However, calling that work failed/ incomplete/ abandoned/ unfulfilled feels disingenuous when so much collaboration and consideration went into that work and the decision not to pursue it. Although the project didn't proceed as designed, the collaborative work that underscored the imagining and trust building of the initial project design, and the mutual decision to discontinue that work all speaks to how within Indigenous-based social research, doing good work (work that is responsible and accountable to the nation and seeks to unsettle colonial goals) does not always mean a tidy conclusion or completed fieldwork.

On Refusal and Failure as Research Strategies

The settler colonialist academy has not been a safe or supportive place for Indigenous researchers or good anti-colonial work. Tuck and Yang present research as the "r-word" a dirty word for a system of practices that harm, marginalize Indigenous researchers, and centre white colonial subjects (2014; see also Smith, 2008). Settler researchers have historically and in the present day, mistreated and marginalized Indigenous Peoples and communities, among other populations that are overstudied by predominately white settlers (LaRocque, 1996; de Leeuw et al, 2013; McCall, 2020; Smith, 2008; Gaudry, 2015; Alacantra et al, 2017). Too much of the existing research being done focusing on Indigenous Peoples and nations is harm-based and damage-based (Tuck, 2009; Calderon, 2016; Tuck and Yang, 2014). The work being done highlights and pulls out the narratives of lack- lack of access, lack of justice, and lack of safety within Indigenous populations. The unwritten part of these narratives is how these damage narratives are always (yet still unspoken) about the perceived safety/ health/ stability of the settler colonial majority. Part of the violence of only listening for and only writing about damage narratives is that it powerfully reinscribes the colonial stereotype that Indigenous Peoples exist only as an antithesis to the dominance and perceived superiority of white settler colonial Peoples. Tuck writes in "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities" that research that functions to combat the structures of colonialism must be desire based instead of damage based, with a focus on understanding Indigenous identities and nations beyond the measures and expectations of settler colonialism (2009). Simpson also writes about the harm and the pain caused by research that has neither accurately represented Indigenous Peoples nor worked in

ways that benefit the populations and communities studied, again demonstrating how the white settler academy has failed Indigenous Peoples (Simpson, 2014, Simpson, 2007; see also de Leeuw et al, 2013; Calderon, 2016).

Even in efforts to illuminate inequalities and demonstrate the structures of contemporary colonialism, settler research often recentres whiteness (Tuck, 2009; Smith, 2008). This is done through the practice of treating the white researcher as the exclusive collector, extractor, and interpreter of Indigenous knowledge and experience (Lira et al, 2019; de Leeuw et al, 2013; Smith,2008). As Tuck and Yang explain, "damage-centered researchers may operate, even benevolently, within a theory of change in which harm must be recorded or proven in order to convince an outside adjudicator that reparations are deserved" (2014: 227). This outside adjudicator doesn't even always have to be deciding reparations. They can also be the decision maker in what research is supported, funded, published, and cited. This outside adjudicator is almost always a white settler within the academy. They enact power over narratives, too often privileging narratives that maintain the status quo- the white, settler, status quo that relies on the exclusion and silencing of Indigenous perspectives and knowledge. LaRocque explores how research is also a location for the Colonizer/Colonized dichotomy, where Indigenous knowledge, research, and expertise are too often taken for settler interpretation or dismissed as either unreliable or bias laden (1996). Damage narratives, which focus on the deficits of Indigenous Peoples don't dismantle colonialism (McCall, 2020; Lira et al, 2019; Tuck and Yang, 2014; Tuck, 2009). They actively mobilize historical stereotypes and discrimination of colonialism within the present day (Tuck and Yang, 2014; Tuck, 2009).

Unsettling is a useful term for unpacking the colonialism within settler research and work that seeks to interrogate itself and the academic pathways and traditions that came before it. Unsettling is both an external and internal process, where settler researchers must recognize, name, and challenge the structures of colonialism that percolate throughout academia, but also actively seek out Indigenous knowledge, expertise, and perspectives (McGuire-Adams, 2021). Importantly, unsettling must be taken on in a spirit of collaboration and partnership, not in an effort to excuse or deflect one's own position of privilege within the structures of colonialism (McGuire-Adams, 2021). As McGuire-Adams highlights, "If it takes Peoples to maintain the settler-colonial structure, it will take Peoples to ultimately disrupt it" (2021: 766). Within anthropology and now more broadly within several human/society-focused disciplines, the idea of ethnographic refusal is explored (Simpson, 2014; Joly, 2018: Tuck and Yang, 2014). This refusal takes many forms including refusing to divulge certain ideas, perspectives, knowledges, or evidence on the part of participants, or the refusal to capture, write about, analyze, or highlight certain parts of the research and its findings on the part of the researcher. Withdrawing consent or deciding to end conversations are also components of refusal, where individuals, anywhere within a collaborative research model, remove themselves or something they have control over from the research story as it unfolds. Refusal, can as Simpson explores, be a powerful tool within research on settler colonialism, where the act of stopping, refusing, or ignoring produces meaning (2014). Refusal is about ultimately about commitments, where the commitment is not to complete a project, but to only continue when the work being done is relevant, culturally safe, and wanted. In the case of the initial research project of

interviewing Tseshaht First Nation members regarding their knowledge and use of the space of the residential school the refusal to continue the project given the political upheaval of the pandemic, the unmarked burial grounds, and the shifting priorities of the nation was in and of itself important.

As Tuck argues, part of what doing good research as a settler means is recognizing and combatting the dominance of damage narratives (Tuck, 2009; Tuck and Yang, 2014). One way in which settler researchers can actively combat damage-centred research is through the work of refusal within research. Instead of continuing to produce and highlight the examples and cases of damage that are consistent with the settler colonial sensibilities of what Indigenous experiences are like, refusal as a strategy within research empowers settler researchers to demonstrate their commitment to no longer uphold these harmful narratives. Refusal is a practice of actively ending, stopping, or abandoning a component of research such as a question, recording, or analyzing. Refusal is something that is done by both the researcher and any research participant. In collaborative research, refusal is also a testing of trust between all collaborators. It is the rejection of continuing to engage in work in ways that are not serving the interests of the participants. Refusal is a strategy to oppose the dominance of damage narratives and it is also a large component of ensuring work is culturally safer, less colonial, and more collaborative. (Tuck and Yang, 2014; Simpson, 2014).

Refusal as a strategy and as a component of protecting research against becoming extractive or damage-centered is also something that may be misunderstood as a stumble, an obstacle, or as some may understand it, a failure. Failure, in sort of a traditional sense, is often associated with shortcomings or inability- Halberstam

discusses the fourth-place finisher in the Olympics or someone who has made poor financial decisions (2015). Failure is positioned in stark opposition to success. But what makes a project or research a failure? Academic research is always focused on completion- complete the research, complete the book, complete the publications. Within academia, a failure is often a failure to produce or to finish what is expected. Academic failure is so often tied to not producing 'results' and ultimately not having the tidy and publishable material that academia focuses on. Failure is usually understood in negative terms and almost always is connected to inability. However, as Halberstam suggests, "we can also recognize failure as a way of refusing to acquiesce to dominant logics of power and discipline and as a form of critique" (2015: 88). Failure is not just about collapse; it is also productive as a critique (Halberstam, 2015). Failure, even if not necessarily intended, opens a deeper reflection on and critique of what structures underpin what is valued and prioritized. In the case of research, a failure can also be an active refusal to continue to operate in certain ways or to continue work that is harmful. Building on Halberstam's understanding of failure as a productive response to the interlocking vectors of inequality of race, class, gender, and sexuality, I pick up the language and productivity of failure as a means for unpacking the ending of the initial project that was no longer needed or wanted. The failure of that initial research project to progress to what settler academia understands as a successful, completed project, was productive and allowed for my work and my relationship to settler colonialism to be looked at more deeply, without the pressure and limitations of pushing through to completion, work that was no longer tenable.

Failure as a practice instead of an assessment is an important distinction to be made here. Failure can become a component of research praxis, another available research tool to be incorporated within the broader processes of rejecting and seeking to dismantle the taken-for-grantedness of colonial goals and assumptions within research and academia. Failure necessitates flexibility and responsibility within research. Instead of focussing on the result and the outcome of research, failure proposes a recognition of research as tangly and unfolding. It opens the opportunity to pause and actively choose to go no further, instead of continuing to push towards a goal of completion that doesn't allow for responsibly engaging with research participants and collaborators. Failure recognizes the possibility in taking alternative routes and pursuing other approaches in the face of the initial route or approach no longer being productive or helpful in responding to the social needs of research participants. Halberstam explores this potentiality within failure by arguing that, "failure recognizes that alternatives are embedded already in the dominant and that power is never total or consistent; indeed failure can exploit the unpredictability of ideology and its indeterminate qualities." (Halberstam, 2015: 88). Failure necessarily results in a loosening and opening up to alternatives, which is particularly needed in dismantling structures such as colonialism that thrive on constraint and control. Failure demands flexibility and creativity in the face of obstacles, barriers, and rigidity.

Extractive Research by Settler Researchers

Too often within settler-colonial academia, Indigenous Peoples, nations, and communities are treated as "sources" of data, available for harvesting and settler analysis (McCall, 2020; Kouri, 2020; de Leeuw, 2013; Koster et al, 2012). Researchers designing Indigenous-focused work are trained to prioritize interviewing as the desirable way to "get at" Indigenous knowledge in order to benefit from it (Tuck, 2009; Koster et al, 2012; Calderon, 2016; McCall, 2020). Even in work that genuinely works to be with and for Indigenous Peoples, there is an all-too-common pressure for research to be extractive or exploitative (Koster et al, 2012; McCall, 2020; Smith, 2008). I have found through both the ethics process and research design that in Indigenous-focused research, the emphasis is placed on how (as a white settler colonial researcher) I can tap into data held and produced by Indigenous Peoples. As a settler researcher, I am trained and taught to seek out Indigenous participants who are willing to teach me about their lives so that I can make conclusions and analyze their lives as social data (Kouri, 2020; D'arcangelis, 2018). This process is colonial in the power imbalance it perpetuates and causes harm (Koster et al, 2012; D'arcangelis, 2018). Kouri echoes this understanding of settler research within the academy and argues that, "we settler academics are not only produced within a history that systematically disenfranchises Indigenous knowledges, but our continued presence and self-elevation as central producers of knowledge structurally relies on and reiterates settler colonialism" (2020: 67). In the conceptualization of "good work" as a researcher, the settler praxis that so often is left unevaluated needs to be opened up and analyzed for what it is- a component of ongoing colonialism within academia (D'arcangelis, 2018). Instead, for

research to be more anti-colonial, Indigenous Peoples cannot be treated as repositories of data ready and available for white-settler reflection and analysis, but instead be seen as partners and collaborators in the ongoing meaning-making processes of dialogue and trust building (Koster et al, 2012).

The work of the Tseshaht and the research and community work of healing and commemoration already being completed within the community was not extractive as it was created to illuminate and collect the activities already being done within the community. There was no requirement placed on survivors and community members to share or divulge more or to produce knowledge for the express purpose of publication. The initial project design that was made collaboratively between me and the Tseshaht was also itself not inherently extractive. What moved this project closer to the extractive model was when the work was no longer desired or prioritized by the community. If I had attempted to continue to proceed in the initial interview process as designed, regardless of the social and political realities of the unmarked graves being rediscovered and the COVID-19 pandemic, the work would have no longer been collaborative or desire-based. If the project had continued, it would have been an extractive effort on my part to capture information produced by Indigenous Peoples to complete the requirements of a dissertation.

Reimagining or redesigning my work was necessary because of the shifting priorities within the band and more broadly within Canadian society and part of the learning for me that emerged from this redesign was experiencing firsthand the colonial limitations of research design and how settler academia judges, categorizes, and assesses research and collaborative work. This project, although it did not proceed with

the initially intended interviews, does represent years of independent archival research, collaboration, respectful engagement with local protocol, and decision-making. The project, even without proceeding to the interview stage, represents ongoing conversations and communications, and a maintained commitment to make this project something positive and useful for the Tseshaht First Nation within their ongoing responses to the TRC. Even as a failed project, the work contributes to the Tseshaht First Nation's continued work to honour the space of the residential school as they continue to utilize it for healing and memorial purposes associated with the residential school experience. The initial project failed productively by allowing me the space and time to reflect further on my role as a settler researcher. The failure (as an opportunity, not an assessment of the project) allowed me to consider how research is assessed and prioritized within the settler colonial academic structures I am shaped by and embedded in. The failure allowed me to see the productivity of the work not done and to see the valuable learning completed through the collaboration even if a finished product, according to settler colonial measures will never come from it.

I cannot separate my position from the methods used within my efforts to produce work that aligns with anti-colonial goals and values, as both the how and the why of this project stem from my relationship to this work. This project stems from a trust-based relationship, founded through a long-term process of meaningful communication, engagement, and following protocols appropriate to the Tseshaht First Nation. Transparency was and is foundational to this project, both in making it clear who I am and how I come to this work, but also in how participants and band leadership have come to know and understand me and this project. Ultimately, this same

transparency and trust were central to the shared decision to discontinue this research project.

Reframing the Project

A crucial outcome of this project lies in how the process of concluding a project that no longer served the band's interests in and of itself produced meaning. The incomplete project taught me more about settler colonialism within research and within project design than I ever would have gleaned from it as a completed work. The ongoing collaborative efforts to shape a project that was and is rooted in respect and trust meant that a lot of the work was reflexive in nature, allowing me to engage with my own whiteness and settler-colonial status. I grappled with how I could and should engage in the larger area of Indigenous research and explored how methodology and research design factored into how I could contribute and what sort of research questions settler colonial researchers can and should pursue. Always with my initial intention of supporting continued anti-colonial research and critiques of contemporary settler-colonial Canada in mind, I began to re-evaluate my work and my program of study to date. This process was a natural fit for the manuscript style of PhD project, where I could show my work as it was, as it progressed, and as it changed, as the society that I am enmeshed in changed.

Although the three articles in this dissertation don't overlap directly with the initial project or research question, they do take up a shared interest in deepening understandings of how colonial violence and discourses of violence are framed. The three articles reflect my own interest in contributing to conversations around

contemporary colonial violence, in ways that attempt to approach damage-centered research differently. The three articles pick up cases of colonial violence, but instead of centering the analysis on the violence and harm itself, the articles are my attempt to center the analysis on ways the Canadian State attempts to politically manage or respond to colonial violence. I therefore turn my focus in these three articles onto the settler colonial State itself and seek to tap into the meanings just beneath the surface of the discourses on violence against MMIWG2S and in the politics of apology in response to residential schools and the recent discoveries of unmarked burials at residential school sites. This dissertation builds from an initial reflection on the violence of settler research, through to the violence housed within discourses of MMIWG2S, contested mobility, and the politics of apology.

My learning and reflection through the ending of my initial project was locating what I could contribute in terms of analysis that would help to expose ways in which colonial understandings and explanations of violence are normalized. I began these parallel research projects that culminated in the three articles housed within this dissertation concurrently with an interest in making sense of how issues such as intersections of violence, power, gender, and nationhood would factor into the case of the contemporary sites of the residential schools. Throughout the articles that are compiled in this dissertation, I have explored the broader issues of settler colonial responses to Indigenous experiences of violence. I've examined state, media, and popular culture framings and constructions of violence, with a focus on how the ongoing processes of settler colonialism dictate how meaning is generated.

One of the ways through which settler colonial researchers such as myself can engage meaningfully in research to support anti-colonialism and anti-oppressive work within academia is by illuminating taken for granted meaning and locating obscured sites of meaning-making within settler colonialism (Morton 2016; Morton 2018). In these articles, I use official state apologies, billboards along the Highway of Tears, and imagery associated with missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside as such sites and traces of settler-colonial framings of violence perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples (Morton, 2016; Morton, 2018; Morton, 2022).

Through my research on MMIWG2S in B.C. and on the politics of ugliness, I have analyzed content produced by the Canadian State in response to violence faced by Indigenous Peoples, both in the present and historically. It was during these concurrent projects that I began exploring content analysis and critical discourse analysis to assess their value in analyzing Canadian settler colonialism. I became interested in the utility of critical discourse analysis for making clear the violent elements of settler discourse that are so banal or commonplace that they become invisible or appear neutral.

I have reflected on how the process of collaboration, even if no "data" in the traditional sense is extracted is still valuable and needed within the anti-colonial work of dismantling the taken-for-grantedness of settler research on Indigenous topics. This dissertation is therefore a hybrid of my content analysis projects completed concurrently while gaining firsthand experience of how meaning-making in collaborative work with Indigenous nations can sometimes necessarily look quite different than seeing a

traditional interview-based project through to completion. This dissertation is the product of my work during the end and reimaging of my research project and an exploration of non-extractive research on settler colonialism.

The manuscript format for a PhD project offers a unique opportunity for reflection. In the most uncomfortable way, the process of presenting completed publications and papers written while progressing through the PhD program caused a direct reckoning with how my thinking, awareness, and knowledge have progressed. Language, taken-for-grantedness, and presumed innocence within social theory have all evolved from when I started these papers to collecting and presenting them now in this format. Unlike a traditional dissertation, which is often seen as a closed and finalized document, the manuscript format is a more transparent in situ snapshot of both my work and me as a researcher, necessitating an awareness of how my own work and program of study has also been shaped by settler colonialism. From its earliest versions and drafts through to this living document, my perspective of what research methods and approaches to settler colonialism are advantageous and appropriate have shifted.

Literature Review of Literatures Connected to these Articles

I ground this project and this dissertation in a review of the literature on resisting colonialism within academic research (Wilson et al, 2019; Wright et al, 2016), existing research completed by settler researchers that demonstrate the importance of interrogating the meaning-making of settler framing of Indigenous experiences with violence, and finally the literature that examines the much broader topic of this entire project- the question of how settlers can engage in good work and what good work done by settlers to engage in anti-colonial research looks like. Literatures on residential schools, genocide, space and place, and apology are also foundational to the articles in this dissertation. I find common ground with the existing literature from Australia and other jurisdictions that have started the process of interrogating whiteness within anti-colonial research and the current era of reconciliation (Ahmed, 2004; Bentley, 2019; Barta, 2008; Calma, 2009; Celermajer and Moses, 2010; Gooder and Jacobs, 2000; Short, 2003). I have learned from researchers in Canada stressing what too often goes wrong with Indigenous research completed by settler researchers (Wright et al, 2016; Koster et al, 2012; Leeuw et al 2012). In addition to the literature that looks more directly at whiteness, settler academia, and anti-colonial research, this literature review also contains work on colonial violence, genocide, memorialization and commemoration, and the important meaning-making processes found in responses to and spaces of colonial violence.

A Literature Review for a Dissertation Style Dissertation

I included a literature review within this dissertation to clarify which literature, research, and concepts informed my initial project design and generated the initial focus

on the contemporary social meanings of closed and often demolished residential schools. This literature spans the existing research and perspectives on genocidal and colonial violence, contentious spaces/ colonial places, the residential school experience, and more recently, the post- TRC era of Canadian settler colonialism.

Along with the literature that is residential school-focused and was reviewed during the inception of the initial project design, this literature review also highlights the research that informs the three articles. Collectively, the literature review informs my engagement with how the Canadian State accounts for and normalizes colonial violence. I position myself within this literature by giving concrete and text-based examples of where and how the State attempts to minimize, sanitize, and render the State innocent in ongoing instances of colonial violence. In order to complete the critical discourse analysis of the anti-hitchhiking billboards, missing posters and memorials in the Downtown Eastside, and the apologies offered by Prime Ministers for residential schools and their impacts, I needed to better understand and ground my analysis in how the literature explores settler colonial narratives and disappearances of anti-Indigenous violence.

It was also critically important to me within this work to read and highlight Indigenous research and scholarship on gendered and colonial violence and the ongoing work of the Canadian State to reconcile self-image with ongoing settler colonialism. I include this literature review within this dissertation to also demonstrate the variety and importance of Indigenous work being done within critiques of settler colonialism, work that I am influenced by and indebted to. I want my work to engage

with this literature and have included it in this dissertation to help position my current and future work within broader literatures on Canadian colonialism, violence, and place.

The Idea of Good Work

A question that emerged early and often within my PhD work was: what does "good work" look like with and for Indigenous Peoples and nations? In many ways, the emerging concepts around "goodness" in settler research relate to a focus on anti-oppressive and anti-colonial approaches to work. However, less research has been reflexive in investigating what makes work "good" and how good work can be achieved. Feminist theorists have stressed the importance of standpoint and self-location within research (Bannerji, 1993; Razack, 1998; Regan, 2010; Smith,1999; Smith 2005). As a starting point, identifying one's own positionality and privileges as a settler researcher is foundational (McCall, 2020; Regan 2010). However, the process of establishing standpoint can in many instances once again re-centre the settler within even purportedly anti-colonial research. Similarly, there is also a pitfall of this practice becoming one of the many virtue signals within settler-colonial researchers' work on colonialism (Coulthard, 2014). There is a fine balance between reflexivity and virtue signalling, where too much focus on a settler researcher's position can be read as placing too much emphasis on making the work ultimately about how "virtuous" a white settler researcher is when approaching colonialism (de Leeuw et al, 2013). There must be an acknowledgement that reflexivity is needed but does not change how settler researchers are implicated in and benefit from anti-Indigenous stereotypes, racism, and violence within the settler colonial state (Regan, 2010). Tuck and Yang indicate the danger in allowing for language and symbol to replace meaningful and measurable

actions (2012). They argue that when settlers speak metaphorically and use the language of change without committing to action it, “recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future” (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 3). Tuck and Yang here, although directly referencing how decolonization gets used metaphorically instead of actioned, are speaking more broadly to “settler moves towards innocence.” Part of the limitation and potentially problematic nature of standpoint as a settler within research on settler colonialism is the issue of depth. Simply labelling oneself as a settler is not sufficient to robustly confront settler consciousness and how it shapes research choices (Davis et al, 2017; McGuire-Adams, 2021). Instead, settler researchers must unpack not only their identity, but their motivations, intentions, and goals in undertaking the work that they do. They must clearly show where their responsibilities rest (McCall, 2020). D’arcangelis explores this tension between the need for the self-reflexivity and the inherent limitations of self-reflexivity for white women engaged in work with and for Indigenous populations (2018). Building on Tuck and Yang’s conceptualization of white settler hand wringing, D’arcangelis (2018) identifies how too often within research self-reflexivity is performed, in order to continue instead of challenge the status quo. As D’arcangelis (2018: p.342) explains, “even critical declarations about one’s location vis-a-vis the research—for example, admissions of failure in accurately representing self or other—can reflect the desire to establish researcher innocence through the telling per se. One overarching goal is to consider to what extent my self-reflexive process has masked and thus re-inscribed the very power relations I hoped to mitigate.” This confessional model for reflexivity- or perhaps an absolution-seeking model of reflexivity- is a common misstep

within engaging in work as a white settler academic and demonstrates the unsteadiness of how researchers must position themselves within work that seeks to challenge the very structures, they themselves as researchers benefit from.

When thinking through the idea of “good” work in research on settler colonialism, it is necessary to problematize *who* the work is good for and *who* can assess goodness. Even years into this project and decades into my research, I am not settled on the language of “good” and the baggage that this label drags to this discussion. I use good as an imperfect catch-all for work that remains open to the possibility of non-completion, failure, and refusal. I use the label good to capture work that at its core seeks to not only reduce harm, but to constantly check in on itself and its own complacency within structures of inequality and colonialism. Good work is collaborative work, but not just in the diametrically framed researcher-participant roles. Good work is ongoing dialectic work, with multiple and varied voices and positionality. Intentions are only a small part of assessing the appropriateness of projects undertaken by settler researchers on settler colonialism. Alacantra et al remind white settler researchers to be actively asking within their work, “what is the responsibility of researchers to the communities in which they work?” (2017: 11). Alacantra et al indicate the importance of recognizing responsibility as not an initial assessment of a project, but an ongoing relationship throughout all collaborative work- a commitment to remembering where (and on whose territory) and to whom researchers are responsible.

Although not adopting the label of “good,” Noble calls for the adoption of the practice of treaty in guiding research design and choices (2015). Noble contends, “taking seriously the over-arching idea and practice of treaty as a guide to acting

honourably together as researchers, persons and Peoples," will advance efforts to dismantle how colonialism persists within inter-cultural collaborative research (2015: 411). Noble enacts the responsibility, investments, care, and stewardship for materials and for Peoples housed within the language of treaty to express, in many ways, desires that parallel what I refer to within my own work as "good" research (2015).

Good is of course a loaded label, filled with the context brought by the person or agency naming something as "good." Goodness within settler research is many things including a commitment to work towards anti-colonial and anti-oppressive research and a consistent effort within the work to excavate how a researcher's own positionality (as settler, academic, person of privilege, etc.) shapes research questions, methods, analysis, and findings. As became clear to me only through the dissolution of the initial project, good work done by settler researchers is also always open to refusal and failure. As a researcher, trained and awarded access to opportunities through Canadian universities, the often-unspoken assumption is that good research is measured by its outputs; the articles, books, lectures, and knowledge production that flows from the research. A measure of goodness too often is a measure of "productivity" which within the settler academic research model is quantified in publications. The idea of good work within settler research is also tied to capitalist/ neoliberal understandings of success being linked to financial gain. Within research, good work is work that receives research funding and the way academic success is largely measured is through being able to design and publish research that attracts money, both for the researcher and for the institutions with which they are associated. Good work, as I have come to understand it, both through the existing literature on doing work that is

responsive to the needs of Indigenous research participants and through my lived experience of ending the initial project, is work that doesn't always end in a completed publishable contribution but produces meaning and contributes to unsettling colonialism regardless.

Genocide and Residential Schools Literature

Residential schools upheld inherently racist colonial objectives and attitudes and resulted in systematic genocidal violence (Anderson, 2012; Carter, 2003; Kelm, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Haig-Brown, 1988; de Leeuw, 2009; Alfred, 2010; Regan, 2011). Expressions of Indigenous cultural identity by Indigenous children while incarcerated in residential schools were fiercely punished (Alfred, 2010; Furniss, 1992; de Leeuw, 2009, Reagan, 2010; Chrisjohn and Young, 1997; Chrisjohn and Young, 1996; Miller, 2000; Alfred, 2010; Haig-Brown, 1988; Partridge, 2010). The dominant focus within the existing literature on residential schools is historical accounts of the mistreatment of Indigenous children (Furniss, 1992; De Leeuw, 2009, Reagan, 2010; Haig-Brown, 1988; Kelm, 1996; Million, 2000; Milloy, 1999). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission increased settler knowledge of residential school experiences for Indigenous children and for their families and communities (Newhouse, 2016; Niezen, 2013; Niezen, 2016: Regan, 2011). The commission's final report is a critically important repository for survivor testimony and historical analysis of the residential schools program (Niezen, 2013). The final report also brings the experiences of survivors and their families to a larger portion of Canadian society, which have been known by Indigenous communities for generations, yet been largely ignored or underestimated by the settler colonial majority. The TRC detailed not only the violence faced by children in the schools but

also indicated how residential schools were connected to larger projects of colonialism and imperialism: namely the assimilation and/ or genocide of Indigenous Peoples and the theft of Indigenous land and resources (Niezen, 2013). Before the TRC, discourse on residential schools was dominated by the State, with Indigenous survivors attempting to access reparations and give voice to their experiences through the court system on a case-by-case basis (TRC Introduction, 1).

Many Indigenous researchers and community members already challenge the notion that residential schools are statically emplaced and matter socially only in the past and my work has been shaped by the work of Indigenous researchers, critiquing the time bracketing of colonialism and the residential schools experience (Alfred, 2005; Alfred, 2010; Coulthard, 2007; Corntassel and Chaw-win-is, 2009; Byrd, 2011; Holmes, Hunt and Piedalue, 2015; Chrisjohn and Young, 1997). Much of the literature produced by non- Indigenous researchers has treated residential schools as empty vessels through which perpetrators enacted violence on Indigenous children (McCall, 2020). Although it is a positive turn of events that non-Indigenous researchers are highlighting the genocidal violence of residential schools, the lack of attention to the institution of the schools themselves contributes to understanding colonial violence as solely historical. In the future, a more robust analysis of the impact of residential schools on how social relations between Indigenous Peoples and between Indigenous communities and the state are organized in the present day can help to expand and deepen research on these sites.

Existing research on the ongoing impact of residential schools focuses on trauma (Haig-Brown, 1988; Jacobs and Williams, 2008; Partridge, 2008; Regan, 2010; Niezen,

2016). The recognition of intergenerational trauma is relatively new within settler discourses, although it has been well known within Indigenous communities that subsequent generations of children, families, and community members have faced social consequences stemming from the initial violence of residential schools including familial breakdown, domestic violence, substance abuse, depression and other mental illnesses, poverty and loss of culture and cultural affiliation (Jacobs and Williams, 2008; Partridge, 2008; Regan, 2010; Furniss, 1992). This exploration, therefore, echoes the sentiment expressed in existing research on intergenerational trauma, namely that there are considerable effects worthy of analysis that persist in the present day. Contemporary instances of colonial violence such as the ongoing genocide of MMIWG2S are linked within the literature to the intergenerational impact of residential schools and also demonstrate how even decades after the closure of the final residential school, relationships between Indigenous Peoples, policing, education, and child protection remain problematic (Jacobs and Williams, 2008; Kelm, 1996; Partridge, 2010; Petoukhov, 2013).

The Federal government of Canada established the TRC with a mandate to investigate and listen to the experiences of survivors of the Indigenous residential schools program (Reagan, 2011). However, it must be noted that the call for a federal inquiry into the experiences at residential schools and the truth-telling within the TRC was the result of decades of advocacy and activism on the part of Indigenous people. The commission, following multiple sessions across the country and a lengthy fact-gathering process, produced both an interim and a final report, outlining findings and making possible suggestions for the next steps in the reconciliation process (Truth and

Reconciliation Commission, 2015, Raegan, 2010). The TRC is perhaps the most central text within the ongoing discourse on reconciliation and the residential schools program. The TRC robustly outlined the history of Canadian colonialism and collected more than 6000 testimonies and millions of pages of documentation to illustrate the collective and individual experiences of students who attended residential schools (TRC, 2015). The TRC, in its recommendations or "Calls to Action" stresses the importance of reconciliation, commemoration, and further Indigenous-driven research.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has ushered in a state focus on reconciliation as the current organizing narrative for Indigenous- state relations (Coulthard, 2007; Newhouse, 2016). Coulthard, in a critique of the politics of recognition, questions how reconciliation is possible and who stands to benefit really from this pursuit (Coulthard, 2007). Coulthard (2007) questions how meaningful reconciliation can ever take place when it doesn't disrupt the inequalities and seizures of Indigenous land and resources that are so central to the colonial project. Coulthard (2007) considers how the discourse of reconciliation may be working more for the status quo/ state interests than for Indigenous Peoples. Echoing Coulthard, I reject the apparent neutrality and innocence of the language of reconciliation and the taken-for-granted nature of "reconciliation" as a strategy (2007; also Alfred, 2010). My work engages critically with the narrative of "reconciliation" at various points, but I approach reconciliation as one among many politicized and value-laden concepts invoked by the state in approaching Indigenous-state relations in the contemporary Canadian context. I explore this more within the third article of this dissertation, unpacking the politics of apology.

Unfortunately, reconciliation has been absorbed in many ways into the meaning-stripped and dislocated government-speak of federal politics. The power and action-focused nature of “reconciliation” as a move or a responsibility has been severed from the word reconciliation as a signal. What work is reconciliation doing when it is spoken by members of the settler government? This complex question cannot be satisfyingly unraveled here, but certainly includes how the language of reconciliation is virtue signaling and in many ways functions to close instead of open discourses on settler responsibilities (Coulthard, 2014; Bentley, 2019; Ahmed, 2000; Gaertner, 2020; Matsunaga, 2021). Dorrell frames this issue as “focusing on closure rather than disclosure” within apologies, which seems to be the case with the most recent experiences with apologies regarding the rediscovered burials (2009: 30). Tuck and Yang (2012) point out the emptiness of sympathy and apology as ways to redress the thefts of Indigenous land and genocide of Indigenous Peoples. They argue that the metaphorization of decolonization (reducing decolonization to talk and acknowledgments instead of action) works to relieve white settler guilt more than to address future Indigenous-state relations (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Tuck and Yang's (2012) work can be connected to other critiques of public apologies and state redress towards Indigenous Peoples (Watts and King, 2015; James, 2012; Anderson, 2012). This idea, rooted in the literature on apologies and reconciliation, will be expanded within the final article found in this dissertation.

Kanien’kehaka Mohawk academic and activist Taiake Alfred (2010: xi) questions the language of reconciliation and asks, "[w]hat is the notion of reconciliation doing for Canadian society and what is it doing for Native Peoples?". Alfred (2010) argues that

the discourse of reconciliation obscures how colonial inequalities, racism, and the marginalization of Indigenous Peoples are contemporary issues. He finds that reconciliation assumes a completion or a clear finish to these major problems and therefore conceals how they persist (Alfred, 2010: xi). Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel has a similar analysis of the concept of reconciliation and notes that, "state applications of reconciliation tend to relegate all committed injustices to the past while attempting to legitimate the status quo" (Corntassel et al, 2009: 145). These scholars and activists ask how reconciliation sometimes becomes political management of colonial history, to legitimize the Canadian state and ensure that existing structures and inequalities remain undisturbed. As Alfred contends, "without massive restitution, including land, financial transfers, and other forms of assistance to compensate for past harms and continuing injustices committed against our People, reconciliation would permanently enshrine colonial injustices and is itself a further injustice" (Alfred, 2005: 152).

However, there are also proponents of reconciliation as a political discourse and strategy for managing Indigenous-state relations (Newhouse, 2016). Indigenous writers and activists who use the discourse of reconciliation argue that it surpasses truth-telling and acknowledging past wrongs and includes the directive to change existing relations (TRC Calls to Action; Newhouse, 2016). The TRC has been well received by many Indigenous researchers, scholars, and activists, but there are also concerns that the Calls to Action will collect dust, as many Indigenous public inquiry findings have, such as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples recommendations or provincial level commissions such as the Ipperwash Inquiry (Ladner, 2001). The recent discoveries of unmarked graves and the resulting reckoning in settler colonial Canada have

reinvigorated interest in the Calls to Action. At the time of writing, the Canadian government is signaling more interest in fulfilling the Calls to Action, but it remains to be seen how many are completed and how.

Existing literature on residential schools has been focused on illuminating the cases of emotional, physical, and sexual violence that Indigenous students were subjected to within these spaces (Alfred, 2010; de Leeuw, 2009; Furniss, 1992; Kelm, 1996). One notable body of research is the emerging scholarship on criminology of the genocide of the residential schools program (Woolford and Gacek, 2016). Woolford and Gacek's work examines residential schools within the tradition of criminology of genocide, moving the conversation forward regarding the violence of the residential school system. Woolford and Gacek's work also highlights the importance of spatialization within cases of settler-colonial violence, which is a notion that is also taken up within the articles of this dissertation. My research on spaces of colonial violence and apology can be placed in conversation with Woolford and Gacek and other researchers working on genocide in Canada regarding how spaces create particular opportunities for social exclusion and colonial oppression.

My research on colonial violence in Canada fits into the existing literature on other historical cases of genocide and colonial/ racialized violence. Such cases that are featured within the literature include but are not limited to the Holocaust, the Japanese Internment in Canada during World War II, the American slave trade, and the Rwandan genocide (Oikawa, 2002; Philpott, 2016). Genocide and cultural genocide research from other cases including Holocaust sites and buildings and American slave quarters in particular also can be placed in conversation with my research regarding questions of

race, oppression, and violence. Literature on Holocaust memorial sites may offer productive opportunities for comparison with the interventions/ non-interventions in residential school locations and future critical discourse analysis work that I hope to pursue.

One publication that helps explore issues of commemoration, management of the past, and reconciling violent histories is a publication by Philpott that examines the buildings left behind by the Third Reich during World War II (2016). Philpott examines the structures that were left standing/ abandoned following the defeat of the Nazis and how these buildings, as material evidence of the Holocaust and extreme violence and oppression on the part of Hitler's state, are being confronted or ignored in the present day (2016). These comparable or related cases of genocidal racialized violence and/or colonialism situate the residential schools program of Canada within global networks of other colonial geographies and tangible traces/ spaces of violence. By understanding these global cases, it is possible to see that spaces with histories of extreme violence, racism, and colonialism, share a similar productive quality to shape social meaning, long after the sites lose their historical role or appearance. This literature also informs the article on apology in making sense of why residential schools must not be treated as strictly possessing meaning-making capacity only in the past.

Anti-Colonial Literature

I have included in this literature review work that analyzes carceral spaces and also work that considers the concept of reconciliation and the impacts of intergenerational trauma following the residential schools program. The anticolonial

literature that I have selected illuminates taken-for-granted power inequalities and unpacks how the violence of colonialism continues in present-day Canada.

As noted above, settler society often engages in "settler moves towards innocence" (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 1; Alfred, 2012:11) instead of truly anti-colonial or decolonizing actions. Tuck and Yang show that "decolonization is not a metaphor" and that for decolonization to occur, land and resources must be returned (2012). Tuck and Yang point out the emptiness of sympathy and apology as ways to redress the thefts of Indigenous land and genocide of Indigenous Peoples (2012), and argue that, the metaphorization of decolonization (reducing decolonization to talk and acknowledgments instead of action) works to relieve white settler guilt more than to address future Indigenous-state relations (2012). Tuck and Yang's work can be connected to other critiques of public apologies and state redress towards Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized populations (Ahmed, 2014; Bentley, 2019; Watts and King, 2015; James, 2012; Anderson, 2012). The time bracketing or "chapter closing" found in settler discourse of the residential schools program is one example of the "excuses, distractions and diversions from decolonization" that the settler colonial state engages in (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 10).

Another component of anticolonization literature sees colonial sites as “carceral” (Stoler, 2016; Stoler, 2013; Harris, 2003; Mawani, 2002; Oikawa, 2002). These theorists use Foucault’s work to unpack how sites of colonial violence are produced by the state to displace, institutionalize, or enclose colonized and/ or racialized populations (Oikawa, 2002; Harris, 2003; Stoler, 2016; Stoler, 2013; Mawani, 2002). Foucault’s concept of "carceral space" explains how spaces are used to discipline, punish, and constrain

(Foucault, 1991). Harris, in his work on "Native Space" in B.C., uses a Foucauldian analysis of how residential schools disciplined Indigenous children (Harris, 2003). Harris compares this disciplinary power and the use of residential schools as carceral space to Foucault's much-studied example of Mettray (Harris, 2003). Residential schools were designed to 'discipline' out the presumed deviance of Indigeneity to produce Indigenous children who conformed to settler-colonial norms. As summarized in the final report from the TRC, "These residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture-the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society (TRC Final Report Summary, Preface iii). These spaces of carcerality and enclosure used violence, discipline, and intense resocialization as pathways to the acquiescence of children, to produce citizens who were productive for and acceptable to the apparatus of the settler colonial state. Through the carceral space of residential schools, Indigenous children were quarantined as though they were the antithesis of the settler-colonial state. Stoler also discusses Foucault's example of Mettray as an example of children's agricultural colonies (2016). These agricultural colonies were set up in the 1840s in France and spread throughout Europe and its colonies (i.e., Java, New Guinea, etc.) as colonial projects of resocializing youth who were viewed as wayward, deviant, or delinquent (Stoler, 2016: 83). Stoler describes the development of Mettray and other carceral-colonial spaces as the "imperial modern"- a broader system of disciplining out perceived deviance from what is socially acceptable to the dominant majority. As Stoler notes, "[t]he colonies agricoles were cast as reformist enterprises to extricate children from

adult prisons and to rescue them from moral harm" (2015: 84). Colonies agricoles could be replaced in this phrase with “residential schools” and the sentiment would remain true. Both the residential schools and the agricoles demonstrate how carcerality is emplaced within particular kinds of institutions that are developed to pursue colonial goals and to enclose and incarcerate populations that are perceived as being contrary to the dominant majority. Theory on colonial spaces grounded in Foucauldian analysis shapes the content analysis that I complete within the articles in this dissertation.

Residential schools were premised on an appeal to child welfare and legitimized through infantilization and perceived helplessness of Indigenous Peoples (Thobani, 2007: 119). De Leeuw identifies “schooling as an agent for Indigenous social engineering and cultural transformation” (2007: 341). There is an error in viewing the physical/ material spaces of residential schools as vessels within which colonial violence took place (de Leeuw, 2007; McCall, 2020). de Leeuw explains that "[f]ar then from functioning as mere containers through which colonial narratives were delivered, residential school buildings and grounds were colonial geographies in which First Nations students were enveloped" (de Leeuw, 2007: 344). The buildings themselves are not empty structures but are in and of themselves components of the social engineering process. Simply ending the residential schools program did not neutralize the utility of the buildings themselves in the violent social engineering/ assimilation process that the Canadian state engaged in. Social meaning cannot be automatically extinguished by closing a building, or even necessarily by knocking it down. I pick up this literature on the ongoing meaning of spaces of colonial violence within all three articles housed within this dissertation. The apology article in particular links to the

existing literature on how apologies are ineffective in dismantling the power and impact of colonial violence that is emplaced within the sites of residential schools.

Mona Oikawa (2002) applies Foucault's carceral spaces concept to the experiences of internment for Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. She focuses her research on the "production of the 'carceral' spaces of the Internment, asking, as have many critical geographers of historical violence, what the spaces enabled both in the past and present" (Oikawa, 2002: 74). Oikawa suggests that the isolation, the compactness, and the uncertainty of the internment camps and process produced a form of disciplinary power wielded against Japanese-Canadians that has had lasting implications for Canadian identity politics (Oikawa. 2002). By uprooting Japanese-Canadians, forcing them into camps, and isolating them from larger Canadian society, the space of the internment camps allowed the Canadian government to act on racist and extremely prejudicial social meanings of Japanese-Canadian presence in Canada. Naming this entire population as threatening and dangerous, produced a space of exclusion where the typical operating social norms for behaviour no longer applied and the assumed rights for Canadian citizens were suspended. Carceral power was enacted over Japanese-Canadians within the space of the camp, with significant negative impacts on multiple generations of Japanese-Canadians. Oikawa finds that the physical space and geography of the Japanese internment camps in Canada "reveals the ideological framework through which Canada was made and the forgetting of violence that is essential to this project of nation-building and the making of citizens" (Oikawa, 2002: 75). Oikawa's arguments surrounding the connections between physical space and state politics resonates with the connective thread of my research

as well. I pick up the notion of carceral space to make sense of how locations of colonial violence are so often considered locations in which the day-to-day expectations of the Canadian State are suspended on account of the population that lives within that location. For example, within the article that is linked to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, the carcerality of the space (as a constraining area for violence, substance abuse, housing insecurity, and other perceived "high-risk" behaviours that make individuals susceptible to violence and disappearance (Morton, 2018; see also Pratt, 2005; Razack, 2002).

In her research on the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the second world war, Oikawa argues that, "[i]f we view history as a linear march of progress through time, we may fail to see the long-term effects of national violence and the multiple ways in which violence is continually being perpetrated against subordinated communities" (Oikawa, 2002: 76). As Oikawa explains, "[l]ike the rendition of the Internment as a temporal moment, a "sad chapter" or "page" of Canadian history, the singularity of space conceals the extent and materiality of the violence involved in destroying communal and familiar relations" (Oikawa, 2002: 79).

Gregory and Paterson likewise seek to understand the discursive power of structures, memorials, and commemorative materials in the management of difficult or contested historical spaces (2015). Gregory and Paterson's focus on the challenge of memorial and mourning in the presence of physical traces of violence such as colonialism fits well with my research in illuminating the contemporary social meaning of colonial violence, particularly in the cases of MMIWG2S in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and along the Highway of Tears. This research is presented within this

dissertation in articles 1 and 2. Simon (2000) also focuses his research on the importance of colonial ruins as not only markers in the necessary process of commemorating and remembering colonialism, but also as ongoing tools through which colonial attitudes and power structures can be maintained or combatted. Although not addressing the Canadian context or the case of colonial and genocidal violence against Indigenous Peoples, Simon does take up the idea of the meaning-making power of ruins within his work. Simon contends that colonial ruins remain important in contemporary understandings of nationhood and narratives of the state (2000). Simon and Rosenberg also centre their research on the importance of space and materiality in public mourning and remembrance of trauma (2000). Simon and Rosenberg identify how particular spaces/ locations become recognized as socially accepted spaces of mourning and loss, while other sites are not categorized in this way (2000). Furthermore, Simon and Rosenberg find memorialization to be spatialized in an effort to anchor grief to a physical and palpable location. An example of this would be the production of a monument to commemorate an act of violence or to recognize the loss of life, such as can be seen with MMIWG2S cases in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Simon and Rosenberg's work connects to my research in meaning-making anchored to sites of colonial violence and how places are legitimized and understood as sites of memorialization and remembrance.

Stoler expands on Foucault's carceral space by naming "carceral archipelago of empire" as complex systems of control, violence, oppression, and knowledge control that are central to imperialism and colonialism (Stoler, 2013: 22). She finds that carceral archipelagos of empire consist of, "gradated zones of containment that mixed and

matched 'security' and defense with confinement, abuse, 'education' and abandonment" (Stoler, 2008: 203). Stoler's analysis applies to residential schools, and also to the Highway of Tears and MMIWG2S cases in the Downtown Eastside as sites of colonial violence. Stoler's conceptualization of the carceral archipelago of empire is also powerful in analyzing residential schools as components of a larger project of the dispossession of Indigenous land.

Razack and other feminist postcolonial theorists have produced literature that demonstrates the relationship between race, gender, and space in the negotiation of power in the Canadian context (Thobani, 2007; Razack, 2002; Mawani, 2002; Fiske, 2006; Pratt, 2005; Lawrence, 2002; Carter, 2014). Razack in particular argues that cases of violence against Indigenous Peoples, including but not limited to violence against Indigenous Peoples in custody and violence against Indigenous sex workers, are as much about space and how particular spaces define identities and power inequalities as they are about race and gender (Razack, 2002; Razack, 2011; Razack, 2012; Razack, 2015). Razack contends that the politics of exclusion- the casting out of particular raced, classed and gendered Peoples is reliant on carceral spaces to legitimize this exclusion (2002; 2015). A strong example in Razack's work is how violence against sex trade workers is normalized through the power of the space of the "stroll" to collapse existing social norms and limits for behaviour (2002). My research program as a whole strives to build on feminist anti-colonial and anti-racist research, to demonstrate the potential usefulness of non-extractive based and critical discourse analysis research on settler colonialism in Canada.

Stoler engages in a similar way to Razack by describing "connective tissues" as the elements of the social world that connect contemporary people to the violence of the past (2013: 8). Stoler contends that, connective tissue "continues to bind human potentials to degraded environments, and degraded personhoods to the material refuse of imperial projects-to the spaces redefined to the soils turned toxic, to the relations severed between people and people, and between peoples and things" (Stoler, 2013: 8). Stoler's concept of connective tissue is relevant to the three articles presented in this dissertation because Stoler is focused on how people, places, and historical violence are interwoven. I find these “connective tissues” to be descriptive of how Razack and other anti-colonial theorists understand the relationship between colonial geographies and the identities of the colonizer and the colonized. This analysis based on the literature on carceral space shed light on how Indigeneity, spaces of enclosure, and violence are understood and rationalized in settler-colonial states. Stoler's concept of connective tissue suggests that even once colonial geographies have lost their immediate/ obvious colonial function (for example, an abandoned colonial fort, residential school, or slave quarters), the site remains powerful in that it shapes the social meaning of power relations today. Even no longer in operation, Stoler suggests that buildings continue to articulate their social intention as their material character- their very design- remains within the landscapes and continue to communicate meaning. I take up Stoler and Razack's understandings of how marginalized populations are anchored to particular spaces and geographies and seek to identify how these "connective tissues' link spaces and discourses of violence to contemporary

Indigenous-state relations in Canada and the ongoing power of colonialism, even in the current moment of reconciliation and apology for "past" wrongs.

Space/ Place Literature

As can be seen in the following articles in this dissertation, my understanding of how colonial violence is emplaced is premised on the idea that spaces are never neutral, never innocent, and are instead inextricably raced, gendered, and classed (Razack, 2002; Massey, 1994; Mitchell, 2004; Saar and Hannes, 2009).). As Razack argues, "we reject the view that spaces simply evolve, are filled up with things, and exist either prior to or separate from the subjects who imagine and use them" (Razack, 2002: 8). Spaces are not just settings: they shape identity, impact relations, and become agentive in power imbalances (Razack, 2002). Space is essential in the social construction of race and features heavily within the three selected articles of this dissertation. Within my work on hitchhiking and the billboards along the Highway of Tears, the space of the highway becomes essential to not only the instances of violence, but also in the State's response to this violence (Morton, 2016). The remoteness, the way hitchhiking is utilized within that region, and how Indigenous mobility is constrained and shaped by various structural inequalities stemming from colonialism, all imprint on the space of the Highway of Tears (Morton, 2016). Within the MMIWG2S based article, the specific location of the Downtown Eastside and what that area, as a zone of exception (Razack, 2002) and as a wasted space (Bauman, 2004) takes on so much power and meaning, which deeply shapes not only the instances of violence against Indigenous women themselves but also on how the women as victims

of violence are memorialized and remembered within the space and within how the State constructs the colonial violence (Morton, 2018).

A concept that underpins my project is the idea of a “palimpsest” (Morisset, 2010). Defined differently across disciplines, the disparate definitions of palimpsests are similar in how they capture a sense of layering, depth in meaning, and change. Morisset describes a palimpsest as ``a stack or pile: ceaselessly rewritten over its former layers, it continually changes while retaining traces of the semantic investments of which it is the receptacle and the product” (2010: 58). A palimpsest is the overlaying and repurposing of social meaning (bounded by historical context) that is simultaneously evident in a particular location or object. Freud also invokes the concept of the palimpsest to make sense of the layering and production of Rome as a place (Freud, 1979). Freud argues that the physical elements of Rome can be compared to a person's memories in that layers are overwritten and interlocked, but nothing is fully erased or gone. Freud (1979) indicates how memories, like newer structures in Rome, are stacked on top of older structures and remains of structures, and that past and present coexist and interconnect in the material evidence of this layering). In the cases explored in the three articles of this dissertation, I explore how spaces associated with colonial violence are overwritten by contemporary social meanings and relations to the place. Whether a textual palimpsest in literature, in which words are overwritten with a different story, or a structural palimpsest in architecture where structures are built directly on top of others, palimpsests are sites of interconnectivity across time and between people. The palimpsest represents a space where everything is all at once- where different places, uses, intentions, and understandings tangle. The persistence of history and

historical context within the palimpsest is important in understanding how time shapes the emplacement of this institution. The palimpsest is not only a layering and stacking of place but also a layering of temporality. Particularly in our current post-TRC era, temporality within the palimpsest of the residential school becomes a critical way of analyzing how historical context factors into efforts towards reconciliation. In the case of discourses of colonial violence, the contemporary placeness and meanings within the discourses are palimpsests of all the tangled and complex meanings embedded in these cases, for both settler-colonial and Indigenous populations alike. Palimpsests disrupt and complicate tidy linear narratives, which helps to dismantle the seeming neutrality of the discourses located within hitchhiking billboards, official apologies, and missing posters.

Although not interchangeable, connective tissue and palimpsests as concepts pick up a similar social reality of how untidy spaces truly are. Even where there is great consensus over what a particular place is (scary, beautiful, peaceful, dangerous) there are still different and competing layers of meaning, belonging, use, and understanding. Connective tissue, as Stoler frames it, is the sinew that anchors people to places and relates a particular landscape, building, or even ruined structure to a particular community or identity. Palimpsests anchor meaning, and indicate how sites of these connections are unpredictable, messy, and multiple. Palimpsests, in the way fiber tends to wrap and knot through and around other fibers, do not allow for a clear tracing of connection in the way that connective tissue often can. A discrete beginning and end may be possible with connective tissue. However, with palimpsests, attempting to unravel the meaning to figure out where one thread of belonging or understanding starts

or ends may be impossible. Both concepts are particularly useful in understanding spaces of colonial violence as they speak to how meaning sticks to places through time.

Both place and space are important concepts for this research. As Logan notes, “everything happens somewhere, which means that all action is embedded in place and may be affected by its placement” (Logan, 2012: 508). All places, as socially constructed and understood hold pasts, futures, and a variety of potential interpretations which change dramatically based on context (Bachelard, 1964; Cresswell, 2004; Foucault, 1984). Sites are always multiple and complex, and Foucault invokes the concept of heterotopia to explain how complicated sites are as a result of social context. (Foucault, 1984). For Foucault, and other subsequent theorists interested in heterotopia, multiple and often conflicting meanings are all anchored to a shared site (1984). Foucault builds on examples of cemeteries, prisons, boarding schools, and colonies to develop his analysis of how spaces construct complex, layered social meanings (1984). One challenge with the concepts of place and space is that they are often confused or used interchangeably. Although this conceptual haziness is understandable, the distinction is important to make sense of how meaning is affixed to locations of colonial violence and how the State frames these spaces.

The conventional binary of space and place treats space as untampered with/ non-social elements of the world, while place involves the human interventions, understanding of, and management of space (Massey,1994; Lawrence and Low, 1990; Cresswell, 2004). Massey explains, “'space' may call to mind the realm of the dead or the chaos of simultaneity and multiplicity. Likewise with place, though perhaps with more consistency, it can raise an image of one's place in the world, of the reputedly (but

as we shall see, disputed) deep meanings of 'a place called home' or, with much greater intimations of mobility and agility, can be used in the context of discussions of positionality." (Massey, 1994:2). Massey, in her analysis of space and place suggests that this classical binary of space as non-social and place as social obfuscates how social experiences are all spatialized and how the particularity of social space is always undercut by the gendered, raced and classes contexts and understandings of individuals who come to know these spaces (1994).

Degenerate Space Literature

Razack engages with several cases of violence against Indigenous Peoples and the relationship between race and space within her analytical framework of "degenerate space." (2002: 127). Degenerate spaces, as Razack describes them, are removed from the space of the dominant society and are outside of the lived experiences of most members of the dominant society (2002: 127). The day-to-day conventions, laws, and expectations for non-violence against other people don't apply, or if they do apply, they do so very differently as they are refracted through prejudicial expectations of race and space (Razack, 2002: 127). Razack illustrates the relationship between spatiality, violence, and racialized/ gendered constructions of Indigenous Peoples through the case of Pamela George, an Indigenous woman, murdered after being contracted by two white university students for sex work (Razack, 2002: 123-124). The importance of this particular case to Razack is that according to her analysis in both the court case against the accused and in the media account of the murder, Pamela George was dehumanized and the accusers were characterized as members of the dominant majority who simply entered a space of exception, and although they made "mistakes", were not labelled

murderers (Razack, 2002: 124). Space defined the racialized identities and ultimately defined the crime, or in this case, the "mistake" of murdering an Indigenous sex-worker (Razack, 2002: 124). This characterization, both of victim and perpetrators is imbedded in a larger characterization of the “stroll” as a degenerate space where violence, sex work, and criminality are normalized (Razack, 2002: 124). The space of violence against Indigenous sex trade workers shares many similarities to other spaces of exception that allow for gendered and racialized violence.

The present dominant narrative expressed by the Canadian state regarding residential schools and other malevolent policies against Indigenous Peoples has been one of mourning, apology, truth-telling, and reconciliation (Anderson, 2012; Coulthard, 2007; Gregory and Patterson, 2015; Jacobs and Williams, 2008; Petoukhov, 2013; Raegan, 2010). Anderson, Coulthard, and Ahmed are three researchers who have contributed a great deal to the contemporary analysis of apology politics and how apology fits into ongoing colonialism. Anderson, in her research on the discourse of the apology for residential schools argues that, “a textual analysis of the PM’s discourse reveals linguistic features that try to distance the government from its responsibility in the residential school system.” (Anderson, 2012: 578) Anderson argues that Harper’s language of apology is designed to distance, both temporally and physically, the current administration and the spaces of the residential schools. She further argues that the apology was written in such a way “to construct a particular reality of both the government’s role in residential schools and the nature of Canadian diversity” (Anderson, 2012: 571). Anderson also adopts critical discourse analysis within her approach to analyzing state apology, which was particularly helpful in understanding

how CDA can be deployed within work on settler colonialism. Anderson demonstrates the functionality of CDA in laying bare often indetectable claims and justifications of ongoing settler colonialism.

Ahmed illuminates the affective exchange housed within the act of apology. Identifying how an apology fixes the apologizer and the receiver of the apology into a power-laden relationship that is shaped by expectations and the currency of emotional exchange. (2000; 2004). Ahmed tracks how apologies feed problematic relations in settler colonial states by once again reinscribing the position of power and privilege of the State to offer an apology and seek forgiveness on their own terms and for their own political gains.

In an era so focused on apology and reconciliation to close the chapter on colonial violence and assimilation, the tangible evidence of discourses (texts such as speeches, monuments, missing posters, and billboard signs) matter. In the papers that follow, influenced by the work on apology of Ahmed (2014), Matsunaga (2021), Coulthard (2014), and Anderson (2012), I analyse discourses surrounding colonial violence through three cases and identify how these cases play a role in how narratives of colonial power and history are negotiated in the settler-colonial state and this social meaning is worthy of investigation.

Sibley in *Geographies of Exclusion* (1995) demonstrates how the demarcation of space established boundaries for the marginalization of racialized others within society). Sibley considers how exclusions of certain marginalized groups were made possible through the demarcation of spaces as being either the domain of insiders or the space of outsiders (1995). Such exclusions are based on gender, race, and class. Goldberg

(1993) similarly pinpoints the intersections between race and space in narratives of nationhood to demonstrate how placeness and demarcated spaces are essential in understanding categories of insider and outsider and understanding privilege in society. Goldberg's work applies to how the management of the spaces of colonial violence is emblematic of the state's relationship with Indigenous Peoples within Canada. Goldberg's (1993) analysis of the meaning-making power of space is important to understanding how discourses of colonial violence interlock with contemporary narratives of reconciliation. I build on this literature within the analysis of the billboards along the Highway of Tears and within the article on MMIWG2S connected to the space of Vancouver's Downtown East side (Morton Richards 2016; Morton Richards 2018).

Creswell (2013) acknowledges that it is hard to specify the meaning of place and space, despite their common usage. In defining the nature of place, he uses the illustrative case of the college dorm room and describes the sticky putty left on the wall from a previous tenant's posters as "hauntings" of the previous "placeness" of that space (Cresswell, 2013: p.7). He shows how college students arrange their belongings and decorate dorm rooms to make them "their place," an act of claiming and making sense of where they lead their social lives (Cresswell, 2013: p.7). In this way, Cresswell's understanding of place is consistent with dominant constructs of what place means and how it is made. Place making is a process that is completed through social relations to spaces and in the following articles, I attempt to untangle the emplacement of discourses of colonial violence.

Materiality is important within my work as I tap into the placeness of discourses of colonial violence. Materiality is also central within Gieryn's conceptualization of

space, and he notes that even seemingly natural places, are made by people through their engagement (whether physical or discursive) with the material location (2000: 465). In the most basic sense, he sees place as “space filled up by Peoples, practices, objects, and representations” (Gieryn, 2000:465). Places are also always changing based on context and interpretations by people, with places taking on separate meanings and significance on the basis of lived experiences (Massey, 2006).

Places such as residential schools are where "racisms become institutionally normalized in and through spatial configuration just as social space is made to seem natural, a given, by being conceived and defined in racial terns" (Goldberg, 1993: 185). Indeed, through colonial places, attitudes and ideologies shape power imbalances and reinforce inequalities in concrete terms. As de Leeuw p.342) notes, “social and political ideologies are made to function, are put into practice and are understood, in part through their emplacement” (2007: 342). The billboards and missing posters analyzed in the articles of this dissertation serve as examples of this emplacement of discourses of colonial violence (Morton, 2016; Morton, 2018).

Razack (2002), in her research on the relationship between the construction of space, race, and gender, argues that the sense of self and others is determined through spaces and how individuals position themselves (and others) within these sites (Razack, 2002: 17). She argues that, “subjects come to know themselves in and through space" (Razack, 2002: 17). Interestingly, Razack (2002) seems in her work to use “space” in much of the same way that other theorists have used place. Razack also uses space and place interchangeably in her chapter, “When Place Becomes Race” (2002). In this chapter, Razack (2002) builds on Lefebvre’s work on space to examine

how intersections of marginalized identities play a role in spatial justice. Razack invokes space to mean locations in which “subjects come to know themselves” indicating that space for her is socially productive and connected to the construction and labelling of identities (2002: 17). This is a different approach to space than is found within typical invocations of the space/ place binary, where space is concerned with measures and geometrical understandings, and place is concerned with social understandings of the material world.

Practice of Settler Reflexivity and Methods

Part of what ties the articles, and the initial project together as a whole is the nature of reflexivity that was required for this work. Reflexivity is often used to describe the practice in research of accounting for privilege within how researchers approach topics, participants, and data within research. Reflexivity is used by researchers in an effort to not recentre themselves, but to instead demonstrate their own relationship to the research. D’arcangelis suggests, “Somewhat paradoxically, self-reflexivity is seen as the main tactic that we should use to avoid re-centering ourselves” (2017: 339). As discussed, oftentimes reflexivity and standpoint theory take on a confessional tone, where particularly white researchers, use reflexivity as just a declaration of privilege and as a necessary hoop to jump prior to continuing to engage in research in the traditional and typical ways. Smith notes that she has observed within workshops on anti-colonialism a common practice of participants reflecting “on their gender, race, sexual, or class (and so on) privilege. These workshops had a bit of a self- help orientation to them: “I am so and so, and I have X privilege.” It was never quite clear what the point of

these confessions were" (2020: 215). In my understanding of reflexivity, it is not enough to just state my privilege and confess my white settler identity. I must actively use reflexivity to retrace my research steps, to tap into meaning-making found within analyzing collaborative settler-Indigenous research projects. I continue to develop my sense of settler reflexivity in order to analyze how colonial violence persists just under the surface of what appears to be well intentioned work.

What makes the reflexivity within this work different, is that the failed project gave me the opportunity to analyze my own visceral reactions to the abrupt ending of the initial project as a site in and of itself of meaning making. In the three articles, I attempt to unpack meaning-making that too often is just beneath the surface within discourses of colonial violence. Taking that approach from the articles and applying it to my own experiences as a settler researcher within the initial project's end allowed for me to engage in reflexive analysis of how my own training and position as a researcher was influencing my immediate reaction to the project's end.

When confronted with the reality that the project could not proceed, my initial reaction was one of fear and sadness. I was deeply concerned about what the implications of not proceeding would be for me. I centered my own feelings and concerns, and my immediate reaction was "but how will I complete my dissertation?" My immediate response was not consistent with what I had always held as the reason for and priority within this work: the relationship between myself and the Tseshaht First Nation as collaborators and research partners. When I realized that my immediate reaction was one of concern only for my own research success, I recognized that it was

necessary for me to unpack and analyze why the ending of the project would result in that reaction.

I started to think through and review my journals throughout the research project to date. I re-examined my earliest drafts of the research proposal and my outlining and brainstorming that went into the project. I used these texts and my own conversations with Darrell and other members of the Tseshaht and I began to trace back how and where the expectations of settler-research were entering into my approach to the initial collaborative research design.

I began to think about the ways in which "good" anti-colonial work is being taught and trained within the academy and how these goals and pressures to engage in particular ways with Indigenous research participants are being taught alongside the prioritization of research productivity, publishing or perishing, and attracting research funding. Through reflecting back on my training and my research design, I began to see tension points between the expectations of ethical collaborative research with and for Indigenous Peoples and with the expectations of "success" as a junior researcher and PhD student.

In the same way I tease out the taken for granted nature of the discourses of colonial violence found in response to MMIWG2S and in the federal politics of apology, in my reflexivity in the initial project I attempt to tease out the colonial violence in research. I was able to realize, through my impulsive reaction to the ending being one of self-interested prioritization of my research goals, that there is a real undercurrent of violence in how settler academic research is often in tension with ethical collaborative research with and for Indigenous Peoples.

How my settler reflexivity is different is through how instead of using reflexivity as a starting point to begin my analysis, reflexivity was the method through which I accessed the meaning-making of the initial project. Reflexivity became a prism through which I could unpack the failed project and analyze my own experience as a researcher attempting to do good work with and for the Tseshaht First Nation, but ultimately when the project ended, being confronted with how deeply settler research priorities had shaped me.

Refusal is also a component of grappling with this tension between settler academic expectations and striving for ethical relations in settler-Indigenous research relations. Simpson's work, despite academic and research pressures to analyze and publish from data collected from her research participants, engaged in refusal and engaged in reflexive work to pinpoint the places where the refusal revealed how settler research goals and expectations were attempting to infiltrate the work.

Settler reflexivity must include the practice of continuous assessment of how researcher and ethical collaborative goals overlap and conflict within intersubjectivity based research. Settler-colonialism isn't just the object of the study, it is also baked into how settler researchers such as me make choices across the research process, so a settler reflexivity for my work also had to analyze the initial project and my reaction to its failure. Doing good work necessitates the "praxis/action of identifying, unsettling and undoing both the vast and under-detected processes which support the structure of settler colonialism" (Kearney, 2019: 200) and this practice doesn't start and end with subjects of study out there. It also includes an unsettling and undoing within the researcher's process as well.

Throughout my PhD research, the question of how to design a research project as a settler in a way that is as anti-colonial and anti-oppressive as possible was central. One of the ways that I attempted to counteract the embeddedness of settler-colonialism within my research approach was through the practice of reflexivity. I placed this description of my practice for reflexivity and how it differed from typical understandings of what it means to be reflexive in this introduction because it ties the initial project, the ending of the initial project, and the articles together. This dissertation shows that the failed project has resulted in an increase in my understanding and practice of reflexivity. The first two of the three articles in this dissertation were written and published prior to the initial project ending and demonstrates how impactful that experience was in shaping my conceptualization of settler reflexivity. The practice of settler reflexivity was a part of my work throughout my PhD, with an emphasis on unpacking how my own assumptions and choices can be read and analyzed in much the same way the discourses of violence of the articles can be. However, it wasn't until the initial PhD project ended that I became more cognizant of how my whiteness and my settler identity were persisting in the choices I was making. Having the initial project end put me in the position to stop and think about how these components of my identity shaped how I reacted when it ended.

Reflexivity is also important to how refusal enters into my methods. In the decisions I make around coding and the components of the discourses that I illuminate; refusal was a necessary tool in unsettling damage-centered narratives in my own work. My understanding of settler reflexivity has evolved, most dramatically as a result of the initial project ending. The manuscript format has given me another reflexive opportunity

to look back on my articles, with the hindsight I have developed since I completed those projects, to once again unpack how my white-settler identity shaped that work.

Much of the focus within research methods for studies of settler colonialism is on in-depth interviews with Indigenous respondents (Koster et al, 2012: Smith, 2008). The structuring of these sorts of research projects is typically a settler researcher as the "interpreter" or "analyzer" of data that is produced and held by Indigenous experts and then harvested by the settler researcher. The power dynamic housed within this research approach is a problematic imbalance that too often is left unexplored and rendered invisible within research (Smith, 2008). As my work in my PhD program progressed, I had the opportunity to learn and experiment with several different methods and to identify strengths and weaknesses housed within these different methods. I was able to take a step back and analyze the taken-for-granted assumption that interview-based research is the most desirable method for settlers to contribute to studies of settler colonialism. Ultimately, one method that I found powerful and potentially useful in countering the centrality of the extractive method of interviewing by settler researchers was critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to texts, to unpack the meaning-making that permeates within discourses of social problems (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2001; Hodes, 2018). In the way that it is associated with Wodak (2001) and Fairclough (2001) CDA examines texts within a three-pronged approach: micro, macro, and mezzo levels of qualitative analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) texts can include song lyrics, manuals, operating procedures, print and video-based advertisements, films, photographs, signage, clothing, and more. CDA is designed to

expose the “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001:2). The openness of what can be read and analyzed as text for CDA is particularly appealing to me. CDA seeks to demonstrate not only the produced material for analysis, but also the social/ political and cultural context of the people who produced them. Furthermore, CDA seeks to demonstrate the materials/ mode through which the materials are created and experienced by their audience as well, with commentary on how choices around these materials shape the audience’s understanding and acceptability of the materials and their meanings. These components of CDA made this approach particularly useful in taking what is often disappeared or ignored- seemingly naturalized- within settler colonial society and tracing back their meaning-making and social purpose. Hodes makes a compelling argument for how CDA is particularly effective to look at settler colonialism in Canada (2018). She contends that the pragmatism and ability to work across many theoretical perspectives within CDA both make it possible to robustly confront the contemporary and historical colonial discourses in Canadian settler colonial society (Hodes: 2018). I echo Hodes (2018) in her assessment of CDA as a useful approach to studies of settler colonialism and will push my analysis even further to assert that CDA offers a means to resist and unsettle the colonialism that rests comfortably within the extractive-focused approaches to qualitative research on settler colonialism.

My initial intention to interview Indigenous participants was based on the recognition that Indigenous Peoples are always the experts on their own lived experiences. However, through the collaborative work to establish that project and

through the ongoing conversations I had with contacts within the band administration (paired with my own learning and increased exposure to alternative research methods) it became clear that by asking for participants to engage in in-depth interviews with me as a non-community member and as a white settler, I was placing additional and potentially non-beneficial emotional labour on participants who were already being generous with their knowledges and experiences in a multitude of ways. Interviewing, given the social and political climate of the post-TRC era of reconciliation and the recent discovery of unmarked burial grounds on the sites of residential schools, felt inappropriate at best and oppressive at worst.

While working on my PhD, I was simultaneously gaining experience with Critical Discourse Analysis, which I used in this dissertation's three articles. I found it particularly useful in how I could unpack existing and often under-analyzed components of settler-colonialism in Canada (billboards, missing posters, and apology speeches by Prime Ministers). What makes CDA so appealing in work on settler colonialism is that this approach has a strong ability to illuminate the presence of justifications, even justifications that are subtle within materials analysed. The justifications of colonialism, housed within the materials produced within the colonial state can be made clear through the approach of CDA. CDA also allows for emphasis to be added to the emplacement and social context of discourses of colonial violence.

CDA tracks how discourses move and evolve overtime, allowing me to engage with and to consider the considerable political and social change that took place while in progress for my PhD work- namely, the post-TRC era of reconciliation and the recent discoveries of unmarked graves at residential schools from Coast to Coast to Coast.

CDA seeks to tease out, “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001: 2). This uncovering of conventions, rules, justifications and labelling through CDA was valuable in exploring how this important moment of reckoning for settler colonialism in Canada is being worked through discursively.

CDA emerged in the 1990s as a paradigm and rejected the label of “method” with more emphasis on collecting scholarship and research that sought to uncover the discourses that govern existing social problems. Broadly, CDA does fit within the research being done through content analysis but is interdisciplinary and moves easily within studies of linguistics, social theory, history, and sociology. The most common critique of CDA as a way of viewing social research is that it is just not constructive enough and places all emphasis on critique and deconstruction of existing material instead of developing something new. However, particularly in terms of the utility of CDA for analysis of settler colonialism, the work of illuminating and unpacking taken for granted and disappeared justifications and assumptions that underpin the colonial order in Canada is a valuable component of further efforts to make social research more anti-colonial and more reflexive.

CDA offers great freedom to researchers in terms of what sort of theory can scaffold their work and research. I, throughout my work on anti-colonial theory and discourses of settler colonialism, have been interested in Foucauldian style discourse analysis, and feminist and Indigenous theoretical approaches to violence. These three theoretical approaches, along with intensive study of Indigenous researchers and activists in the areas of disrupting Canadian colonialism and responding to colonial

violence underpins my personal approach to CDA as a toolkit for unpacking materials of the Canadian colonial state.

References

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Alfred, T. 2010. Foreword to: *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. P. Regan (Author) Vancouver: UBC Press.

Alfred, T. 2005. *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Peterborough, ON: UTP/Broadview Press.

Anderson, Willow. 2012." Indian Drum in the House: A Critical Discourse Analysis of an Apology for Canadian Residential Schools and the Public's Response." *The International Communication Gazette*. 74(6): 571-585.

Assembly of First Nations.1994. *Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nations Individuals.* Ottawa: The Assembly of First Nations.

Bachelard, Gaston. 1964. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bannerji, Himani. 1993. *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Barker, Adam J. 2012. "Locating Settler Colonialism." *Journal of Colonialism & Colonial History*, *13*(3).

Benjamin, Chris. 2014. *Indian School Road: Legacies of the Shubenacadie Residential School.*

Bentley, Tom. 2019. "Settler State Apologies and the Elusiveness of Forgiveness: The Purification Ritual That Does Not Purify" *Contemporary Political Theory*. 19(3): 381-403.

Berger, Peter L. & Luckmann, Thomas.1966. *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Bird, S., Wiles, J. L., Okalik, L., Kilabuk, J., & Egeland, G. M. 2009. "Methodological consideration of story telling in qualitative research involving Indigenous Peoples." *Global Health Promotion* 16(4):16–26.

Blackstock, Cindy & Pamela Palmater. 2021. The Discovery of Unmarked Children's

Graves in Canada has Indigenous Peoples Asking: How Many More? *The Guardian (Online)*. Guardian News & Media Limited.

Brady, Miranda. 2013. "The Flexible Heterotopia: Indian Residential Schools and the Canadian Museum of Civilization." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 19(4): 408-420.

Butler, Judith. 2003. "Afterword: After Loss, What Then?" Loss. Eds. David L. Eng and David Kazanjian. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.467-474.

Butler, Judith. 2003. "Violence, Mourning, Politics." *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*. 4(1): 9-37.

Calderon, Delores. 2016. "Moving from Damage-Centered Research through Unsettling Reflexivity." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. *47*(1): 5–24.

Campbell, Marie, and Frances Gregor. 2008. *Mapping Social Relations: A Primer in Doing Institutional Ethnography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Casey, Edward. 2013. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical Inquiry*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Carter, S. 2003. "Transnational Perspectives on the History of Great Plains Women: Gender, Race, Nations, and the Forty-Ninth Parallel." American Review of Canadian Studies, 33(4), 565-596.

Carter, S. 2014. *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*. Quebec: McGill University Press.

CBC (Author Unknown) 2017. "The State of Canada's Former Residential School Buildings. Accessed Online June 2021: The state of Canada's former residential school buildings | CBC News

Chaterjee, Partha. 2012. *The Black Hole of Empire: History of the Global Practice of Power*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Chrisjohn and Young, 1997. *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada*. Penticton: Theytus Books.

Coulthard, Glen. 2007. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition in Canada". *Contemporary Political Theory* 6(1): 437-460.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Indigenous Americas: Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Corntassel, Jeff; Chaw-win-is; T'lakwadzi. 2009. " Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation." *English Studies in Canada*. 35(1): 137-159.

Corntassel, Jeff. 2011. "Indigenizing the Academy: Insurgent Education and the Roles of Indigenous Intellectuals" Canadian Federation of Social Sciences. www.fedcan.ca/en/blog/indigenizing-academy-insurgent-education-and-roles-indigenous-intellectuals

Cresswell, Timothy. 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Daigle, Michelle. 2019. "The Spectacle of Reconciliation: On (the) Unsettling Responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples in the Academy." *Environment and Planning. D, Society &Space* 37, no. 4 (2019): 703–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818824342.

D'Arcangelis, Carol Lynne. 2018. "Revelations of a White Settler Woman Scholar-Activist: The Fraught Promise of Self-Reflexivity." *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 18, no. 5 (2018): 339–53.

Davidge, M. 2014. "Sakahàn, International Indigenous Art" *Border Crossings, 32*, 83-85.

De Certeau, Michel. 2001. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

de Leeuw, S, Greenwood, M, Lindsay, N. (2013. "Troubling Good Intentions." *Settler Colonial Studies*.3(3–4): 381–394.

De Leeuw, S. D., Cameron, E. S., & Greenwood, M. L. 2012. "Participatory and Community Based Research, Indigenous Geographies, and the Spaces of Friendship: A Critical Engagement." *The Canadian Geographer.* 56(2): 180–194.

de Leeuw, S. 2009. "'If Anything is to Be Done with the Indian, We Must Catch Him Very Young': Colonial Constructions of Indigenous Children and the Geographies of Indian Residential Schooling in British Columbia, Canada." *Children's Geographies*. 7(2): 123-140.

de Leeuw, S. 2007. "Artful Places: Creativity and Colonialism in British Columbia's Indian Residential Schools" PhD Dissertation. Ontario: Queen's University.

Derrida, J. 2001. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London: Routledge.

deVault and McCoy, 2002. Institutional Ethnography : Using Interviews to Understand Ruling Relations.

Drees, L. M. 2010. "The Nanaimo and Charles Camsell Indian Hospitals: First Nations' Narratives of Health Care, 1945 to 1965." *Histoire sociale/Social history*, 43(85) :165-191. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/his.2010.0002

Drinnon, Richard. 1980. Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-hating and Empire-building. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Evans, M., Andersen, C., Dietrich, D., Bourassa, C., Logan, T., Berg, L., & Devolder, E. 2012. "Funding and Ethics in Métis Community Based Research: The Complications of a Contemporary Context." *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies,* 5(1):54–66.

Fairclough, N. 2001. The Discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis. In: Margaret Weatherell, M., Taylor, S., and Yates, S.J. (Eds.), Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis (pp. 229-265). London: Sage Publications.

Fairclough, N. 2013. Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language, Second Edition. New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. 1991. *Questions of Method in the Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures and an Interview with Michel Foucault*. Eds. G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller. Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Foucault, Michel.1982. *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. "Of Other Spaces" Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité. Accessed online: http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf

Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by A. Sheridan. London: Allen Lane

Fournier, S., & Crey, E. 1997. Stolen from our embrace: The abduction of First Nations Children and Restoration of Aboriginal communities. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd.

Freud, S. 1979. *Civilization and Its Discontents*. London

Furniss, E. 1992. *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School, 1891-1920*.

Gaertner, D. 2020. *The Theatre of Regret: Literature, Art, and the Politics of Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Anchor Books.

Goldberg, David. 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Haig- Brown, C. 1988. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press Ltd.

Hodes. 2018. "Gender, Race and Justification: The Value of Critical Discourse Analysis in Contemporary Settler Colonial Contexts." *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *19*(3), 71–78.

Hunziker, Marcel; Matthias Buchecker; and Terry Hartig. 2007. "Space and Place – Two Aspects of the Human-landscape Relationship." Accessed online:http://www.wsl.ch/fe/wisoz/publikationen/Publikationen_07-12_07_-_Space_and_Place_-_two_aspects_of_the_human-landscape_relationship.pdf

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

Johnston, B.1988. *Indian School Days*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.

Joly, Tara L, Hereward Longley, Carmen Wells, and Jenny Gerbrandt.2018. "Ethnographic Refusal in Traditional Land Use Mapping: Consultation, Impact Assessment, and Sovereignty in the Athabasca Oil Sands Region." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 5, no. 2 (2018): 335–43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2018.03.002.

Kearney, A. 2019. "Interculturalism and Responsive Reflexivity in a Settler Colonial Context." *Religions*, *10*(3), 199. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10030199

Kelm, M. 1996. "A Scandalous Procession: Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950". *Native Studies Review*. 11(2): 51- 88.

Kouri. 2020. Settler Education: Acknowledgement, Self-Location, and Settler Ethics in Teaching and Learning. *International Journal of Child, Youth & Family Studies IJCYFS*, *11*(3), 56–79.

Koster, R., Baccar, K., & Lemelin, R. H. 2012. Moving from research ON, to research WITH and FOR Indigenous communities: A critical reflection on community-based participatory research. The Canadian Geographer, 56(2), 195–210

Ladner, Kiera. 2001. "Negotiated Inferiority: The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples's Vision of a Renewed Relationship." *American Review of Canadian Studies*. 31(1): 241- 264.

LaRocque, Emma. 1996. “The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar” in ed. Miller, & Chuchryk, P. M. 1996. *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength.*Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Lawrence, B. 2002. “Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indigenous Resistance in Eastern Canada”. In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 21-47.

Lawrence, Denise L., and Setha M. Low. 1990. “The Built Environment and Spatial Form.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 196:453-505.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell.

Lira, Muñoz-García, A. L., & Loncon, E. 2019. “Doing the Work, Considering the Eof the Research Team While Undoing Settler Colonialism.” *Gender and Education*, *31*(4), 475–489. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2019.1583319

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Matsunaga, Jennifer. 2021. “Carefully Considered Words: The Influence of Government on Truth Telling about Japanes Canadian Internment and Indian Residential Schools.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 53(2): 91-113.

Mawani, R. 2002. “In Between and Out of Place: Mixed-race Identity, Liquor and the Law in British Columbia, 1850-1913”. In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 47-71.

McGuire-Adams. 2021. Settler Allies are Made, Not Self-Proclaimed: Unsettling

Conversations for Non-Indigenous Researchers and Educators Involved in Indigenous health." *Health Education Journal*, *80*(7): 761–772. https://doi.org/10.1177/00178969211009269

Michrina, Barry. 2000. "Reflexive ethnography: a guide to researching selves and others; decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous Peopless" American Ethnologist27(1):212--214

Miller, J. 2000. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: The History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Million, Dian. 2000. "Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in Indian Residential School Histories". *Canadian Woman Studies*. 20(2). Accessed online at http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/cws/article/viewFile/7615/6746 on March 26th, 2015.

Mitchell, WJT. 2004. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Rena. 2005. "Wife Rena Teary" *Research and Resistance: Critical Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*. Ed. Leslie Brown and Susan Strega. Chapter 7. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Miller, J. R. 1996. Shingwauk's vision: a history of Native residential schools. Toronto, London, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

Milloy, J.S. 1999. *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System-1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press.

Morgan, V., & Castleden, H. 2014. "An Exploration of Indigenous-Settler Relations in the Port Alberni Valley, British Columbia Regarding Implementation of the 2011 Maa-nulth Treaty." *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien, 58*(4), 469-480.

Morgensen. 2012. Destabilizing the Settler Academy: The Decolonial Effects of Indigenous Methodologies. *American Quarterly*, *64*(4), 805–808. https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2012.0050

Morisset, Lucie. 2010. "Patrimony, the Concept, the Object, the Memory, and the Palimpsest A View from the History of Architecture." JSSAC | JSÉAC 35 (2): 53-62.

Newhouse, David. 2016. "Indigenous Peoples, Canada and the Possibility of Reconciliation." *IRPP Insight*. 11(1): 1-18.

Noble, Brian. 2015. Thematic Section: Consent, Collaboration, Treaty: Toward Anti-Colonial Praxis in Indigenous-Settler Research Relations. *Anthropologica (Ottawa)*, *57*(2), 411–425.

Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. 1996. Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience. Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council.

O'Connell, Anne. 2015. "The Apology Act: Ethical Encounters and Actuarial Conduct" in *Unravelling Encounters: Ethics, Knowledge, and Resistance Under Neoliberalism*. Janzen, Caitlin; Smith, Kristin; Jeffrey, Donna. Eds. Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Oikawa, Mona. 2002. "Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subject(s) of the 'Internment'". In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 71-99.

Partridge, Cheryle. 2010. "Residential Schools: The Intergenerational Impacts on Aboriginal Peoples" *Native Social Work Journal* Vol 7 (33-62).

Petoukhov, Konstantin. 2013. "Transforming the Legacy of Indian Residential Schools in Canada into a Public Issue: A Critical Analysis of Michael Burawoy's Public Sociology" *Canadian Graduate Journal of Sociology and Criminology*. 2(1): 45-57.

Power, Tamara, Denise Wilson, Odette Best, Teresa Brockie, Lisa Bourque Bearskin, Eugenia Millender, and John Lowe. 2020. "COVID-19 and Indigenous Peoples: An Imperative for Action." *Journal of Clinical Nursing* 29 (16): 2737–41.

Pratt, Geraldine. 2005. "Abandoned Women and Spaces of Exception" *Antipode*. The 2005 Antipode Lecture. 1053-1077.

Rankin, Janet M. 1998. *Health Care Reform and Restructuring of Nursing in British Columbia*. Paper Presented at "Exploring the Restructuring and Transformation of Institutional Processes: Applications of Institutional Ethnography." Toronto: York University.

Razack, Sherene. 1998. *Looking White Peoples in the Eye: Gender, Race and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Razack, Sherene. 2002. *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Toronto: Between the Lines.

Razack, Sherene. 2011. "Timely Deaths: Medicalizing the Deaths of Indigenous

in Police Custody" *Law, Culture, and the Humanities*. 9(2): 352-374.

Razack, S. 2012. "Memorializing Colonial Power: The Death of Frank Paul" *Law and Social Inquiry* 37(4): 908-932.

Razack, Sherene. 2015. *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries Into Indigenous Deaths in Custody*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Regan, P. 2010. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver : UBC Press.

Restoule, J., Mashford-Pringle, A., Chacaby, M., Smillie, C., Brunette, C., & Russel, G. 2013. "Supporting Successful Transitions to Post-secondary Education for Indigenous Students: Lessons from an Institutional Ethnography in Ontario, Canada." *International Indigenous Policy Journal, 4*(4).

Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Saar, Maarja and Hannes Palang. 2009. "The Dimensions of Place Meanings." *Living Reviews in Landscape Research*. 3(3): 5-24.

Sibley, D. 1995**.** *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.* London: Routledge.

Simpson, Audra. 2007. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, "Voice" and Colonial Citizenship" Junctures*: the Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, *9*, 67–80.

Smith, D. 2005. *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for Peoples*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Smith, D. 2006. *Institutional Ethnography as Practice*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Smith, D. 1999. *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Smith, N. 2014. Sorry but not sorry. AEON.

Stoler, A. L. 2008. "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination". *Cultural Anthropology*. 23(2): 191-219.

Stoler, A. L. 2013. *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stoler, A. L. 2016. *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Time*. Durham: Duke University Press

Thobani, S. 1998. “Nationalizing Citizens, Bordering Immigrant Women: Globalization and the Racialization of Citizenship in Late Twentieth Century Canada” PhD Dissertation, Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.

Thobani, S. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1979. “Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective.” In *Philosophy in Geography*. S. Gale and G. Olsson eds. 387-427.

Tuck, Eve. 2009. “Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities.” *Harvard Educational Review*. 79(3):409-428.

Tuck, E., M. McKenzie, and K. McCoy. 2014. “Land Education: Indigenous, Post-Colonial, and Decolonizing Perspectives on Place and Environmental Education Research.” Environmental Education Research 20 (1): 1–23.

Tuck, E., and K. W. Yang. 2014. “R-words: Refusing Research.” In Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities, edited by D. Paris and M. Winn, 223–248. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications

Warburton, Moira. 2021. “Canada's Victoria Cancels National Day Celebration After Discovery of Unmarked Burial Site.” Reuters. Accessed online June 21, 2021

Wilson, A. & Pence, E. 2006. "US Legal Interventions in the Lives of Battered Women : An Indigenous Assessment." In Smith, D. E. (Ed.), *Institutional Ethnography as Practice*. Toronto: Rowan and Littlefield.

Wilson, Breen, A. V., & DuPré, L. 2019. *Research and reconciliation: unsettling ways of knowing through indigenous relationships*. Canadian Scholars.

Winter, S. 2014. Transitional justice in established democracies: a political theory. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wodak, R. 2001. “The Discourse Historical Approach.” In: Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (Eds.), Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (pp.63-95). London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. & Krzyzanowski, M. (eds) 2008. Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Wright, A. L., Wahoush, O., Ballantyne, M., Gabel, C., & Jack, S. M. 2016. “Qualitative Health Research Involving Indigenous Peoples: Culturally Appropriate Data Collection Methods.” *The Qualitative Report*, 21(12): 2230-2245

Article 1

Morton, Katherine. 2018. “Ugliness as Colonial Violence: Mediations of Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women” in *On The Politics of Ugliness*. Eds Sara Rodriguez and Ela Przybylo. Toronto: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ugliness as Colonial Violence: Mediations of Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women

Prologue

This article is a chapter, published in a book on the politics of ugliness. My research takes up the central question of how and where ugliness is being deployed within the discourse of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside. As a child growing up on Vancouver Island and spending a lot of time in and around Vancouver, the stark difference between the Downtown Eastside and even neighbouring areas within the city was abundantly clear. I remember having a friend’s father take us for a drive through the Downtown Eastside to impress upon us our privilege and the deep inequality in the lower mainland. The media coverage in the 1990s, describing the living conditions within the space of the downtown Eastside highlighted the violence, substance abuse, housing insecurity, and sickness present within this space. As news of the prolific serial killer Pickton broke in the mainstream, attention turned to the glaring inadequacy in how the police responded to (or didn’t) to the numerous instances of predominately Indigenous women seemingly disappearing from the downtown Eastside. I wrote this paper in 2017 and it published in 2018, as the MMIWG2S National Public Inquiry was in progress and nearing completion. I wanted to better understand what was happening within how the cases of MMIWG2S were being constructed and framed and how ugliness as not an aesthetic assessment but as a political category was located within how the disappearances were investigated, publicized, and memorialized.

This article was written in an effort to contribute to better understandings of how and where the MMIWG2S issue has been met with ineffective and sometimes outright racist responses. In terms of my own reflexivity, I turned the focus of this article back to the ways in which settlers such as myself had access to these cases- through the materials within the discourse that were widely circulated and presented by the police at the time of the disappearances. I didn’t want this article to rely on the damage-centered narrative of recounting the violence, but instead wanted to unpack how even in the seemingly neutral or event helpful responses to the violence, the State and its institutions were perpetuating colonial assumptions.

Introduction

Canada as a settler-colonial state is grappling with an extreme problem of violence against Indigenous women. Incidences of Missing and Murdered Indigenous women, girls, and 2spirit folx (MMIWG2S2S) date back to first contact and persist in alarming numbers to the present day. Indigenous women and girls and 2spirit Indigenous Peoples are disproportionately facing violence and disappearance (Holmes et al., 2015). There is a large range in the number of cases of MMIWG2S2S in Canada, with the RCMP stating they believe there are approximately 1200 cases and the Native Women's Association of Canada estimating the number of cases to be approximately 4000. Even with increasing interest and government attention, the issue of MMIWG2S2S persists Garcia Del Moral, 2011; Holmes et al., 2015).

Ugliness is not merely an aesthetic assessment. It is a powerful political category that interlocks with other binaries that support substantial social inequalities (Przybylo, 2010; Fausto-Sterling, 2001; Bordo, 1997) The beautiful/ ugly binary interlocks with colonial binaries of civilized/savage, colonizer/colonized, clean/dirty, white/non-white and the politics of ugliness are deeply connected to politics of racialization and gendered constructions as well. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer refers to ugliness as "an all-purpose repository for everything that [does] not quite fit"(2003: 281). Ugliness is applied as a shorthand to describe the undesirability of marginalized people (Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 2003). This description of ugliness is particularly relevant to how ugliness is invoked in the public discourse of MMIWG2S2S. MMIWG2S2S, as social outsiders based on Indigeneity, gender, race, and class are deemed socially, physically, and spatially ugly, when opposed to projects of settler-colonialism.

This chapter examines three component pieces of the political category of ugliness: ugly bodies, ugly behaviour and/or labour, and ugly spaces. The case of MMIWG2S2S is powerful in examining how ugliness is constructed, described, and focused on within the public discourse and how violence is understood and neutralized through the politics of ugliness. In the case of MMIWG2S2S, this chapter will examine the construct of the Indigenous body rendered “ugly”, how sex work is understood as ugly labour, and how Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (the space where a huge proportion of MMIWG2S2S disappear from) has been framed as ugly space.

In the public discourse of MMIWG2S2S, ugliness has acted as an essential descriptor. Ugliness, as embodied in damaged bodies, disease, deviant behaviour and wasted bodies from substance abuse is everywhere within the framing of MMIWG2S2S (Garcia Del Moral, 2011; Jiwani, 2009). Ugliness allows for the violence of these cases to become inevitable and naturalized. More sinister still, ugliness diminishes or at least neutralizes violence, both chronic and acute, faced by Indigenous women. What value is there in naming a missing Indigenous woman as a drug-addicted sex worker other than to construct their victimhood as not only ugly and shocking, but unavoidable? Indigenous women, within the popular discourse- particularly in circulated missing posters and notices- are constructed according to a universalized "ugly victim" trope that frames MMIWG2S2S as ultimately ugly bodies who are at the very least partially responsible for the violence they face. Bodies are marked as ugly both through physical characteristics and through perceived patterns of behaviour. From pock marks to labels of "prostitution", the language used to describe MMIWG2S is patterned with the language of the politics of ugliness. Ugliness is so ubiquitous within the construction of

MMIWG2S2S, that it is often rendered invisible as a taken for granted component of the appearances, experiences and presumed "lifestyle choices" of the women who are murdered and missing, all the while the violent behaviors of their perpetrators and genocidal acts committed by settlers too often escape assignments of “ugliness”.

Ugliness is deeply interwoven with colonial projects of subjectivity, legitimacy, and violence. Violence is made possible and understandable by normalizing the sense that a particular population (in this case Indigenous women) are less-than and therefore the violence against them is neutralized (Huhndorf, 2021; Simpson, 2014). By rendering a population "ugly" and therefore less than, it becomes possible to validate violence and oppression, that, if committed against more desirable populations (namely white/ western) would be met with condemnation (Levine, 2003). Notions of beauty and ugliness are inextricable from constructions of gender, class, sexual orientation, and race. Wolfe’s (2006: p.388) conceptualization of colonialism’s “logic of elimination” is central within how ugliness is deployed to normalized immense violence experienced by women, girls and 2spirit folx within the Downtown Eastside. The politics of ugliness are a component of the broader colonial project of the dispossession of Indigenous people off of their territories and away from the boundaries of what is now defined as the Canadian settler colonial State (Simpson, 2014; Huhndorf, 2021).

Ugliness is necessarily relational. Ugliness only exists in relation to attractiveness and desirability. Within ugliness is housed an inherent power imbalance, where ugly is always interchangeable with "lesser than" the more desirable/ more attractive (and therefore more powerful) other. It demarcates colonizer and colonized, us and them, and separates sympathy-worthy and “blameworthy” victims (Jiwani and

Young, 2006: 901; see also Razack, 2002). The aesthetic component of ugliness is only part of the focus of this chapter. The politics of ugliness far surpasses appearances and moves into social construction and control, whereby ugliness is a marker of social exclusion, subordination, and power inequality.

Ugliness is deployed to bolster the Us v. Them, Colonizer v. Colonized, Civilized v. Savage binaries that are inherent to the ongoing colonial project. Naming MMIWG2S2S as ugly bodies makes it possible for these "ugly victims" to act as the perfect foil to the civilized, innocent, and attractive white-feminine colonial bodies. Ugliness allows for the maintenance of the colonial power inequality by unequivocally naming Indigenous women as lesser than. What would it mean to move past a politics of ugliness within the issue of MMIWG2S2S? What would it mean to MMIWG2Sreconfigure the public discourse of MMIWG2S2S away from naming them as unattractive, undesirable, and therefore disappearable bodies? This chapter will grapple with these questions and unpack how the politics of ugliness are interwoven with settler colonial, racist/ sexist/ classist understandings of Indigenous women's experiences, particularly experiences of violence. I proceed to first outline the methodology for my analysis, second, I will present a literature review that discusses how settler colonialism reads MMIWG2S2S through a prism of ugliness, and finally discuss my findings.

Methodology

In order to identify how and why the politics of ugliness appear within the discourse of MMIWG2S2S, this work relies on missing posters dispersed around Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and updated occasionally, known as the "Missing Women Poster" (MWP) (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). The most common and

widely circulated edition of this poster was published by the Missing Women Task Force in 2007(Missing Women Task Force, 2007). The Poster was also published within *the Province*, a large newspaper in Vancouver. The poster has been so widely circulated, particularly in relation to the Pickton investigation and subsequent trial. This poster features the images of women that disappeared from the Downtown Eastside and predominately features Indigenous women (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). The task force and the missing women's inquiry in B.C. have both acknowledged that the majority of missing women cases unsolved in the province are Indigenous (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). This poster includes the images, names, and dates of disappearance for 65 women, all from the Downtown Eastside. In addition to this one poster that has a large number of women together, individual missing posters for 22 women are also analyzed (IMP). These missing posters were generated by the Vancouver Police Department following missing person's cases being initiated by friends, spouses and family members of these 22 women. These posters can be accessed on the Missing Persons website for Vancouver, B.C. (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). These 22 IMP have been digitized and uploaded to this website and have also been posted throughout the Downtown Eastside on telephone poles, bulletin boards, community centres and at the various service centres throughout the neighbourhood. All of the 22 posters ask for any information related to these disappearances to be sent to the missing person's unit of the Vancouver Police Department and they leave a contact number, crime stoppers contact information, and a file number. These 22 women, represented in these IMP, are also pictured on the MWP produced by the Task Force that was also analyzed in this project.

This chapter uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995). In this form of critical discourse analysis, text is analyzed at the micro, mezzo, and macro level (Fairclough, 1995). The micro-level analysis consists of an in-depth analysis of the text including word choice, the use of metaphors, the sentence structure, and other language choices. The mezzo level of analysis considers how the discourse is presented/published and how it is consumed (Fairclough, 1995). An example of mezzo analysis is analyzing the medium of the missing posters and how they are presented and consumed by an audience. Finally, the macro level of critical discourse analysis examines how the particular text functions within socio-cultural practices (Fairclough, 1995). By following this three-dimensional approach, this chapter analyzes the content of the missing posters (both the written words and the imagery used), considers the use of missing posters and the implications of this medium, and finally situates these posters within their socio-cultural context in contemporary British Columbia.

For this research, an analysis was completed of the images, text, and arrangement of material on missing posters that were posted through the combined efforts of the provincial government of B.C., concerned citizens, and most importantly the police investigating the cases (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). The missing posters were attached to telephone polls, and community bulletin boards and distributed to residents of the Downtown Eastside (Missing Women Task Force, 2007). Additionally, these same posters were circulated to mainstream newspapers and news channels and have increasingly spread online as they are shared. For the purposes of this project, the published missing posters published between 1991 and 2016 were

used. The reason for this date range was to give a sense of consistency or change over a 25-year period. Although cases of MMIWG2S date back to first contact, the importance of online circulation for the visibility of these posters is captured in this 25-year time-period. This time-period also overlaps with Robert Pickton's most prolific period of violence against women in the Downtown Eastside which also generated a great deal of attention for these cases. 1991 is the year given to Pickton's first murder of a woman from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (Huhndorf, 2021). The reason the missing posters were selected as the material for analysis was that they were highly visible and public presentations of the police's attitudes towards MMIWG2S and were specifically designed as a response to the large number of instances of MMIWG2S in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

These missing posters became very important within the public discourse of MMIWG2S as they act as highly visual symbols of how Indigenous women are portrayed in cases of violence. The posters were also chosen in that they were easily accessible, and it was possible to get a sense of consistency or differences in the police's messaging across all of the published missing posters. A common misconception is that mugshots were used because they are the only available images of these women as they largely are disconnected from family and friends through their homelessness. This is, however, a common misconception that is too often awarded to homeless women or women involved in the sex trade. Culhane (2003) and Garcia-Del Moral (2011) both indicate in their research on women in the Downtown Eastside that although these women frequently do have mugshots, they are far from the only images of them. When family members and community activists engage in memorial or

advocacy activities, they display more sympathetic images such as childhood photographs or family portraits, depicting these women as mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends (Culhane, 2003; Garcia-Del Moral, 2011). Therefore, this chapter considers the power/ significance that the decision to use mugshots holds and the different work a mugshot does in a missing poster than a family photo. This chapter's findings are that the use of mugshots demonstrates the presence of the politics of ugliness within the missing posters as components of the public discourse of MMIWG2S.

The discourse analysis was qualitative and included an analysis of the word choice used in the headline of the poster, subsequent text, and any names used on the signs. It also included a rudimentary visual discourse analysis of the imagery used in the posters and a qualitative analysis of the overall tone of the messaging of the posters. Key themes that were measured include specific naming of women and their Indigeneity, how the women were othered through class, race, or behaviour, and how the posters overall presented MMIWG2S. The content was then synthesized and arranged into major themes and narratives. The politics of ugliness will be examined within these missing posters to establish how ugliness is situated within the framing and presentation of MMIWG2S. Key indicators of social and physical ugliness will be analyzed including but not limited to the use of mugshots, the mention of sex work or the suggestion of sex work, physical scars or tattoos, the use/ abuse of drugs and/ or alcohol, messy/ unkempt appearance and other potential indicators that are used to demonstrate that MMIWG2S are outside of the accepted norms of the dominant society. Those findings will be presented in the subsequent sections of this paper.

Settler Colonialism and the Prism of Ugliness

Ugliness, Subjectivity and the Colonial Project

Bordo (1997) makes a valuable contribution to understanding ugliness as a political category by demonstrating that beauty ideals are collapsible into white ideals in the colonial context. The desirable appearance, behaviours, and labour of white colonizers become the archetype for what is considered beautiful, so any appearance, behaviour, or labour that fails to conform to white ideals are considered ugly. Fausto-Sterling (2001; Carrol, 2000) builds on this understanding of the racialization component of the political category of ugliness by arguing that ugliness is conflated with non-whiteness which is in turn conflated with primitivism. Primitivism is a central claim within the colonial project that validates subversion of Indigenous populations and works to legitimize genocidal violence (Byrd, 2011; Connell, 2009; Deloria, 1969).

The politics of ugliness is apparent as an effective strategy for maintaining colonial order historically and in the contemporary negotiation of settler and Indigenous identities.

Connell explains how the colonial project was always gendered beginning with how "[c]olonizing forces, overwhelmingly men from the metropole, seized women's bodies as well as the land; and a fused gender/ race hierarchy became a core feature of colonial society" (2009; 78). To establish social limits for newfound colonial identities, perceptions of femininity, masculinity, beauty, and ugliness were instrumental. By naming Indigenous women as ugly bodies, it became possible to validate the goals of the colonial project- namely the violence, genocide, and the theft of Indigenous territory. Furthermore, ugliness was deployed to clarify the gender binary of masculinity and femininity in the colonial context (Connell, 2009).

How MMIWG2S are gendered and sexualized links to the colonial project by creating a paternalistic (benevolent) state and the opposing constructions of the naive native princess (Shwarz, 2013; LaRocque, 2011) and the wicked Indian “squaw,” as I discuss later in this chapter. Ugliness acts as a hinge for this binary between appealing and unappealing Indigenous femininity vis a vis the settler colonial project. The princess is seen as the object of white male desire; innocent, but sexually available and appealing to colonial white male lust (Deloria, 1998), while the “squaw” is seen as the undoing of colonial male morality and a vessel for the transmission of disease and malcontent (Sehdeve, 2012; LaRocque, 2011; Acoose, 1995).

Judith Butler importantly questions, "[w]ho can I become in such a world where the meanings and limits of the subject are set out in advance for me?" (2004: 58). Here, Butler engages with Foucault's "desubjugation of the subject" where he examines how the normalization process determines the constraints on all forms of social identity and how even in the most emancipatory acts of self-identity, constraints always dictate the extent and intensity of these identities (1997: 39). Subjectivity is determined by social limits, including the compelling limit of ugliness.

Butler conceptualizes "qualified recognition" whereby subjectivity is based on understanding the particular limits of what is means to be human and by extension that, when certain individuals are labeled as less than human, that "qualified recognition" allows for a suspension of their subjectivity (2004:2) Within qualified recognition, individuals who surpass the social limits and enter into ugliness are placed within this "less than human" subjectivity, where they face massive social marginalization and prejudice. Within the colonial project, the centrality of the human subject is essential.

The human subject of the colonial project (the colonizer) is desirable, rational, productive, and independent. The human subject embodies the goals/ priorities of the colonial project. The human subject within colonialism is deeply racialized and colonized people are routinely deemed less than human and more animalistic than the colonizer. As Butler suggests, even the label of human has deeply racist elements to it, with different (non-white) races being placed in a descending chain from the pinnacle of humanity, embodied in white subjects (2004) Butler (2004) determines that being labeled as less than human or as "other" amounts to rendering someone socially undesirable and for the purposes of this chapter, "ugly" in that they do not conform to either the aesthetic or behavioural expectations of the dominant majority. The conflation between ugliness and being less than human allows for the power inequality across colonizer and colonized bodies to hold and to persevere into the present. As such, even in the contemporary setting, the politics of ugliness reasserts that colonized (ugly) bodies are not to be granted the full subjectivity of being "human" and in this subordination, there is infinite potential for racism and settler colonial violence.

The politics of ugliness- setting desirability and undesirability of bodies through labels of ugly or beautiful- also is at play in the understandings of grievable and ungrievable deaths. Byrd (2011) in her work on "Indianness" and empire argues that Indigenous deaths are expected and ungrievable and normalized as part of the land conquest necessary to the settler colonial state. Simpson (2014) also echoes this sense of how settler colonialism necessitates the attempted eradication of Indigenous Peoples to seize land. Importantly, referencing Sherene Razack, Simpson acknowledges that the cases of MMIWG2S in the contemporary are all linked to this

genocidal prerequisite of the seizure of Indigenous land (Razack, 2002; see also Simpson, 2014). As Simpson argues, "This dispossession is raced and gendered, and its violence is still born by the living, the dead, and the disappeared corporealities of Native women" (Simpson, 2014: 84).

The politics of ugliness are inextricably anchored to settler colonial perceptions of Indigeneity, race, gender, sexuality, and class. As Connell suggests, the construction of gender is inextricably linked to the construction of race (2009). Race and gender and settler colonialism, particularly in the case of MMIWG2S intersect in a multiplicity of sites to demonstrate difference, undesirability, and fear. Ugliness is a common thread that sews together the power- laden framings of femininity, Indigeneity, and poverty in the cases of MMIWG2S.

Composition Choices and Ugliness Within the Visual Discourse

Dominant perceptions of ugliness seep into the messaging around MMIWG2S. In Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes' (2012) research on constructions of Indigenous Peoples and issues in mainstream media, camera angle, photograph content, and poses are considered. The ugly victim within the images of the visual discourse loses individual identity and is disempowered. Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes (2012) find camera angles and the colonial gaze rendering the Indigenous person being photographed (and their relative size) to be important visual cues that establish the power or powerlessness being communicated through the image. These very subtle decisions in composition are important cues that establish the trope of the ugly victim. These composition choices, although subtle, cultivate a sense of wretchedness that is critical in the perception of ugliness. Dependency and helplessness are immediately recognizable as

ugly or undesirable behaviours. By utilizing the composition of the images to indicate the subordinate position of the ugly victim, images become silent affirmations of the existing power relation- Indigenous victims as the helpless and vulnerable wards of the state.

Gendering the Ugly Victim Trope

Gender plays a critical component in the discourse of MMIWG2S2SJiwani comments that, "Indigenous women are largely portrayed as abject victims of poverty, their lives marked by alcohol and drug addictions, homelessness, high infant mortality and morbidity rates, greater incidence of HIV, Hepatitis infections and gynecological cancers. In effect, they are represented as one of the most hopeless segments of society" (2010: 6). " There is a common treatment within the visual discourse of MMIWG2S that establishes Indigenous women as the most helpless and vulnerable marginalized population. Anderson and Robertson comment that through the visual discourse, "the press tells stories of violence against Indigenous women by constructing them as weak, backward, sexualized objects- anonymous replaceable bodies" (2011: 205).

Yasmin Jiwani and Mary Lynn Young (2006), in their study of news coverage of the murdered and missing women of Vancouver's East Hastings neighbourhood[1]

[1] Vancouver's Downtown Eastside or more specifically, East Hastings are names given to the poorest census track in Canada located in Downtown Vancouver. One of the oldest parts of the city centre, located between China Town and the economic centre, East Hastings is a space of extreme poverty, drug abuse, homelessness and crime. It is also a prolific centre for the sex trade and for the exploitation of vulnerable members of the population. Between 1978-2001, 65 women disappeared from this one neighbourhood (Morton, 2016). Disappearances continue to the present day, even after the arrest and incarceration of serial murderer, Robert Pickton, responsible for the death of up to 50 women, the remains of some of which were found on his pig farm. For more information, see Benoit et al 2003; Morton, 2016 or Garcia Del Moral, 2011).

demonstrate how particular frames are deployed to demonstrate that MMIWG2S are undesirable bodies. In their discourse analysis, they identify the conflations between criminality, deviance, and blameworthy victims (Jiwani and Young, 2006). Although they implicitly demonstrate how ugliness frames the mainstream media discourse of MMIWG2S, they don't explicitly argue that the politics of ugliness is framing how these women are constructed in the public discourse. Jiwani and Young (2006) highlight one component of the discourse associated with this case that speaks to the criminality-victimization link: the mug shots of the missing women.

Missing Posters as Evidence of the Politics of Ugliness

A Poster was developed by the police to circulate widely and featuring the mug shots of missing women, which were taken during previous arrests (England, 2000). This poster serves as the starting point for this research in order to tease out the presence of the politics of ugliness within this discourse. Jennifer England (2000) notes that in the spring before the mug shot poster being distributed by police, the *Vancouver Sun* published 18 of the images with the caption, "The Missing: Tragic Portraits of Women from the Downtown Eastside (England, 2000)." England identifies the similarities between the imagery of missing and murdered women in the visual discourse and the imagery of a Wanted poster (2000). Jiwani and Young (2006) argue that because the photographs of the missing women were in fact mug shots, being circulated by the police, the missing and murdered women were inextricably linked to criminality and deviance. Jiwani and Young (2006) make an important observation in how the type of imagery utilized reflects how the victims of violence are being characterized and will ultimately shape public responses to the violence. In the case of

the murdered and missing women-described as drug-addicted homeless sex workers and captured in the visual discourse by mug shots- the narrative of this case became about women at risk, who by their own criminality, became victimized (Amnesty International, 2004). Ugliness is found in this framing of deviance. The Pickton visual discourse is revealing of the way in which the visual discourse both reflects and impacts public opinions and attitudes that intersect with settler colonialism, class, gender, and race (Anderson and Robertson, 2011).

Indigenous women are already constructed as existing outside of the conventional boundaries of dominant femininity and dominant beauty standards (Sehdeve, 2012). As colonial subjects, Indigenous women's gender and racial identity combines in a form of marginalization that is shaped by their removal from dominant settler colonial social order. Indigenous women are subjected to the damaging "squaw" stereotype (Acoose, 1995). This stereotype hinges on the taken for granted assumption that colonial women are sexually promiscuous, inherently prone to deviance and incapable of controlling their impulses (Strega et al., 2014). This construction is utilized as a foil to the assumed respectability, modesty and restraint of white settler women (Jiwani, 2007). Sehdeve explains that the "squaw" construction is the colonial "bearer of literally dark, and tantalisingly dangerous sexuality that is inevitably met with racialised and sexualised violence" (2012: 242). Stoler explores this contrast between the construction of Indigenous women's femininity and sexuality to those of white counterparts and finds that the marginalization and prejudicial attitudes that face Indigenous women dictate how and where Indigenous women are excluded from social institutions, communities, and the conventional dominant social order (1995).

The majority of MMIWG2S from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside were engaged to some extent in sex work (Holmes et al., 2015; Farley, 2005). In Canada, Indigenous girls and women account for almost seventy percent of the visible sex trade, which indicates that it is necessary to understand the experiences of Indigenous women in the sex trade within the social context of settler colonialism (Farley, 2005). Sex workers participate in labour that is understood as "ugly" in that they are stereotyped as "vectors of contagion"(Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2008). Sex workers are perceived as threatening dominant society medically (spread of disease), socially (threats to morality), and criminally (deviance) (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2008; Strega et al., 2014). The language of contagion engages with the ugliness of communicable disease and the ugliness of genetic materials/ bodily fluids. It isn't just the prescriptive physical (visible) ugliness of MMIWG2S that is worthy of analysis, but also how society constructs a sense that Indigenous women are vectors for transmission and infection- a danger to white settler society that misconstrues genocidal histories of contagion or of *settlers* infecting Indigenous communities with diseases. Constructing Indigenous sex workers as ugly vessels of disease makes Indigenous women as a whole all the more frightening/ monstrous to dominant society while inviting white settlers to partake in myths of racial and settler purity and "moves to innocence" (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 3). When violence against women is targeted against sex trade workers, in particular, misogynist violence is normalized and excused because the victims are seen as complacent in their victimization and as "vectors of contagion" they are rendered unmissed and invisible victims (Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008: 129).

Strega et al. conceptualize the construction of victimized Indigenous sex workers as being “vermin-victims” (2014: 7). Indigenous sex-workers are discursively placed alongside rats as an invasive, dirty, insidious, and difficult to manage population (Strega et al.,2014: 7). The rat comparison is perhaps one of the more blatant invocations of the politics of ugliness. Rats, as vermin, carriers of disease, and street-dwellers, are symbols of all forms of aesthetic and behavioural ugliness. The verminization of Indigenous sex workers is a component of colonial power imbalances, where a border is fixed between moral/ white and immoral/ indigenous (Strege et al., 2014). Stoler likewise examines the effort of regulating Indigenous sexuality for the colonizers to “clarify their boundaries and mark out their social space” as well as claims to territory and bodies (1995: 379). The construction of Indigenous sex workers as sources of contagion fulfills this role of demarcating boundaries. Constructing Indigenous sex workers as sources of contagion also justifies the classification of sex work as “bad” femininity and female sexuality that needs to be constrained or at least clearly delineated apart from the good sexuality of dominant society (Pratt, 2005). The political category of ugliness simultaneously constructs Indigenous weakness and marginalization while also constructing settler colonial dominance and power. As Gilchrist (2010) argues, to clearly distinguish the socially positive, desirable, beautiful, and superior characteristics of the colonizers, it was necessary to establish the negative contrast of Indigenous Peoples’ characteristics and behaviours.

The Indian Princess/ Squaw Binary and the Willing Victim

The importance of the politics of ugliness in the public discourse of MMIWG2S can be seen clearly in the binary of the Indigenous “squaw” and the Indigenous princess

(Henry and Tator, 2002). The construction of the Indigenous “squaw” is fundamentally settler colonial and predicated on white fantasies of Indigeneity (Larocque, 2011). As Garcia-Del Moral (2011: p.38) contends, "the civilized/ uncivilized divide between white settlers and Indigenous Peoples was hinged to the conceptualization of Indigenous women as 'dirty slut drudges' who threaten the morality and health of the colonial order." Jiwani (2009) explains the stereotype of the “squaw” in relation to its foil, the "Indian Princess" by arguing that while the perceived "squaw" was seen as savage and unsaveable, the "princess" was seen as desirable and therefore worthy of "rescue" through colonization. This stereotype centers on the assumption that Indigenous women are an immediate threat to Western morality, settler colonial expansion, and genocidal validation (Larocque, 2011). The colonial construction of the "squaw" is the quintessential image of ugliness. Imagined and invoked as sexually deviant, a carrier of contagion, insatiable, animalistic, deviant, and wild, the trope of the “squaw” is both physically and socially repulsive (Jiwani, 2009; Larocque, 2011; Henry and Tator, 2002). There is an adherence within the discourse of MMIWG2S to the construction of this genocidal trope.

Through the media discourse, news narratives "reposition Indigenous women as criminals, victims of sexual crimes, militant rebels and as inassimilable others"(Jiwani, 2009: 1). Indigenous Peoples are often arbitrarily labelled as lacking any self-control within mainstream media (Anderson and Robertson, 2011). This construction is characterized by reference to substance abuse, abnormal sexual appetite, corrupting influence on White men and incompatibility with settler colonial society (Anderson and Robertson, 2011; Jiwani, 2009). Anderson and Robertson argue that the construction

of the Indigenous “squaw” acts as a symbolic roadblock and anathema to the project of decolonization because the "squaw construct seemingly rests on a purported predisposition of Indigenous women towards deviance, excess, and immoral behaviour as per colonial social norms” (2011: 193)

Indigenous women are presumed criminally inclined based on their Indigeneity alone (Jiwani, 2009; Dell and Kilty, 2012). Anderson and Robertson comment that “the idea that Canadians of Indigenous ancestry epitomize moral depravity is as old as the press in Canada” (2011: 7) Deviance is understood within settler-colonial society as ugly/ undesirable social behaviour. The trope of Indigenous victimhood leads to a sense that victimization is understandable when Indigenous Peoples have a proclivity to violence themselves (Dell and Kilty, 2012; Jiwani, 2009). Constructing deviance as ugliness means that victimization of Indigenous women is often presumed to be a case of women getting what they deserved- a sense of blameworthiness (Jiwani, 2009). Jiwani and Young comment that there exists "a conflation between Indigenous woman and prostitute and an accompanying belief that when they encountered violence, Indigenous women simply got what they deserved" (2006: 898). As both prone to criminality and categorically regarded as inferior, Indigenous women are constructed as less than innocent victims and transcend into the construction of the "squaw." (Acoose, 1995).

Alternatively, the construction of the “Indian Princess” is at the surface level a much more romanticized construction of Indigenous women, but ultimately it is no less colonial and patriarchally settler colonial than the Indigenous “squaw” construction (Deloria, 1998). The Indian Princess, perhaps most obviously rendered through the

Disney movie and literary character construction of Pocahontas is the epitome of White/ Western male fetishization of Indigenous women (King, 2012; Deloria, 1969). The Indian Princess is submissive, modest, beautiful, sexually innocent, and noble (King, 2012). This stereotype connects to the Indigenous victim trope as it frames Indigenous women as damsels in distress in need of saving by settler whiteness, the nobility of a “dying" race that are ranked and rewarded for their beauty. This partakes in a form of “settler memory” that again rewrites history from a settler colonial standpoint while partaking in the cultural theft of Indigenous symbology (Bruyneel, 2016). Delicate and innocent, the Indian Princess construction demonstrates that Indigenous women appear to occupy a conflicting moral and social position (Anderson and Robertson, 2011) The politics of ugliness rest on this hinge between desirability and repulsion that separates the Princess/ squaw binary.

Razack argues that the settler-colonial state renders Indigenous Peoples in Canada a surplus population, and therefore a population that cannot truly be murdered, only killed (2014; see also Agamben, 1998; Simpson, 2014). Genocidal violence is thus remade as violence against unwanted bodies and therefore validated and largely decriminalized (Razack, 2014). A component of rendering Indigenous Peoples as surplus bodies is the dehumanization or animalization of their lives and bodies (Razack, 2014). As Razack argues, "[b]oth humans who are less than human and animals find themselves penned in (prisons, zoos) under regimes where they are surplus"(2014: 58). The comparison of colonized Peoples to animals is a long-standing colonial strategy. From racial essentialism which named shared characteristics across races and animals to the more subtle discourse of naming colonial others as dogs, jackals, wolves, beasts,

and monsters, the animalization of colonial others is central to defining the colonial order. By naming colonial others as animals, they are automatically found to be less than human and therefore their lives become less valuable. By extension, to harm an animal (or an animal-like colonial other) is less grievous than harming an exalted human subject. This is part of the mechanism in place behind justifying the genocide of Indigenous Peoples as well as avoiding the use of the term “genocide” in the first place. Wolfe (2006) also discusses the genocidal level of settler colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples and indicates that the genocidal violence is two-fold: both physical genocide of Indigenous Peoples and a concerted attempt to extinguish Indigenous culture and nationhood. For Wolfe (2006), as for many other Indigenous scholars, settler colonial genocide legitimizes the seizure of Indigenous land and is perpetuated through the ongoing treatment of Indigenous bodies and personhood as deviant, less than and ultimately incompatible with settler colonial society. Razack (2012) indicates the importance of perceived vulnerability in the acceptability of Indigenous deaths. Razack (2012) argues and finds that particularly in the case of the inquiry into the deaths or disappearances of Indigenous women, colonialism was associated with the victim’s vulnerability, but not with the direct actions (inactions) of the police and other members of the dominant majority. She argues that ultimately, the death of an Indigenous woman becomes an inevitable and is rendered a blameless occurrence, not because of the social inequalities, marginalization, and genocidal tactics that Indigenous women face, but because Indigenous women in the eyes of the nation's subjects remain locked in a pre-modern, vulnerable, and backward state (Razack, 2012). As Razack explains, "[i]n the construction of Indigenous Peoples as (inexplicably) vulnerable, rather

than colonized, the story's principal players come into view: the Indigenous body as bestial and as human waste, and the white body as the maker of order, the modern subject of the settlers' city" (Razack, 2012: 910). The production of surplus populations and the ongoing negotiations of the politics of ugliness dovetail in the production of Indigenous colonized bodies as undesirable, deviant, and disposable. Both function to distance Indigenous women from the dominant society through settler colonialism, racism, sexism, and classism.

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Ugly Spaces

Butler (1993; see also Przybylo, 2010) describes how certain spaces are considered so ugly and undesirable that they are rendered "unliveable" or "uninhabitable" zones. Again, thinking back to Athanassaoglou-Kallymer's (2012) conceptualization of ugliness as a repository for the pieces that fail to conform to or "fit" within society, the production of ugly space is a necessary colonial pursuit. To shore up the legitimacy of the colony/ colonial space, any ugly space becomes the domain of colonized populations, to genocidally contain and eliminate. Vancouver's Downtown Eastside as an area of poverty, homelessness, drug abuse, crime, and a sizeable Indigenous population, encompasses what Butler (1993) describes as an uninhabitable zone for members of the dominant majority.

MMIWG2S are discursively located within geographies of social discord, loss, and entropy. For example, the corner of Main and Hastings in Vancouver's Downtown Lower Eastside that Calhune (2003) uses as an example of a location frequently used in photographs depicting the victimization of Indigenous women in this neighbourhood is a typical and highly emotive setting where homelessness, substance abuse and poverty

are evident.[i] Calhune (2003: p.592) notes that this particularly frequently photographed location has been nicknamed the corner of Pain and Wasting (in place of Main and Hastings). In this nickname, it becomes clear that more than a neighbourhood, the Vancouver's East Hastings has become a space for constructing and framing victimization, including the victimization of Indigenous women. Frequently utilized backdrops include collapsing buildings, garbage, polluted natural resources, sites of violence or other manmade and natural spaces of insecurity, such as the dilapidated low-income housing and dirty alleys of East Hastings (Calhune, 2003). These backdrops stand as powerful metaphorical devices in bolstering the trope of Indigenous ugly victimhood as it allows for an immediate visual association between the collapse and breakdown of the setting with the perceived collapse and breakdown within Indigenous social communities.

Razack refers to these places as being "spaces of degeneracy “and identifies a space of degeneracy as a location where assumptions surrounding the other (in terms of race, class, sex etc.) culminate to make people within these spaces appear worthless and hopeless (1998: 337). Identity, particularly the construction of the identity of the colonial other is advanced by constructions of space, especially spaces that are unlike those experienced by the dominant majority (Benoit et al., 2015; Belanger and Weaslehead, 2012; Fiske, 2006). These sites, through their frequent deployment in the visual discourse of MMIWG2S have become "iconic" (Osbourne, 2006: 153). Consumers of Canadian media will likely be able to conjure an image in their minds of a space that is immediately recognizable as being ugly sites of Indigenous social problems; the reserve, the residential school, East Hastings; and the like. These

geographies are ugly in that they fall outside of the lived experiences and desires of white settler society and aim to partake in projects of containing, cordoning, corralling, and eliminating of non-settler identities and bodies.

Findings

Micro Analysis Findings

The IMP (Individual Missing Posters) and MWP (Missing Women Poster) are different in a couple of important ways and offer different insight into this research. The IMP are focused on a single individual, while the MWP includes 65 different women. The IMP include a small amount of text-based information that is more extensive than the MWP, where each woman has a photograph, their name, and the last date they were seen. As a result, my analysis of the IMP is both textual and visual, while the MWP analysis is strictly visual. Combined, these posters shed light on how the political category of ugliness is being deployed either subtly or blatantly in relation to settler colonialism.

For the IMP, the text below the photographs was analyzed to seek out themes, symbols, and phrases that gesture towards ugliness. The presence of the following themes was analyzed in each of the 22 IMP: drug use, sex work, Indigeneity and/or racialized Other, Tattoos or Scars, Disability or Mental Illness, and Known to Police. These themes were selected to demonstrate how socially undesirable behaviours, markers, and appearances were used throughout these posters. If a behaviour goes against the norm or is considered abnormal, it so often is conflated with ugliness: for example, the case of drug addiction. Although presumably being sober/ abstinent does

not automatically award "beauty" to an individual, they are complying with the dominant social norm. Contravening a social norm renders a behaviour ugly or undesirable. The ugliness of drug use is often taken for granted (Manderson, 1995). As Manderson (1995) discusses, the imagery of the needle in particular is a source of disgust for many as it represents a transgression or violation.[ii] Manderson argues that, "We are revolted by the ease in which the normal can become abnormal" (1995: 800). Similarly, being involved in the sex trade in many ways invokes a similar response of viewing engaging in sex acts for money as being abnormal and therefore threatening (Young, 1990). Young in her analysis of how sex work produces perceived abnormality and difference contends that the construct of the "prostitute" is "easy to identify because of the physical symptoms of ugliness and degeneracy they exhibit" (1990:128). The decision to use these themes was also made based on which prejudicial stereotypes so often fall under the settler-colonial and racist construct of the "squaw" The visual component of the IMP was analyzed for the following: Mugshot Used, Unfocussed/ No Eye Contact, Not Smiling, Messy Hair/ Unkempt Appearance. The intent of these thematic indicators was to indicate how these women are found ugly through their physical appearance, behaviour, or labour. Every single woman on both IMP and MWP was indicated as being a resident of the Downtown Eastside.

For the IMP, 21 of the 22 posters described the missing woman as a drug user/ abuser. This was the most common theme of ugliness that was detected in each of the posters. The other most common indicator of the political category was present in 21 of the 22 posters, and this was involvement in the sex trade. Being “known to police” was present in 19 of the missing posters and Indigenous identity or other racialized identity

was presented in 15 posters. Of the 15 women labeled as Indigenous or non-white, all of these women were identified as also been drug addicts and sex trade workers. The other indicators of alcoholism and scars/tattoos were less common than these other descriptors, with 2 and 4 IMP respectively.

In terms of the visual analysis, the photographs on each of the 22 IMP were also fairly consistent. Of the 22 IMP, the most frequently detected visual symbol of ugliness was that 19 of the 22 women were not smiling; 15 of the photographs showed the women not smiling. Of the 22 photos, half of them (11) were mugshots, with some even having the top portion of their identification sign showing. Unkempt appearance or messy hair was detected in 7 of the photographs and in 5 of the photographs, the woman photographed is not making eye contact with the camera and/ or viewer of the photograph. Although the photos are not as consistent as the written descriptions, there is a common sense within these missing posters that there are characteristics (physical or social) that make these missing women “ugly" vis a vis the expectations of dominant settler society.

The Missing Women's poster includes the photographs of 65 women. Earlier editions of the poster were produced but included fewer cases than the 2007 edition. As very little text was provided on this poster, the visual analysis is the primary analysis of this poster. Of the 65 women photographed, 31 of the photographs were mugshots or likely mugshots. As with the IMP, the MWP depicts some women holding identification signboards that are used in mugshots. 37 of the 65 women are not smiling in the photographs, while 27 of the photographs show the women with messy or

unkempt hair. Further, 6 of the photographs show scars, injuries, or tattoos. In 20 of the photographs, the women are not making eye contact.

What these identifiers indicate to the audience is that these women have failed to uphold the aesthetic standards of the dominant/ settler-colonial society focused on whiteness, hygiene, and unkempt appearance. The indicators found in the IMP were also present in the MWP. Surprisingly, there were not more mugshot photographs used by the task force in the MWP. Presumably, other images were uncovered of these women due to the more thorough investigations that took place through this task force. Regardless, nearly half of the women are illustrated through mugshot photographs, which demonstrates a high rate of contact with the police and further solidifies the social assumptions surrounding the conflation between Indigeneity, outsider status, and criminality.

Mezzo Analysis Findings

Missing posters are a very specific and targeted component of the broader public discourse of MMIWG2S. Missing posters are different from news articles, television specials, or radio announcements in that they are so visually focused and are posted to attract attention and gain information. Missing posters used in this analysis were posted within the Downtown Eastside and in this case, this ugly space of homelessness, crime, and drug use is important in the eyes of the colonial gaze and maintenance of a settler colonial social order.

These missing posters are also particularly interesting because they were physically located within the ugly space of the Downtown Eastside, where the women

represented in the posters disappeared from. These posters would be seen by fellow women and men in this neighbourhood, presumably including sex workers, drug users, and homeless residents who would be characterized in a very similar way as these women if they faced similar violence. The website for missing Peoples within British Columbia is a public and easily accessed website that also allows visitors to comment in a guestbook. Many of the guest books contain information from friends and family members of the missing women, giving more robust and complicated depictions of the women than what is captured through the missing posters. The website is an effective medium through which the public can gain more insight and awareness of the issue of MMIWG2S. As so many of these cases are located within the Downtown Eastside, an area in Vancouver that is so outside the day-to-day space and lifestyle of members of the dominant settler-colonial majority, there is often an ignorance of the extent of violence and disappearance of these women. The space of the Downtown Eastside keeps ongoing settler colonial genocide cordoned and (mostly) invisible to White settlers.

Being able to access these missing posters online, where previously, individuals may have to enter the Downtown Eastside to see these posters, makes it possible to have a broader audience. This website, with its collection of missing posters, is appealing to the general public in an effort to locate these women and to gain information on the circumstances of their disappearances. The missing posters themselves are likely targeting a similar general audience of members of the dominant majority.

Macro Analysis Findings and General Findings

The use of mugshots, the presence of references (both visual and text base) to contact with law enforcement, and the circumstances described through which the women disappeared is consistent with the representations of MMIWG2S described in the literature. These posters articulate a sense of these women as criminals, homeless, drug users, sex workers and importantly as “ugly”. The politics of ugliness are reflected in these posters by demonstrating that these women are socially and physically undesirable and on a latent level, indicating that these ugly lifestyle choices and behaviours are the reason that these women faced violence, thus justifying settler colonialism. The missing posters, although genuinely an effort to locate these women, demonstrate a consistent racist/ sexist colonial trope of Indigenous women as loathsome and blameworthy victims.

One central finding within this work is the importance of the use of mugshots within the missing posters utilized by the Missing Women's Commission in Vancouver. Perhaps the most obvious symbol of how they are represented as ugly is how MMIWG2S are visually portrayed in mainstream media using mugshots. Mugshots demonstrate ugliness in that they set these women apart from the settler majority- they are the lawbreakers and therefore categorically outside of the social expectations of mainstream citizens. This outsider status is stacked on top of racial and gendered othering, resulting in MMIWG2S being distanced from the acceptable or sympathetic victim of violence (Warwick, 2009). Special focus is placed on their drug use, their alcoholism, their criminal records, and their homelessness to make it readily apparent to consumers of mainstream media that the women were not only ugly, but they were also ultimately complicit in their own victimization. Missing posters for several women clearly

stated that they were last seen on the street and there is an unwritten, but nonetheless understood connection between being homeless and being victims of violence. Homelessness, as stated or implied on many of the missing posters, demonstrates another layer of social ugliness, where individuals do not meet the expectation of living in a permanent home. What is also striking in a number of these missing posters is the uncertainty surrounding where exactly the women were when they disappeared. This is in part because they were largely homeless, but also speaks to the larger issue of social isolation of residents of the downtown Eastside, where many are completely cut off from their families or loved ones, so knowing exactly where or when a person went missing is challenging. Ugliness produces blameworthy victims- victims that seemingly, through their own poor choices, made themselves available targets for violence and colonial disappearance. Ugliness removes any culpability from society or the state as it defines the women (as ugly subjects) as blameworthy and therefore of no great loss.

Consistent with Wilkes and Corrigal-Brown's (2012) work, gaze and eye-line are interesting features within the missing posters. The women are depicted as returning the gaze of the viewer, but in most photos, the gaze is obscured through either unfocussed eyes looking slightly away, or partially closed or completely closed eyes. In some of the mugshot photos, certain women appear intoxicated or otherwise impaired, causing their gaze to be unfocused. This micro-level finding relates to the literature connected on how composition in photographs matters to how women are framed and perceived by the audience (Wilkes and Corrigall-Brown, 2012).

The missing posters produced by the Missing Women Task Force predominately feature mugshot photographs. This of course is in part a convenience factor as the task

force would have ready access to police records including mugshots. However, the individuals that filed the missing person reports could likely have supplied some form of photograph in the majority of the cases. The decision to use mugshots, although perhaps in some ways understandable, produces a very particular account of who these women are/ were, and that account is framed through the political category of social despicability, settler colonialism, and ugliness.

Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis is based on three parts: description, interpretation, and explanation. This provides a methodology for establishing a description of elements of the missing posters, explaining how these connect to the politics of ugliness within the context of settler colonialism, and analyzing why the missing posters matter. It is not only the violence that these women face that is connected to the politics of ugliness. The efforts and attention or lack thereof that MMIWG2S receive post-disappearance also relate to a settler colonial genocidal deployment of ugliness in how they are perceived by the authorities and the settler majority.

Conclusion

To begin to combat the settler colonial perpetuation of MMIWG2S, it is necessary to begin to confront and problematize the political category of ugliness. Disgusting, dirty, abject, and monstrous are heavily power laden descriptors, that through the MMIWG2S public discourse are treated as neutral and unattached to settler colonial structures, histories, and realities. As established through the analysis of the missing posters of MMIWG2S, the political category of "ugliness" is deployed in a multitude of ways to establish that the bodies, lives, and homes of Indigenous women are opposite

to the bodies, lives and homes of settler-colonial women and men and in this way, they are rendered available and blameworthy victims of violence. Ugliness, as a political category, aids and abets in the extreme violence faced by Indigenous women.

In the cases of MMIWG2S, ugliness cannot be treated any longer as a mitigating circumstance. The perceived ugliness of these women's bodies, "lifestyle choices," or their behaviour does not make the crimes committed against them any less heinous. Discourses of ugliness do not make women responsible for the violence they face. The current politics of ugliness allows for political inaction and makes it possible for the state to wash their hands of any responsibility for the disproportionate rates of genocidal violence, disappearance, and murder faced by Indigenous women. Moving past a politics of ugliness effectively robs naming Indigenous women as ugly bodies of its power. Furthermore, moving past a politics of ugliness can radically disrupt the existing settler colonial power imbalances that persist to this day. Unpacking ugliness as a validation of settler colonial injustice and rejecting ugliness as an excuse for violence would potentially allow for a recognition of the experience of Indigenous women with violence in a way that challenges the visual injustice inherent in settler colonialism.

The power of the politics of ugliness to legitimate settler violence and subordination cannot be overstated regarding MMIWG2S. Ugliness, particularly the naming of ugly bodies, produces and validates colonial violence that is sanitized and ignored. Violence against an ugly body does not place the same imperative on society to be horrified by and to respond to the violence. Here begins the difficult work of challenging the power of naming others as ugly and examining how aesthetic discourses help to maintain and reproduce settler colonialism. Part of the project is

inevitably in combatting settler colonial tropes such as that of the "squaw" in an effort to collapse western-centric, settler, and racialized conceptions of beauty and desirability. Another component and perhaps a much more difficult challenge to access comes with not allowing ugliness to serve as a mitigating circumstance. Attractive or “ugly,” the reality that large numbers of Indigenous women in Canada go missing is part and parcel of the ongoing project of genocide. Ugliness must never lessen the perceived severity of violence and ugliness must never reposition the blame for violence onto survivors or victims. It is not enough to simply deny ugliness- to consider all people attractive and desirable and to dismiss the thinking that socially unacceptable behaviours are ugly. Instead, it is necessary to disassociate ugliness from understandings of blame for and acceptability of violence. This is the project at the heart of challenging visual injustice, and one that is entwined in projects of decolonization. The politics of ugliness is not simply the definition of ugly v. attractive and acceptable v. abhorrent, but instead, an important weapon deployed in racist and settler colonial power inequalities that continue to dismiss the severity of violence and social marginalization faced by Indigenous women and other racialized groups and individuals in Canada.

The stigmatization of all things ugly (bodies, behaviours, spaces, etc.) is fuel for the fire of gendered and settler colonial violence in Canada. It is no accident that ugliness is a characteristic that is so frequently utilized in the drawing of boundaries between Us and Them. As I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, it is essential to consider what it would mean to move past a politics of ugliness and what the implications of this could be for settler colonial realities. Ugliness is and has been a weapon for enforcing colonial inequality and in order to overcome its power, it is

essential to combat the use of ugliness as a mitigating factor in violence against Indigenous women. In the mainstream media discourse of MMIWG2S, the political category of ugliness has for too long remained central, quietly excusing or at the very least sanitizing settler colonial and gendered violence in Canada.

Afterword

Revisiting this work, following my further research into discourses of colonial violence and also in my efforts to better understand the kinds of questions that settler researchers can and should be asking within "good work" has been beneficial. Although I began in this article, I would now in retrospect more fully and robustly acknowledge the components of ugliness and their relationship to the presumed morality and expectations of colonial subjects within Canada. I would like to engage more with how Indigenous feminist and queer activists are dismantling constructs of beauty and ugliness. I would have, if I was completing this work today, further unpacked the ways in which ugliness is linked to certain presumed "lifestyle choices" and look at the work that ugliness as a construct is doing to further establish culpability or innocence within discourses of colonial and gendered violence. I would also likely put more emphasis on contemporary memorialization and commemoration of women who were murdered within this space in order to make sense of the downtown Eastside as not only a space of violence, but a space of remembrance as well.

One of the most urgent ways that I reconnect to this research and publication is in recognizing how important it is to also illustrate the power and work of Indigenous women and 2Spirit people in resisting and combating colonial and gendered violence. Whether through activism, vigils, and marches to remember and bring attention to the cases of MMIWG2S, or in the enormous work that went into the federal inquiry into MMIWG2S, the work of Indigenous Peoples to counteract what I present in this article is something that I want to continue to highlight in my work. Settler reflexivity also factored into my decision making around not including or presenting the images from the posters within this manuscript. I engaged in refusal in not publishing those images within this dissertation and also did not publish the images within the chapter.

References

Acoose, Janice. 1995. *Iskwewak—kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws*. Toronto: Women's Press.

Agamben, G. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by D. Heller-Roazen, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Amnesty International. 2004. "Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada." London: Amnesty International Publications. Accessed online at https://www.amnesty.ca/sites/amnesty/files/amr200032004enstolensisters.pdf.

Amnesty International. 2009. "No More Stolen Sisters: The Need for a Comprehensive Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada" London: Amnesty International Publications.

Anderson, Mark and Carmen Robertson, 2011. *Seeing Red: Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina. 2003. "Ugliness". In: Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History*, 281-295. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bannerji, Himani. 1993. *The Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Belanger, Yale and Gabrielle Weaselhead. 2012. "'All We Need Is Our Land': Exploring Southern Alberta Urban Aboriginal Homelessness". Workshop Paper. Accessed online at http://ion.uwinnipeg.ca/~epeters/Workshop%20Papers/Belanger.pdf

Benoit, Cecilia; Dena Carrol; and Munaza Chaudhry. 2003. "In Search of a Healing Place: Indigenous Women in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside". *Social Science and Medicine*. 56(1): 821-833.

Bordo, Susan. 1997. "Material Girl: The Effacements of Postmodern Culture". In: Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo (eds.), *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy*, 335-358. New York: Routledge.

Bruyneel, Kevin. 2016. "Race, Colonialism, and the Politics of Indian Sports Names and Mascots: The Washington Football Team Case" *Native American and Indigenous Studies*. 3(2): 1-24.

Butler, Judith. 2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.

Byrd, Jodi. 2011. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Carroll, Nöel. 2000. "Ethnicity, Race, and Monstrosity: The Rhetorics of Horror and Humor". In: Peg Zeglin Brand (ed.), *Beauty Matters*, 37-56. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Connell, R. 2009. *Gender*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Culhane, Dara. 2003. "Their Spirits Live Within Us: Indigenous Women Downtown Eastside Vancouver Emerging into Visibility". *The American Indian Quarterly* 27: 593-606.

Dell, Colleen Anne and Jennifer M. Kilty. 2012. "The Creation of the Expected Indigenous Woman Drug Offender in Canada: Exploring Relations Between Victimization, Punishment, and Cultural Identity". *International Review of Victimology*. 19: 51-68.

Deloria, Vine. 1969. *Custer Died for Your Sins*: *An Indian Manifesto.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Deloria, Philip J. 1998. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dhamoon, Rita. 2009*. Identity/ Difference Politics: How Difference is Produced and Why it Matters.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Dobrowolsky, Alexandra and Jane Jenson. 2004. "Shifting Representations of Citizenship: Canadian Politics of “Women” and “Children.” *Social Politics*. 11: 154-180.

Douglas, Mary. 2002. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. London and New York: Routledge Classics.

Driskill, Qwo-Li, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, eds. 2011. *Queer: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

England, Jennifer. 2000. "Representation and the Production of Space: Indigenous Women in Downtown Eastside, Vancouver" Master's Thesis. University of British Columbia, Department of Geography.

Fiske, Jo-Anne. 2006. "Boundary Crossings: Power and Marginalisation in the Formation of Canadian Indigenous Women's Identities". *Gender and Development*. 14: 247-258.

Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London and New York: Longman

Farley, Melissa; Jacqueline Lynne; Ann J. Cotton. 2005. "Prostitution in Vancouver: Violence and the Colonization of First Nations Women". *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 42: 242-271.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2001. "Gender, Race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of Hottentot Women in Europe, 1815-1817". In: Muriel Lederman (ed.), *Gender and Science Reader*, 343-365. London: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel. 1976. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1997. ″What is Critique" in *The Politics of Truth.* Ed. Sylvere Lotringer. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e).

Garcia-Del Moral, Paulina. 2011. "Representation as a Technology of Violence: On the Representation of the Murders and Disappearances of Indigenous Women in Canada and Women in Ciudad Juarez". *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 36: 33-62.

Gilchrist, Kristen. 2010. "Newsworthy Victims? Exploring Differences in Canadian Local Press Coverage of Missing/ Murdered Indigenous and White Women". *Feminist Media Studies.*

Hallgrimsdottir, H; R. Phillips and C. Benoit. 2008. "Sporting Girls, Streetwalkers am and Inmates of the Houses of Ill Repute: Media Narratives and the Historical Mutability of Prostitution Stigmas" *Sociological Perspectives*. 17: 77-101.

Holmes, Cindy, Sarah Hunt, and Amy Piedalue.2015. "Violence, Colonialism and Space: Towards a Decolonizing Dialogue" *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*. 14(2): 539-570.

Huhndorf. (2021). Scenes from the Fringe: Gendered Violence and the Geographies of Indigenous Feminism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *46*(3),

561–587

Jiwani, Yasmin. 2009. "Symbolic and Discursive Violence in Media Representations of Aboriginal Missing and Murdered Women". In D. Weir & M. Guggisberg (Eds.), *Violence in Hostile Contexts E-Book*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press. Accessed online at: http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/publishing/id-press/ebooks/understanding- violence-contexts-and-portrayals/.

Jiwani, Yasmin and Mary Lynn Young. 2006. "Missing and Murdered Women: Reproducing Marginality in News Discourse". *Canadian Journal of Communications* 31: 895-917.

King, Thomas. 2012. *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native Peoples in North America.* Toronto: Doubleday Canada.

Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection.* New York: Columbia University Press.

LaRocque. (2011). *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*. University of Manitoba Press.

Lawrence, Bonita and Enakshi Dua. 2008. "Decolonizing Anti-Racism". *Social Justice*. 32: 120-144.

Manderson, Desmond. 1995. "Metamorphoses: Clashing Symbols in the Social Construction of Drugs." *Journal of Drug Issues.* 25(4): 799-816.

McGrath, Ann and Winona Stevenson. 1996. "Gender, Race, and Policy: Indigenous Women and the State in Canada and Australia". *Labour History*. 71: 37-53.

Missing Women Task Force. 2007. "Missing Women Task Force Missing Women" Poster Accessible online at http://www.missingPeoples.net/Task%20Force%20releases%20new%20missing%20women%20poster.pdf

Moores, Patrick. 2006. "(Re)covering the Missing Women: News Media Reporting on Vancouver's "Disappeared". Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia.

Morton, Katherine. 2016. "Hitchhiking and missing and murdered indigenous women: A critical -discourse analysis of billboards on the Highway of Tears". *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. 41(3): 299-326.

Osbourne, Brian. 2006. " From Native Pines to Diasporic Geese: Placing Culture, Setting Our Sites, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada" *Canadian Journal of Communication*. 31(1): 147-175.

Pratt, Geraldine. 2005. "Abandoned Women and Spaces of Exception". *Antipode*. The 2005 Antipode Lecture. 1053-1077.

Przbylo, Ela. 2010. "The Politics of Ugliness" *Politics and Aesthetics*. 16 (Winter). 1–26. Accessed online at: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_180322_en.pdf.

Razack, Sherene. 2012. "Memorializing Colonial Power: The Death of Frank Paul" *Law & Social Inquiry.* 37(4): 908-932.

Razack, Sherene. 1998. *Looking White Peoples in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Razack, Sherene. 2011. "Timely Deaths: Medicalizing the Deaths of Indigenous Peoples in Police Custody". *Law Culture and the Humanities*. 9: 352-374.

Razack, Sherene. 2002. "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George" in *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 2014. “Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women: A National Operational Overview” Ottawa, Canada: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Schwarz, Maureen. 2013. *Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriation of Indian Stereotypes*. Albany: State University of New York.

Sehdeve, Robinder. 2012. "Beyond the Brink: Indigenous Women’s Agency and the Colonisation of Knowledge in the Maid of the Mist Myth." *Cultural Studies Review* 18: 240-262.

Sharma, Nandita and Cynthia Wright. 2008. "Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States." *Social Justice*. 35: 120-138.

Simpson, Audra. “The Gender of the Flint: Mohawk Nationhood and Citizenship in the Face of Empire.” In *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Stoler, Ann L. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things*. Chapel Hill, NC: Duke.

Strega, Susan; Caitlin Janzen; Jeannie Morgan; Leslie Brown; Robina Thomas and Jeannine Carriere. 2014. "Never Innocent Victim: Street Sex Workers in Canadian Print Media." *Violence Against Women*. 20(1):6-25

Thobani, Sunera. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1: 1-40.

Vancouver Police Department. 2011. “The Tragedy of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women in Canada: We Can Do Better.” A position paper by the sisterwatch project of the Vancouver Police Department and the Women’s Memorial March Committee. Vancouver: Vancouver Police Department.

Warwick, Derek. 2009. “Sexual Colonialism: Indigenous Women and Gendered Violence” *Transcending Silence.* New York: Albany Department of Women’s Studies. Accessed online at http://www.albany.edu/womensstudies/journal/2009/warwick.html.

Wilkes, Rima, and Catherine Corrigall-Brown. 2012. "Picturing Protest: The Visual Framing of Collective Action by First Nations in Canada." *American Behavioural Scientist*. 56: 223-243.

Wilkes, Rima; Catherine Corrigall-Brown; and Daniel Myers. 2010. "Packaging Protest: Media Coverage of Indigenous Peoples's Collective Action." *Canadian Review of Sociology.* 47: 327-357.

Wilkes, Rima; Catherine Corrigall-Brown and D Ricard. 2010. "Nationalism and Media Coverage of Indigenous Peoples in Collective Action in Canada" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*. 34: 41-59.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" *Journal of Genocide Research*. 8(4): 387-409.

Article 2

Morton, Katherine. 2016. “Hitchhiking and Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Billboards on the Highway of Tears.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *41*(3): 299–326. https://doi.org/10.29173/cjs28261

Hitchhiking and missing and murdered indigenous women: A critical discourse analysis of billboards on the Highway of Tears

Katherine Morton

Prologue

I completed this article following the completion of my PhD coursework, coming out of my reading and writing within my social theory seminar course. I was reading and considering the idea of contested or non-dominant mobility and seeking to tease out points of intersection between contested forms of mobility and the gendered, classed, and racialized components of colonialism within rural B.C. As a teen, I had spent a great deal of time, myself hitching and moving through the territory I explore in this article, and I was acutely aware of how much emphasis was placed on young women’s mobility as the reason for violence along this Highway. I decided to closely engage with the signs that dot the highway, wondering about how the discourses housed within these billboards connect to broader structures of race, class, gender, and regional inequality. I presented this research at the Canadian Sociological Association’s annual conference at Congress in 2015 and this article was subsequently published in the Canadian Journal of Sociology in the fall of 2016.

Key Words
hitchhiking, colonization, intersectionality, billboards, missing and murdered Indigenous women, violence, gender, Highway of Tears

Abstract
Whether too much or the wrong kind, constraining Indigenous mobility is a preoccupation of the province of British Columbia. The province remains focussed on controlling Indigenous mobility and constructing forms of contentious mobility, such as hitchhiking, as bad or risky. In Northwestern British Columbia hitchhiking is particularly common among Indigenous women. Hitchhiking as a mode of contentious mobility is categorically named as “bad mobility” and is frequently explained away as risky behaviour. Mobility of Indigenous women, including hitchhiking is deeply gendered and racialized. The frequent description of missing and murdered Indigenous women as hitchhikers or drifters fosters a sense that “choosing” a bad mode of mobility alone is the reason that these women disappear. This paper will identify how hitchhiking, framed as contentious mobility

supports the construction of missing and murdered Indigenous women as willing, available and blame-worthy victims. Morality is tangled up with mobility in the province's responses to Indigenous women who hitchhike. This paper engages in a critical discourse analysis of billboards posted by the province of British Columbia along the Highway of Tears that attempt to prevent women from hitchhiking. This paper will identify the point of convergence between contentious mobility, violence against Indigenous women and larger questions of colonialism and the negotiation of racialized and gendered power imbalances through the province's constraining of Indigenous mobility.

Introduction

Highway 16 in Northwestern British Columbia is named The Highway of Tears for the substantial (although uncertain) number of Indigenous women who have disappeared. This remote and underserviced highway is a critical case of violence against Indigenous women, with the relationship between mobility, space, gender and race being embodied in the acts of violence perpetrated against Indigenous women. The intersection of race, gender, mobility and violence is central to the numerous cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women and demonstrates the importance of not treating mobility as neutral but seeing it as political and unequal.

Hitchhiking is the primary mode of mobility used by women who have disappeared along the Highway of Tears is hitchhiking (Sethi, 2007). The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in conjunction with the municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government have implemented a campaign against hitchhiking on this highway. One of the major apparatuses used in this effort is the publication of large roadside billboards that indicate the dangers of hitchhiking (Images 1 and 2). The response by the province is one of targeting the behaviour of Indigenous women who hitchhike. Through a critical discourse analysis of the billboards along the Highway of Tears, I identify the messages

used by the province that target Indigenous women and attempt to construct hitchhiking as a contentious form of mobility.

Defining Contentious Mobility

The term contentious mobility describes modes of mobility that are counter to the dominant mode of automobility and are stigmatized or treated as undesirable. Contentious mobility takes place outside of the moral and physical boundaries of mainstream society. Hitchhiking's status as contentious is however not a constant. At various points in history and across different societies, hitchhiking was and is seen as a desirable and advantageous mode of transportation, even where alternatives exist.

Hitchhiking is a form of contentious mobility because it functions in a different way than the independence of automobility, where the car-driver is in the ultimate position of personal autonomy regarding in regards to where they travel, how fast and to what end. Hitchhiking, although utilizing vehicles, places the hitchhiker in the position of being a resource (mobility) sharer with the vehicle's driver. This interdependence of hitchhiking is what sets it apart from the dominant mode of automobility and also makes hitchhiking potentially dangerous. Hitchhikers, by the very nature of hitching, are dependent on drivers, including strangers. Hitchhiking in the contemporary setting has a reputation as being dangerous and undesirable as a mode of mobility. It is seen as a mode of last resort. In Northwestern British Columbia, hitchhiking is common, but also stigmatized as being dangerous and socially unacceptable. The current unacceptability of hitchhiking is intrinsically connected to race in the construction of missing and murdered Indigenous women and also in the construction of the space of the Highway of Tears. Regardless of

whether or not hitchhiking is as dangerous as it is portrayed as, it is caught up into a web of race and gender that creates the narrative of risky behaviour and violence against Indigenous women.

I am not seeking to make a definitive statement on the safety or risk of hitchhiking, but, instead, I argue that the billboards along the Highway of Tears demonstrate a concerted effort to present hitchhiking as wrong and dangerous. To conceptualize hitchhiking as a mode of contentious mobility, the new mobilities paradigm is used for analysis (Urry, 2007; Sheller and Urry; 2006). The mobility paradigm introduces a shift in social inquiry towards considering movement (of Peoples, ideas, and goods) as worthy of analysis in and of itself. Within the mobility paradigm, automobility or the system of mobility and associated social structures related to cars is central (Featherstone, Thrift & Urry, 2005). Sheller and Urry argue that not having a personal vehicle makes individuals susceptible to disenfranchisement and social exclusion (2000: 739). Sheller and Urry's analysis of automobility is important in understanding hitchhiking as reactionary and contentious within the dominance of automobility (2006: 208). As the following sections present, the Highway of Tears provides an evocative space of intersection between the dominance of automobility, and race/ gender constructs of Indigenous women who hitchhike.

The Highway of Tears

Razack notes that over a quarter of the missing and murdered Indigenous women disappeared in British Columbia (2015: 54). Razack links this statistic to disappearances centralized in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and to the Highway of Tears (2015: 54).

There are a number of specific characteristics of the Highway of Tears that increase the use of hitchhiking along this route. One such characteristic is the remoteness of the highway (Sethi, 2007). The Highway of Tears covers an enormous area of undeveloped wilderness or sparsely populated communities. The highway is both an essential lifeline to connect these communities and is also underserviced. In order to move along the highway, a car is essential. Bus service along the highway is lacking and many individuals are faced with financial barriers to accessing bus service (Sethi, 2007). There are few rest areas, shelters or emergency services for hitchhikers and other travelers to access between communities. Cell phone reception, although improved, is still inconsistent. These coverage gaps make it difficult for anyone on the highway to maintain contact with others or to call for help if an emergency takes place (Sethi, 2007: 60). Once an individual goes missing, the region's natural terrain also presents an obstacle for search efforts. The region's heavy forest coverage prevents extensive searches and often slows down the ability for investigators to locate valuable information and evidence.

Diversity in Experiences of Mobility

Hitchhiking is not universally safe or unsafe, just as can be said for all forms of mobility. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that the experiences of Indigenous women who live in the communities along the Highway of Tears, move along the highway or are missing or murdered along the highway are also diverse and complicated. Indigenous women's experiences with mobility and with violence cross all socio-economic and social divisions and it is inaccurate to treat Indigenous women as victims in waiting or as all being impacted by the Highway of Tears in the same way. Without being caught

in a trap of essentializing experience, it is clear that something deeply problematic with regard to the intersection of race, gender and mobility is resulting in a high number of female Indigenous hitchhikers facing violence.

Indigenous is used as an imperfect but workable label for this research. In many cases of missing and murdered women, the issue of identity is complicated, and disappeared women have been identified as First Nations, Inuit, Métis, non-status, or any combination of these identities being used by relatives, official reports, the RCMP, and the media. As a result, Indigenous is used throughout this paper in an attempt to encompass the complexity of a multiplicity of identities. References will be made later in this paper to the *Indian Act* as a mechanism for constraining mobility and it is recognized that this Act was not applicable to all Peoples of Indigenous descent/identity. However, in an effort to find inclusive language in cases where identity is exceedingly complex and connected to the ongoing impacts of colonization, Indigenous was selected.

Colonization Literature Review

Colonization is the historical frame through which all contemporary violence against Indigenous Peoples must be analyzed. Colonization has continued to have devastating social consequences for Indigenous Peoples such as high rates of poverty, overrepresentation in the corrections system, child welfare issues, educational inequalities, and high unemployment (Razack, 2002; Thobani, 2007). I echo Razack's claim that, "the twelve hundred missing Indigenous women, some of whom are presumed murdered, can be connected historically to the Indigenous women whom settlers, colonial police, and officials considered sexually available and expendable."" (2015: 22).

According to colonial and patriarchal ideologies, Indigenous women are positioned outside of the conventional boundaries of privileged femininity (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani, 2009; Culhane, 2003; England, 2000). As colonized Peoples, their gender and racial identity intersects to marginalize and remove Indigenous women from dominant society (Bannerji, 1993; Dhamoon, 2009; Dobrowolsky and Jensen, 2004; Fiske, 2006). Indigenous women are subjected to the damaging "squaw" stereotype (Jiwani, 2009; Jiwani and Young, 2006; Razack, 2002). This stereotype frames Indigenous women as promiscuous, prone to deviance and incapable of controlling impulses (Jiwani, 2009). As McClintock and hooks have both argued, whiteness is rendered invisible by becoming raceless; it becomes an “invisible norm” (McClintock, 1995; hooks, 2000). Grande indicates that in the discourse of Indigenous issues, there is a position of "whiteness as a significant marker of racial, class, and gender privilege" (2004: 6). The construction of whiteness functions within the dichotomy developed by LaRoque of civilization and savagery (1983: 86). LaRoque argues that, "[t]he Whiteman's belief in "civilization" and its antithesis "savagery" was perhaps the most central and certainly the most persistent idea throughout the centuries" (1983: 86). The privileged position of white members of Canadian society made them the exclusive keepers of civilization, while the colonized Indigenous populations, as the antithesis to whiteness, were considered savage, backwards and primitive (LaRoque, 1986).

Many women living along the Highway experience poverty, unemployment and inadequate education opportunities, leading to social marginalization and increased risk of violence (Sethi, 2007). Gendered and racialized stereotypes further exacerbate this exclusion by rendering Indigenous women as contrary to the dominant social order and

therefore a threat (Razack, 2002). Indigenous women are constructed as “willing victims” who deserve the violence they face because of their “lifestyle choices” (Comack and Balfour, 2004). Race is one element that Comack and Balfour indicate impacts both the culpability of the defendant and the innocence of the victim (2004: 108). Gilchrist echoes this idea by arguing that “if a victim is judged to have deviated from patriarchal notions of appropriate feminine behaviour…she is likely to be constructed as, at least partially responsible for violence against her” (2010: 376). One way in which missing and murdered Indigenous women appear to “deviate from patriarchal notions of appropriate feminine behaviour” (Gilchrist, 2010: 376) is through the contentious mobility of hitchhiking. Blame is implicitly assigned to Indigenous women as a result of prejudicial constructions of Indigenous femininity. Hitchhiking frames Indigenous women as wrong-doers, and in doing so conflates their morality with their mobility.

Technologies of Mobility and Politics of Exclusion

Technologies of mobility vary according to socio-economic factors such as the availability of the technology and the financial position of the mobile person (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Thrift, 2004). The income of Indigenous women is often well below that of their non-Indigenous counterparts resulting from their social marginalization (Moores, 2006; Pratt, 2005; McGrath and Stevenson, 1996). Indigenous women frequently move along the highway in order to access social services including women's shelters, employment services, health services, and education (Culhane, 2004: p.601).

Thobani looks at the construction of the "Indian" through Agamben's concepts of homo sacer and zoe (2007: 39). Agamben defines the homo sacer as excepted bodies who can be killed with impunity but not sacrificed and are tied to the social order in so far

as they are excluded from it. Alternatively, zoe, as Agamben (1998) describes it, is a state devoid of any access to the good/ qualified life. They are dehumanized to a point of being simply natural impulse and they are depoliticized to the most extreme degree. Indigenous Peoples, "[e]mptied of their politico-human status by the legal regimes of the colonizers" occupy the liminal space between these two figures (Thobani, 2007: p.39). Thobani engages with Agamben (1998) in order to explain Canada's treatment (and validation of their treatment) of Indigenous Peoples (2007: 40). By locating Indigenous Peoples within a state of exception, any violence is rendered inconsequential.

Bauman notes the "order-building" processes of maintaining and legitimizing the nation-state are always a process of selective belonging (production) and exclusion (waste) (2004: 40). Bauman argues that, "the nation-state has claimed the right to preside over the distinction between order and chaos, law and lawlessness, citizen and homo sacer, belonging and exclusion." (Bauman, 2004: 33). He terms these excluded bodies "wasted lives" (Bauman, 2004:.5). Wasted lives have no productive purpose within society and are treated as resource drains and chaos to be managed (Bauman, 2004). Bauman's analysis of wasted lives rings true to the social marginalization of Indigenous Peoples in Canada (2004). Indigenous female hitchhikers, by moving outside of the borders of dominant society fall within the social category of wasted lives.

Wacquant develops a similar idea in relation to how ghettos extricate the undesirable low-income African American population from the privileged white population (2001: 102). Like Bauman's description of wasted lives as the useless refuse of modern society, a ghetto acts as "a human warehouse wherein are discarded those segments of urban society deemed disreputable, derelict, and dangerous" (Wacquant, 2001: 103).

This casting out of racialized undesirables is similar to the Canadian context, where Indigenous Peoples are constructed as "disreputable, derelict and dangerous" (Wacquant, 2001: 103). The African American and Indigenous populations of the U.S. and Canada respectively are treated as threats to be contained by creating specific zones of exclusion, demonizing mobility, and perpetuating racist stereotypes. The colonization of Indigenous Peoples was the central process through which the distinction between order and chaos was determined in Canada. The creation of the racialized boundary between the productive, law-abiding, and privileged Canadian citizen and the criminal, deviant and destructive Indigenous body was central to the development of the Canadian nation-state (Thobani, 2007: 74).

Cacho similarly argues that frames her argument similarly in regards to how Indigenous Peoples and other racialized groups are subject to exception and expulsion from society (2012: 7). She contends, "[r]acism is a practice of abstraction. It creates spaces of living death and populations "dead-to-others"" (Cacho, 2012: 7). The criminalization of Indigenous bodies and the stigmatization of "lifestyle choices" that Indigenous Peoples are perceived to make are also spatialized. The Highway of Tears is racialized as a site of contentious Indigenous mobility, transiency, and other" high-risk" behaviours (Sethi, 2007). The racialization of spaces sets up a certain perception of crimes and violence that take place within them. Comack and Balfour argue that, "racialized spaces set the context in which the actions of complainants and witnesses are reduced to 'lifestyle choices" (2004: 108). Along the Highway of Tears, violence defines boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, personhood and exception, colonizer and colonized.

Race, Gender, Class and Mobility

Historic constraints on Indigenous mobility are often left out of analyses of contemporary contentious mobility of Indigenous Peoples, such as hitchhiking. The absence of the causal link between colonization, the residential schools program, land seizures, and displacement with contemporary mobility issues for Indigenous Peoples diminishes the ongoing role of colonization. Comack and Balfour comment that, "the historical colonization and displacement of Aboriginal Peoples on to isolated and impoverished spaces is simply translated into a problem of Aboriginal Peoples" (2004: 92).

Kelm notes that the social and health problems conventionally associated with Indigenous Peoples (including obesity, mental illness, substance abuse, and alcoholism) were blamed on Indigenous women as failed mothers and caretakers. (1998: 149). Colonial constructions of Indigenous bodies as dirty/diseased were connected to larger sexist/racist narratives of Indigenous women as unfit mothers who were not hygienic themselves and therefore produced dirty/diseased families (Kelm, 1998:149). Indigenous women are also stereotyped as vectors of contagion for sexually transmitted infections and diseases (Kelm, 1998: 149). This conflation between Indigenous women and infection represents both the racist stereotype that Indigenous Peoples are unclean and also the racist/sexist stereotype that Indigenous women are sexually deviant and promiscuous (Kelm, 1998). Constraining the mobility of Indigenous women, became an issue of public health and safety for the settler society (Mawani, 2002). In order to control the perceived infectious risk of contact with Indigenous women, the government engaged

in actions to constrain mobility such as the pass system housed within the *Indian Act*. Granted, the *Indian Act* is only applicable to a portion of the total Indigenous population, but this *Act* demonstrates a critical example of racialized constraining of mobility.

The provisions of the *Indian Act* have dictated the racist/sexist approach of the Canadian government and its agencies towards Indigenous Peoples. The *Indian Act* had considerable impacts on Indigenous mobility, especially in the Act's provisions to shape the "confinement of natives to reserves" (Razack, 2015: 15). Although the *Indian Act* was only designed to be applicable to status Indians (First Nations), the constraints on Indigenous mobility also impacted other Indigenous Peoples as well. The *Indian Act* and the reserve system constrained mobility and distanced Indigenous bodies from defined settler-colonial spaces such as cities (Razack, 2002: 135). As confining First Nations Peoples to reserves was desirable for the Canadian state, any form of mobility outside of the allotted movement to and from reserves became contentious. Hitchhiking is a contentious form of mobility as it contravenes the privileged mode of independent driver automobility. It is further rendered contentious when it is used by Indigenous women as a result of the intersections between race, class, gender, and mobility.

Method

This paper uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to critical discourse analysis (1989). In this form of critical discourse analysis, text is analyzed at the micro, mezzo, and macro level (Fairclough, 1989). The micro-level analysis consists of an in-depth analysis of the text including word choice, the use of metaphors, the sentence structure and other language choices. The mezzo level of analysis considers

how the discourse is presented/published and how it is consumed (Fairclough, 1989). An example of mezzo analysis is analyzing the medium of billboards and how they are presented and consumed by an audience. Finally, the macro level of critical discourse analysis examines how the particular text functions within socio-cultural practices (Fairclough, 1989). By following this three-dimensional approach, this paper will analyze the content of the billboards (both the written words and the imagery used), consider the use of billboards and the implications of this medium, and finally situate these billboards within their socio-cultural context in contemporary Northwestern British Columbia.

For this research, an analysis was completed of the images, text, and arrangement of material on billboards that were posted through the combined efforts of municipal, provincial, and federal governments and the RCMP. The billboards are located along the Highway of Tears and are updated based on need and funding. For the purposes of this project, the published billboards visible between November 2015 and January 2016 were used. The reason the billboards were selected as the material for analysis was that they were highly visible and public presentations of the province's attitude towards hitchhiking as a contentious mode of mobility and were specifically designed as a provincial response to the large number of instances of missing and murdered Indigenous women along the Highway of Tears. The billboards were also chosen in that they were easily accessible, and it was possible to get a sense of consistency in the province's messaging across all of the published billboards. The discourse analysis was qualitative and included an analysis of the word choice used in the headline, subsequent text and any names used on the signs. It also included a rudimentary visual discourse analysis of the imagery used on the billboards and also a qualitative analysis of the overall tone of the messaging of

the billboard. Key themes that were measured include specific naming of hitchhiking, how the audience was targeted, and how the signage presented missing and murdered Indigenous women. The content was then synthesized and arranged into major themes and narratives. Those findings will be presented in the subsequent sections of this paper.

Billboard Analysis

Two major billboards are present along the Highway of Tears that are government-funded (Images 1 and 2). The language of each billboard was assessed independently and then later compared in an effort to trace similarities. The first billboard I analyzed for this paper is co-sponsored by the regional district of Kitimat-Stikine, the Gitxsan First Nation, and the province of British Columbia (Image 1). This same billboard design was reproduced and is located at two points along the highway: Gitwangak and Thornhill. At the time of research, there were three known copies of the same billboard along the highway. The second billboard that is covered in this paper is also co-sponsored by the province of British Columbia, but in association with the Aboriginal Women's Action Network. This billboard is positioned near Moricetown, a First Nation community near the regional centre of Smithers. The billboards analyzed were chosen because they were co-sponsored by the provincial government (a major institution of colonization) and First Nations communities - depicting a negotiation of mobility between the settler state and First Nations.

Micro Analysis

Using Fairclough's (1989) method of critical discourse analysis, the text of the billboards was analyzed for a number of characteristics. The first level of analysis was whether the language was positive or negative. The language in the first billboard is negative: "Aint worth the risk sister." No imperative is used in the language on the first billboard, but in the second billboard, the imperative is used in the statement, "Girls don't hitchhike." The imperative case is important in that it makes a demand on behaviour or issues a command. In this case, the demand on behaviour is "don't hitchhike" and targets the behaviour of hitchhikers or would-be hitchhikers (for more information on the imperative case, see Han,1998). The language in both cases was also analyzed for particular word choices. What stood out on the first billboard was the decision to use "aint." Other word choices that stuck out were the naming of the intended audience in both billboards: "Sister" in the first billboard and "Girls" in the second billboard. In the following section, a brief analysis of these word choices will be made.

The images within the two billboards were also read as "text" as they greatly added to the meaning/discourse housed within the billboards. The images specifically referenced the numerous cases of disappearances and murders along the Highway of Tears. The first billboard used the imagery of a number of crosses along the highway and also ghosts surrounding the hitchhiker to visually represent the deaths, while the second billboard blatantly showed the faces of missing and murdered women (Images 1 and 2). In both cases, the imagery connected death and loss to the text-based message of hitchhiking. The images are emotive in that they make reference to the grief and loss of the numerous cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women. The images are meant to illustrate the tragedy of the cases- the deaths of the women who have

disappeared along the highway. The images are evocative and meant to make the viewer/consumer feel a sense of loss and sadness for the disappearances. The multiple crosses in the first billboard and the multiple headshots in the second billboard both demonstrate the significant cases of violence that have been identified (Images 1 to 4). The painting in the first billboard uses an ethereal and cool colour palette without any strong, bright, or cheerful tones (Images 1 and 3). This creates a sense of sadness and influences/shapes the tone of the billboard. The imagery of the painting is intentionally soft and hazy in an effort to pick up on how the deaths of these women remain somewhat obscured and forgotten. The images, in conjunction with the written text depict a powerful message of the tragedy of the cases of violence along the Highway of Tears and demonstrate how there have been a significant number of disappearances along the highway.

Mezzo Analysis

In terms of medium, both billboards are roughly the same size. The first billboard was reproduced twice and maybe again when other billboards are removed or more spots for billboards become available. The billboards are positioned on the side of the highway, located near Thornhill, Gitwangak, and Moricetown, communities with large Indigenous populations. The billboards use large fonts, and, in both examples, "hitchhike(ing)" is written in capital letters and presented at the top of the billboards. The use of billboards and the layout of the billboards (particularly the large font and the design elements used) indicate that this medium was used in order to target passengers of vehicles and drivers in addition to would-be hitchhikers. The signs are highly visible, even when passed at

highway speeds due to the design choices made in terms of colour, font, size, and location.

Macro Analysis: Targeting Hitchhiking as a Contentious Mobility

A commonality across both billboards is the presence of caution/hazard signs. In the first billboard, the image of a hitchhiker's thumb, with a line through it enclosed in a circle is reminiscent of a hazard label that would be found on a product or a traffic control sign (Image 1). In the second billboard, the image of a red caution sign, with the word "caution" in it, like the first sign, indicates a hazard that must be avoided. Hazard labels put the onus on consumers to prevent harm. The first billboard's hazard sign is clearly targeting hitchhikers and the second billboard's caution sign, positioned next to the phrase "Girls don't hitchhike" indicates that hitchhiking is dangerous and must be avoided. Both billboards also specifically name hitchhiking as a threat to the safety of women. The second billboard in particular targets hitchhiking with the second line of text "killer on the loose" beneath the text "girls don't hitchhike" and the images of the missing and murdered women. This billboard content should be considered in light of the "willing victim" construction that is often applied to Indigenous women when they face violence (Razack, 2015; Gilchrist, 2010; Pratt, 2005; and Culhane, 2003). The billboard's message positions hitchhiking as a dangerous choice made by Indigenous women. The placement of the elements and the language indicates "killer on the loose" is targeting women on the basis of whether or not they hitchhike and to hitchhike would therefore make "girls" likely targets. The reference to a singular "killer" is also interesting in this billboard in that it

potentially obscures how there is a systemic issue of violence against Indigenous women, not a singular unknown assailant[1].

The contentious mobility of hitchhiking is the principle focus of these billboards. The message that these billboards present is that hitchhiking is bad and if a woman hitchhikes, she is likely to be killed. The billboard designers are reacting to the prevalence of hitchhiking as a contentious mode of mobility and presenting the argument that choosing to hitchhike leads to being victimized. On the first billboard, the question of "Is it worth the risk?" and the subsequent response of "Aint worth the risk sister" contains a latent sense that there is a decision to hitchhike made strictly on the perceived riskiness of the behaviour. This connects to the racist/sexist accounts of "lifestyle choices" of Indigenous women highlighted by Comack and Balfour (2004). However, as presented in the literature review, there are numerous constraints on mobility, particularly for Indigenous women, which leave options other than hitchhiking scarce. The billboards present an understanding of women hitchhiking as a decision based on a perceived and calculated risk and argue that the risk is far greater than women may realize and therefore hitchhiking must be avoided. As illustrated within the previous literature review, the non-conformity of Indigenous women with dominant frames of femininity is exemplified within their use of hitchhiking as a contentious mobility (Gilchrist, 2010; Razack, 2015).

The first billboard's imagery of ghosts and crosses conjures the history of the highway's numerous deaths and disappearances. Numbers of deaths and disappearances along the highway range significantly. The RCMP cites the official number of 18 confirmed cases while Indigenous communities and advocacy organizations suggest the number is closer to 40 cases or more (Human Rights Watch,

2013: 40). The imagery on the billboards indicates that the number of murders and disappearances are considerable. The province's message in these billboards uses the images of past deaths in order to control current modes of mobility. Fear and grief are deployed in order to prevent the contentious mobility of hitchhiking.

As important as what is on these billboards is what was left off. For example, both billboards indicate the danger of hitchhiking and their argued causal link between hitchhiking and disappearance, but neither billboard offers any options for Indigenous women who may see the signs. No alternative form of mobility, no phone number for support, or any suggestion for how Indigenous women can stay safe is offered or implied. The only message is don't hitchhike, because hitchhiking is bad and dangerous. The billboards in both cases are speaking to Indigenous women and arguing that they must change their mobility/behaviour. The billboards insist on not using hitchhiking but fall short of providing alternatives or providing support for women who are in a position where hitchhiking is the only viable option. These billboards are the province's front-line efforts to stop hitchhiking and based on the content, are specifically targeting Indigenous women.

Macro Analysis Findings

Gender

In the written words and the imagery of both billboards, the message and the audience of the billboard are gendered. The painting of the female hitchhiker on the first billboard and the photographs of the missing and murdered women (Image 2) both demonstrate that these billboards are about and for women and not men. Billboard 1 uses the pronoun, "sister" to communicate with the audience to not only assign gender

but in order to instill a sense of kinship or familial relation. Billboard 2 uses the pronoun, "girls." Both sister and girls can be read as invoking a sense of paternalism/familial care. The billboards do not name women, but instead name "girls". Although the majority of the reported victims along the Highway of Tears were fairly young, there is a potentially paternalistic element to collectively referring to women and girls together as "girls". This is important when analyzed in relation to the paternalism and infantilization inherent to the colonial project in Canada (Razack, 2002; Jiwani, 2010). Agger illustrates how moving away from the language of “girls" to refer to women of a variety of ages and only use "girls" for very young females was a component of post-war feminist politics of naming (2004: 124). Although perhaps the intention was to target very young women, the use of girls is also potentially patronizing.

The targeting of female hitchhikers also can be read as holding an invisible/implied message that drivers and individuals who pick up female hitchhikers are male. This potential implied gender division between female hitchhikers and male drivers further complicates the power imbalance already found between driver and hitcher in hitchhiking mobility. As described earlier, interdependence is central to hitchhiking and is also a characteristic that makes it a form of contentious mobility. These billboards, by gendering hitchhiking as a mode used by women who pick up rides from male drivers make the interdependence of the act of hitchhiking a gendered power imbalance. The province’s inclusion of gender in these billboards fits into existing gender norms surrounding women’s dependence on men. Although men are absent from the billboards, both as an audience and as the subjects of the boards, their absence demonstrates the gendered

dimension of these billboards and further highlights how provincial responses to contentious mobility are themselves gendered.

Race

Compared to the blatant treatment of gender within these billboards, race is more slippery. The race of the hitchhikers can only be assumed through the skin tone used in the illustration on the first billboard (Image 1) and in the perceived race that the audience determines for the women on the second billboard (Image 2). The first billboard's painting of a woman with long straight dark hair and slightly darker skin tone does fit a certain conventional depiction of Indigenous women, and therefore is racially symbolic. This image captures a feminine and sympathetic representation of Indigenous women (LaRoque, 1983; Grande, 2004; Razack, 2002). Along with the image, the language of "sister" may have raced elements to it. In the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, "Stolen Sisters" and "Sisters in Spirit" are titles often used and associated with advocacy for the issue. By choosing the word "sister," the billboard taps into this discourse and quietly racializes the message. Sister also speaks to family and kinship, which linguistically produces a bridge from the victims depicted in the billboard and the intended audience of Indigenous female hitchhikers.[1]

The second billboard, in using the actual images of known victims depicts how the women on the billboard are similar in their identity as Indigenous. Indigenous identity is complicated, diverse and should not be reduced to a monolith, but the Indigenous women's group that co-sponsored the second billboard with the province of British Columbia specifically selected women who have disappeared and are also identified as

Indigenous (Image 2). Visually, the second billboard shows a relationship between race, mobility, gender, and violence. The province's billboards are depicting hitchhikers as the racialized Other. This characterization demonstrates that it is Indigenous women's mobility that is risky, not colonial and racist attitudes and social inequalities that fuel violence against Indigenous women. The province, by stigmatizing and racializing hitchhiking is able to respond to significant cases of colonial and gendered violence against Indigenous women without sharing any blame for the racism and social inequality that contributes to cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women along the Highway of Tears.

Stigmatization

There are a number of potentially problematic elements to the billboards that stigmatize hitchhiking, place responsibility on hitchhikers and potentially demonize the hitchhikers themselves. One word choice that stood out in the first billboard was the word "Aint". As slang, "aint" invokes potential class/education illusions, particularly in how "aint" is used to communicate specifically to hitchhikers. The use of "aint" was deliberate, in that "It's not" would have worked just as well to communicate how hitchhiking is dangerous (Image 1). The question must be asked then of what work "aint" is doing in the overall message of the billboard. The analysis for this paper argues that "aint" reveals class and the word choice to use "aint" over other alternatives speaks to an effort to appeal to the perceived lower-class status of hitchhikers. This implicit connection forged between hitchhiking and class stigmatizes hitchhiking as a contentious mobility, by making it an exclusive mobility of the lower class. This further alienates hitchhikers,

particularly in how there was a deliberate word choice in the billboard to use slang to communicate to them. There are, of course, other potential readings of the word “aint” but it is important nonetheless to consider why the province would use slang. The goal of this language decision is to attract the audience, whether the intent was expressly lower class or not, and to establish a familiarity with the audience consuming the messages of the billboard.

Along with the caution/hazard signs used in the presentation of hitchhiking, the imperative statement of "don't hitchhike" in Billboard 2 and the repeated word of "risk" in Billboard 1 stigmatizes hitchhiking as a bad/irresponsible behaviour (Images 1 and 2). As traffic or hazard signs are to be obeyed, the hazard/caution signs on the billboards demonstrate that to hitchhike is to be disobedient to do something wrong. This stigmatization speaks to the larger issue of how contentious mobility is constrained by the province and the Canadian government more broadly and how the movement of Indigenous Peoples in particular is deliberately targeted (Razack, 2015). The macro-level analysis positions these billboards within existing discourses and social norms surrounding gender, class, and race. This analysis demonstrates that women who hitchhike are depicted in the province’s billboards as wrongdoers. The billboards, interlocking with existing social constructions of gender, race, and class depict Indigenous female hitchhikers as knowingly/willingly putting themselves in danger, which ignores the oppressions that often led to Indigenous women using hitchhiking and disregards how racism and sexism factor into the instances of violence against women on the Highway of Tears.

Background on the Billboards and Moving Forward

Although there are elements within the billboards that reflect potentially problematic assumptions about to gender, race and contentious mobility, this paper is not by any means attempting to downplay the significance of the province seeking ways to raise awareness about violence against Indigenous women along the Highway of Tears. The highway, as indicated at the beginning of this paper, has several characteristics that not only make hitchhiking a common occurrence, but they also make patrolling the highway, monitoring usage of the highway, and attempting to contact hitchhikers difficult. Efforts to prevent violence against Indigenous women are necessary and the billboards are a potentially useful method for the province to combat violence. However, this good intention does not render the billboards neutral or innocent of engaging in racial and gendered stereotypes of hitchhiking as a contentious mobility.

The billboards analyzed within this paper were in fact the product of a recommendation that resulted from the Missing and Murdered Women's Symposium of 2006. They were first published in late 2006 (Missing and Murdered Women's Symposium Report, 2006). Recommendation nine of the symposium's report clearly states. "[t]hat a number of billboards, and many more posters, be placed at strategic locations along the Highway 16 corridor between Prince George and Prince Rupert, British Columbia" (2006: 23). What is notable about this recommendation follows in the more detailed summary of the recommendation. The report recommends: "carefully designed billboards will be used to generate traveling public awareness on the issue of the murdered and missing women, and also contain a 1-800 number for the public to call in tips, potential leads, or even cell phone call in the location of any female hitchhiker they

encounter" (2006: 23). The recommendation calls on the creation of billboards that target "travelling public" and include a phone number to gain information. However, whereas the resulting billboards instead targeted Indigenous women and lacked any alternatives or strategies for keeping women safe, other than avoiding hitchhiking. Again, this paper is not dismissing these billboards as potentially useful and containing excellent intentions, but the billboards do not reflect the recommendations produced in partnership with Indigenous Peoples and advocates and demonstrate how gender, race, and class shape the perception of hitchhiking as a contentious mobility.

Through an analysis of their content, this paper demonstrates that there are potentially problematic messages being communicated about Indigenous women who hitchhike in provincial-sponsored billboards along the Highway of Tears. Moving forward, more research must be done to understand how Indigenous women who hitchhike are responding to/ impacted by this messaging and how they view these signs. As a vital but stigmatized mode of mobility, further research is needed to understand how Indigenous women engage in hitchhiking and how the frequent cases of violence impact their own perceptions of safety and mobility along the Highway.

I do not suggest that the correct course of action would be to take down these billboards and stop this attempt at keeping women safe. Instead, moving forward I suggest that the future publications of billboards must stay true to the recommendations from the missing women's symposium, with a focus on using the billboards to gain awareness and provide hitchhikers with highly visible safety resources.

Conclusion

Hitchhiking, as a discourse analysis of the billboards along the Highway of Tears demonstrates, is depicted as dangerous behaviour that should be completely avoided. Under no circumstance do these billboards suggest that hitchhiking is acceptable, and the implicit messaging of the billboards is that hitchhiking causes women to be victimized. What is absent from these billboards is any consideration for the socio-economic reasons for hitchhiking and any possible redeeming features of hitchhiking. Furthermore, the discourse analysis reveals that women who hitchhike are always and already at least partially to blame for any violence they encounter along the highway. The billboards warn that a serial killer is bound to pick-up any hitchhiker and that the only way to avoid being murdered is to not hitchhike. This messaging and stigmatization of hitchhiking obfuscates the lasting impacts of colonialism on Indigenous women's mobility. Furthermore, these billboards and their anti-hitchhiking messaging fit into a broader narrative of the government's attempts to regulate, constrain and police the mobility of Indigenous Peoples. The discourse analysis completed for this paper illustrated problematic racial and gender elements within the billboards that further subordinate the status of Indigenous women who hitchhike, rendering them social outsiders and deviants.

Hitchhiking falls outside of the privileged mode of automobility and is largely opposed by the province as dangerous. As a result, this paper presents hitchhiking as a contentious form of mobility, but a common form of mobility, nonetheless. The characteristics of the Highway of Tears and the socio-economic features of Northwestern British Columbia impact what modes of mobility are accessible and used by some Indigenous women. A simple condemnation of hitchhiking as dangerous and therefore bad is a Band-Aid solution at best. Use of the contentious mobility of hitchhiking and also

the subsequent responses of the province to hitchhiking are deeply rooted in colonization and its inherent constraints on Indigenous mobility. Indigenous women who hitchhike, both while engaging in this contentious mode of mobility and in the representations of hitchhiking featured in the province's billboards are locked into complex intersections of race, gender, space and mobility.

References

Agamben, G. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by D. Heller-Roazen, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Agger, Ben. 2004. *The Virtual Self: A Contemporary Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bannerji, Himani. 1993. *Returning The Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2004. *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts*. Oxford: Polity.

Benoit, Cecilia; Dena Carrol; and Munaza Chaudhry. 2003. “In Search of a Healing Place: Aboriginal Women in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside”. *Social Science and Medicine*. 56(1): 821-833.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.

Cacho, Lisa Marie. 2012. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*. New York: NYU Press.

Comack, Elizabeth and Gillian Balfour. 2004. *The Power to Criminalize: Violence, Inequality and the Law*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Culhane, Dara. 2003. "Their Spirits Live Within Us: Aboriginal Women Downtown Eastside Vancouver Emerging Into Visibility" The American Indian Quarterly 27(3): 593-606.

Dhamoon, Rita. 2009. *Identity/ Difference Politics: How Difference is Produced and Why it Matters*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Dobrowolsky, Alexandra and Jane Jenson. 2004. “Shifting Representations of Citizenship: Canadian Politics of “Women” and “Children” *Social Politics*. 11(2): 154-180.

England, Jennifer. 2000. "Representation and the Production of Space: Aboriginal Women in Downtown Eastside, Vancouver" Master's Thesis. University of British Columbia, Department of Geography.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Farley, Melissa; Jacqueline Lynne; Ann J. Cotton. 2005. “Prostitution in Vancouver: Violence and the Colonization of First Nations Women" *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 42(2): 242-271.

Fiske, Jo-Anne. 2006. “Boundary Crossings: Power and Marginalization in the

Formation of Canadian Aboriginal Women's Identities" *Gender and Development*. 14(2): 247-258.

Garcia-Del Moral, Paulina. 2011. "Representation as a Technology of Violence: On the Representation of the Murders and Disappearances of Aboriginal Women in Canada and Women in Ciudad Juarez. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 36(1): 33-62.

Gilchrist, Kristen. 2010. "Newsworthy Victims? Exploring Differences in Canadian Local Press Coverage of Missing/ Murdered Aboriginal and White Women" *Feminist Media Studies.* 10(4): 373-390.

Gotell, Lise. 2009. "Rethinking Affirmative Consent in Canadian Sexual Assault Law: Neoliberal Sexual Subjects and Risky Women" *Akron Law Review*. 4(1):865-898.

Grande, Sandy. 2004. *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*. Lanham: Rawman and Littlefield Publishers.

Han, Chung-Hye. 1998. "The Structure and Interpretation of Imperatives: Mood and Force in Universal Grammar." *Institute for Research in Cognitive Science*. Thesis available online at http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1076&context=ircs_reports.

Highway of Tears Recommendation Report. 2006. Available online at: http://www.turtleisland.org/healing/highwayoftears.pdf.

hooks, bell. 2000. *Feminist Theory From Margin to Center*. Cambridge: South End Press.

Human Rights Watch. 2013. *Those Who Take Us Away*. Report Published online February 2013. Accessed online March 2015 at: https://www.hrw.org/reports/2013/02/13/those-who- take-us-away-0.

Hunt, Sarah. 2010. "Colonial Roots, Contemporary Risk Factors: a cautionary exploration of the domestic trafficking of Aboriginal women and girls in British Columbia, Canada" *Alliance News*. Accessed online at: http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/29553201/HUNT_Alliance_News_July_2010.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAJ56TQJRWSMTNPEA&Expires=1452224337&Signature=Xzas4l7PWV3NPkfXjlgyH%2FQw0%3D&respocontentdisposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DColonial_Roots Contemporary_Risk_Factors.pdf.

Jiwani, Yasmin. 2009. "Symbolic and Discursive Violence in Media Representations of Aboriginal Missing and Murdered Women." *Canadian Journal of Communications*. 31(1): 895-917.

Jiwani, Yasmin and Mary Lynn Young. 2006. "Missing and Murdered Women:

Reproducing Marginality in News Discourse." *Canadian Journal of Communication 31(11): 895-917.*

LaRoque, Emma. 1983. "The Metis in English Canadian Literature." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. 3(1): 85-94.

Lawrence, Bonita and Enakshi Dua. 2008. "Decolonizing Anti-Racism" *Social Justice*. 32(4): 120-144.

Kelm, Mary Ellen. 1998. *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Mawani, Renisa. 2002. "In Between and Out of Place." *in Race, Space and the Law*. Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines.

McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. New York: Routledge.

McGrath, Ann and Winona Stevenson. 1996. “Gender, Race, and Policy: Aboriginal Women and the State in Canada and Australia” *Labour History*. 71(1): 37-53.

Moores, Patrick. 2006. "(Re)covering the Missing Women: News Media Reporting on Vancouver's "Disappeared"". Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia.

Packer, Jeremy. 2008. *Mobility Without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.

Pratt, Geraldine. 2005. “Abandoned Women and Spaces of Exception” *Antipode*. The 2005 Antipode Lecture. 1053-1077.

Razack, Sherene. 1998. Looking White Peoples in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Razack, Sherene. 2011. "Timely Deaths: Medicalizing the Deaths of Aboriginal Peoples in Police Custody" *Law Culture and the Humanities*. 9(2): 352-374.

Razack, Sherene. 2002. "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George" in *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Razack, Sherene. 2015. *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 2014. “Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview.” Accessed online at: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pubs/mmaw-faapd-eng.htm.

Sehdev, Robinder. 2012. “Beyond the Brink: Indigenous Women’s Agency and the Colonisation of Knowledge in the Maid of the Mist Myth” *Cultural Studies Review* 18 (3): 240-262.

Sharma, Nandita and Cynthia Wright. 2008. “Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States” *Social Justice*. 35(3): 120-138.

Sheller, Mimi. 2011. “Mobility” Accessed online at: *Sociopedia.isa*.

Sheller and Urry. 2006. “The New Mobilities Paradigm.” *Environment and Planning*. 38(1): 207-226.

Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In C. Nelson and L. Grossberg ed. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana IL:University of Illinois Press.

Strega, Susan; Caitlin Janzen; Jeannie Morgan; Leslie Brown; Robina Thomas and Jeannine Carriere. 2014. “Never Innocent Victim: Street Sex Workers in Canadian Print Media” *Violence Against Women*.

Thobani, Sunera. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Thrift, Nigel. 2004. “Driving in the City” *Theory, Culture and Society*. 21(4): 41-59.

Urry, John. 2007. *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Urry, John. 2004. “The “System” of Automobility” *Theory, Culture and Society*. 21(4): 25-39.

Urry, John. 2000. *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for Twenty First Century.* Florence KY: Routledge.

Vancouver Police Department. 2011. “The Tragedy of Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women in Canada: We Can Do Better." Accessed online at: http://vancouver.ca/police/assets/pdf/reports-policies/missing-murdered-aboriginal-women-canada-report.pdf

De Vries M. 2003. *Missing Sarah: A Vancouver Women Remembers Her Vanished Sister*. Toronto: Penguin.

Wacquaint, Loic. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment and Society* 3(1): 95-134.

Warwick, Derek. 2009. “Sexual Colonialism: Aboriginal Women and Gendered Violence” *Transcending Silence*. (Spring): 1-7.

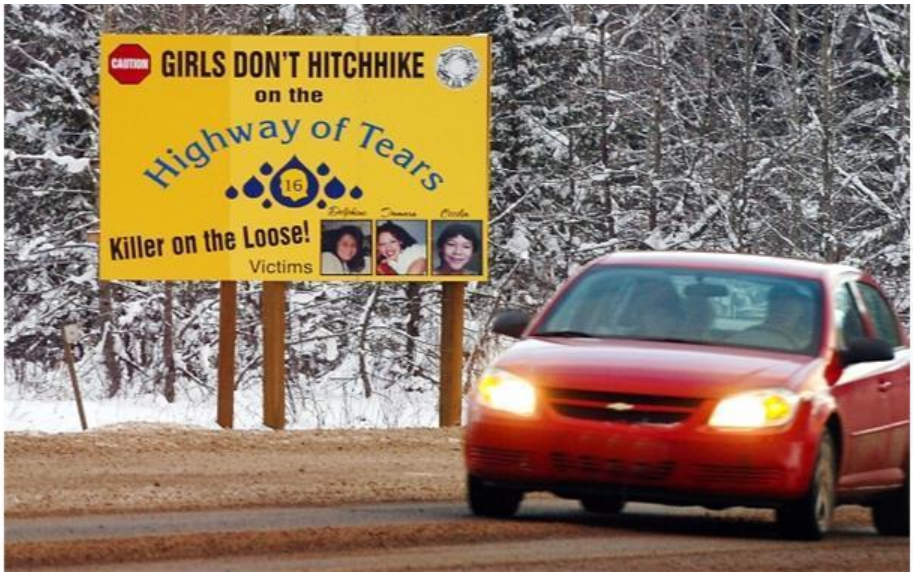
Williams, Allison. 1997. “Canadian Urban Aboriginals: A Focus on Aboriginal Women in Toronto” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 17(1): 75-101.

Appendix 1: Billboard Images

Image 1: Billboard 1

Photograph credit: Public Domain Image Accessed via: https://www.flickr.com/photos/tiredofit/4589464887 credited to photographer David Conroy

Image 2: Billboard 2

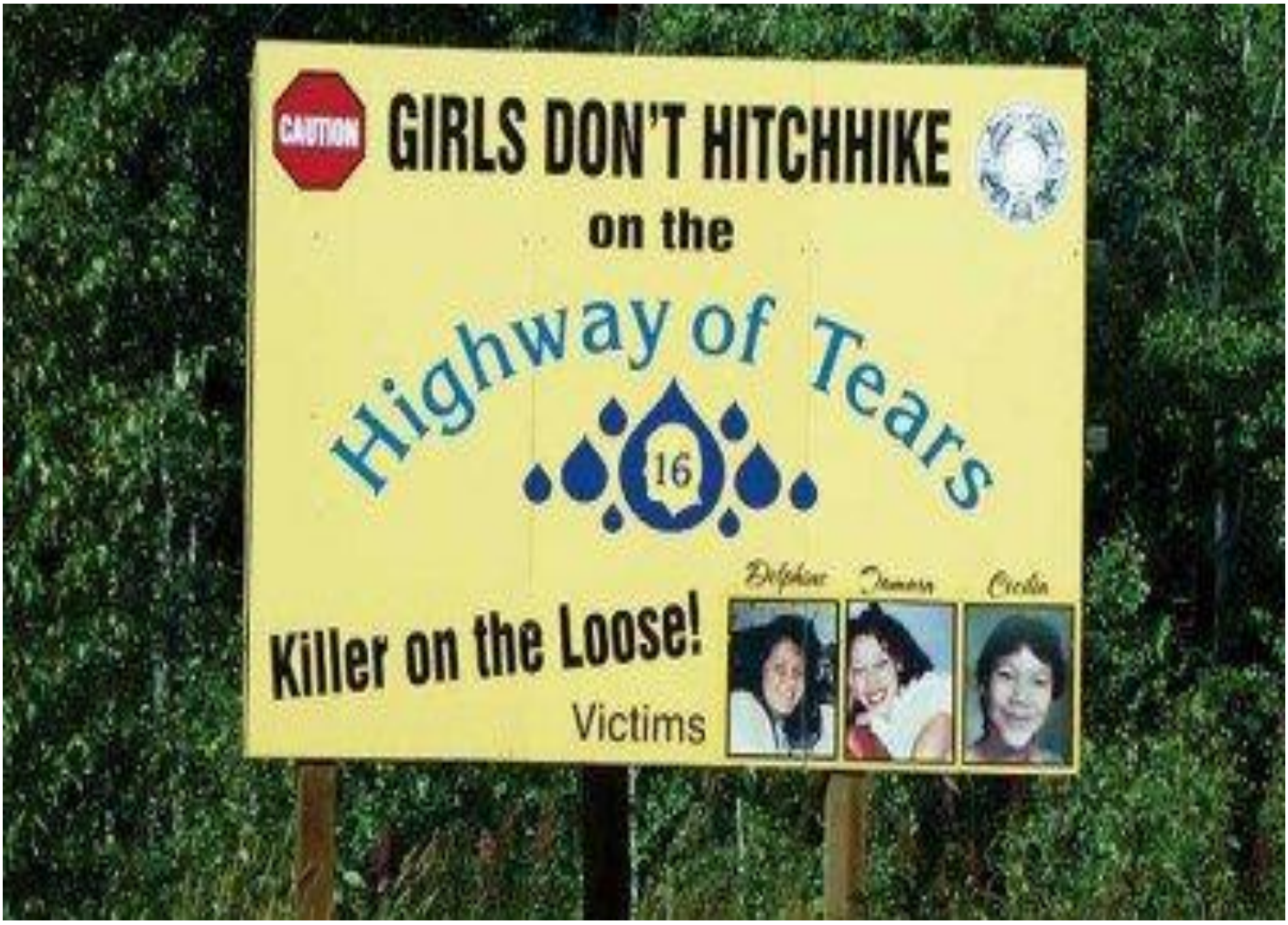


Photograph credit: Steve Bosch, Vancouver Sun. Available online at http://www.vancouversun.com/Film+shines+light+forgotten+Highway+Tears+women/10842712/story.html?__lsa=e88a-c212

Image 3: Detail on Billboard 1

Photograph Credit: http://outlawsandoutcasts.blogspot.ca/2012/11/highway-of-tears-tv.html Bob Friel, 2012.

Image 4: Detail on Billboard 2



Photograph Credit: http://www.outsideonline.com/1900566/vanishing Bob Friel, 2012.

Appendix 2: Map of the Highway of Tears (Highway 16) and Location of Billboards

Map Credit: Human Rights Watch, 2013. N.B. Billboards located at **Thornhill** (overlapping with where Terrace is indicated on this map), **Moricetown** and **Gitwangak** (81 kilometers East of Moricetown, too small to be indicated on this map)

Appendix 3: Map of the Highway of Tears (Highway 16)

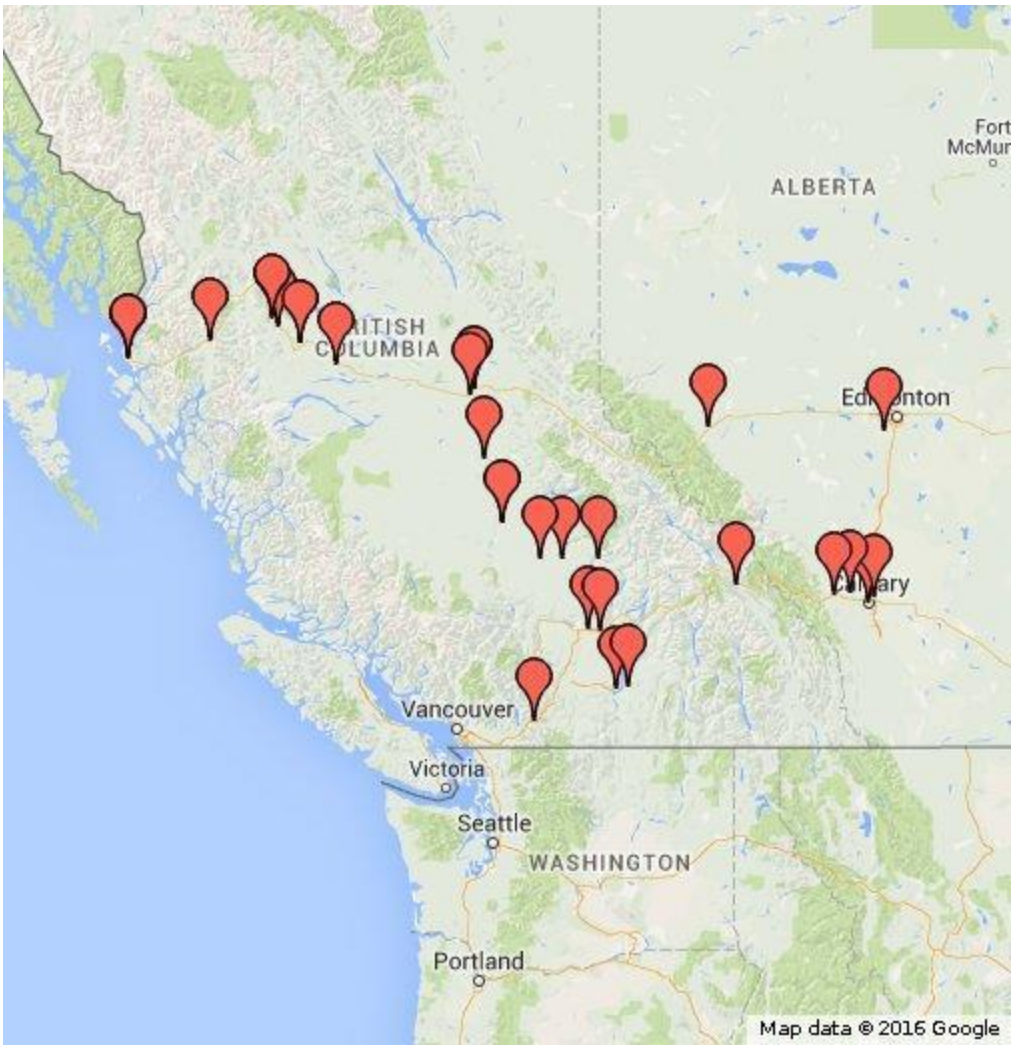


Photo Credit: Google Maps, 2016 "Highway of Tears"
https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=zLD5QMA14wWw.kK_POvwvqrfw&hl=en

N.B. Points on the map indicate investigated disappearances and their location.

Afterword

When compiling this dissertation, now almost 6 years after publishing this article, I have had the unique opportunity to revisit my work and to assess it, in relation to what I now know about critical discourse analysis, the elusive idea of "good work" as a settler and following the MMIWG2SG National Inquiry. My interest in illuminating the taken for granted components of colonial discourses remains. I will be continuing to explore mobility as a point of access into discourses of colonial violence as I undertake future work on the "stroll" as a particular place of colonial and gendered violence and also in explorations of hitchhiking elsewhere in Canada. What I would revisit in this article and

research given what I know now is to look at Indigenous involvement and leadership within the construction of narratives surrounding risk and safety within hitchhiking as a form of mobility. I would also like to travel again to this region to see what impact the MMIWG2SG Public Inquiries and the recent return to private bussing along the Highway have had both on hitchhiking and on the billboards. Given my learning since this article, I would also like to engage more Indigenous understandings of mobility and safety. Although started within this article, I would like to explore in more depth the single/ independent automobile operator as the dominant form of mobility and to contrast this dominance to Indigenous modes of mobility.

My experiences with settler reflexivity gained throughout this dissertation and specifically in the initial project has taught me more about considering how my choices in texts to analyze, questions to ask, and findings to explain, are also products of my position as a white-settler. One component of this research that I do not address within this article but continue to think through is that of my own perceptions of safety and risk as a traveler along this Highway. As someone who has not experienced violence while hitchhiking, I am in a position to identify how and why the contested nature of hitchhiking did not shape my own perceptions of relative safety. Another reflexive observation I have made through reviewing this article is to recognize that more engagement should be placed within the analysis of the billboards to account for how Indigenous Peoples and communities view these billboards. As mentioned above, I would like to return to this work and will use this opportunity to expand the presence of Indigenous perspectives and knowledges of the billboards within that work.

Article 3

Morton, Katherine. 2022 “Apologies, Thoughts, and Prayers: Analysis of Responses to the Discovery of Unmarked Graves at Residential Schools.” Conference Paper Presented at Canadian Sociological Association 2022 Conference as part of the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences Congress, May 2022.

Apologies, Thoughts and Prayers: Analysis of Responses to the Discovery of Unmarked Graves at Residential Schools
Katherine Morton Richards

Prologue:

The most recent of the three articles, this final article was written during the fall of 2021 and presented during the Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference at the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences Congress in May 2022. This article is also forthcoming as a publication with *Canada Watch* with the Robarts Institute of Canadian Studies in 2022. Along with many settlers in Canada, I watched the media coverage of the re-discovery of unmarked burials of thousands of Indigenous children on the grounds of residential schools. With each new discovery, the public call for the Canadian government to respond to these finds and to do something intensified. As has been the case since before even Prime Minister Harper’s official apology for residential schools, the politics of apology have been important within settler discourses of colonial violence. This article allowed me an opportunity to look at how the federal government engages in apology and to track how the TRC process and the recent re-discoveries of unmarked burials have shaped and changed how and why apologies are offered. I recognized in my own reading of the literature on the politics of apology that many scholars had analyzed the beginning of the “era of reconciliation” and the “age of apology,” but there had not yet been an analysis of whether the era was continuing or waning in light of the most recent political and cultural shifts. I wrote this paper as my own PhD research project discontinued in its initial design and I used this article as an opportunity to explore concepts such as virtue signaling, settler moves towards innocence, and evacuation of settler responsibility shape federal apologies. In my effort to better understand how settlers can and should engage in work that aligns with anti-colonial goals and work, I focused in on the language and the deployment of apology politics in relation to the deaths and unmarked burials of Indigenous children incarcerated at residential schools.

Abstract:

Apologies are politically fraught. The act of publicly naming an issue and offering an apology is something that is increasingly called for and received within Canadian Federal Politics. Prime Minister Trudeau’s liberal government has increasingly engaged in apology work, particularly in relation to ongoing impacts and consequences of settler

colonialism. In the shadow of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Final Report, the necessity of owning and giving voice to responsibility for violence perpetrated by the Canadian State against Indigenous children, families and nations is increasingly obvious. The spring and summer of 2021 has brought about the rediscovery of hundreds of previously unrecorded and/ or unmarked burials of Indigenous children on the grounds of former residential schools. With each new discovery, the intensity and the totality of the genocidal violence perpetrated against Indigenous children becomes clearer to members of the settler-colonial society, who until these discoveries, have been largely ignorant to the testimony of Indigenous survivors of residential schools and their families who have known of children being killed, dying at, and disappearing from residential schools for generations. This research examines the texts of public responses to these recent discoveries made by Canada federal level politicians to render visible the often- disappeared patterns and conventions of settler apology. This paper picks up the “Era of Apology” and questions whether the contemporary state responses to the unmarked graves at residential schools demonstrates the continuation, or the recession of the deployment of public apology as the major vehicle of settler colonial discourses of reconciliation.

Keywords

Colonial Violence - Settler Moves to Innocence - Settler Colonialism - Virtue Signalling - Apology

Introduction

So saturated with the language of regret, thoughts, and prayers, the current moment of settler colonial redress within Canada makes the next official apology seem inevitable. Since the 1980s and more intensely since 2008, Canada has been in an “age of apology” (Brooks, 1999; Bentley, 2019; Gaertner, 2020; Matsunaga, 2021). Canada is not alone in this era of state apologies, with Australia, the US, and several other nations engaging in similar responses to colonial and racial violence and oppression (Corntassel and Holder, 2008; O’Connell, 2015; Bentley, 2019). As of 2008, Corntassel and Holder found that 24 countries had active truth and reconciliation commissions or another form of restorative justice truth telling (2008). Apologies in

Canada have been offered to usher in the language of reconciliation with the “Statement of Reconciliation” in 1998 (Gaertner, 2020), with Harper’s apology for residential schools in 2008 (Coulthard, 2014; Matsunaga, 2021), and most recently have occurred, albeit less formally, with the case of unmarked burials at residential schools. Although the scope of this paper is limited to a close reading of the discourse of Indigenous specific colonial oppression and violence, the apologies made toward Indigenous Peoples fit into a broader politics of apology, directed at many equity seeking groups and populations that have experienced extreme state-based violence and oppression (Matsunaga, 2021; Bentley, 2019; Mawani, 2001). In addition to apologies that address colonial violence perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples, apologies have also been offered to the Japanese-Canadian population for the experience of internment during World War II and to the Chinese-Canadian population for racist anti-Chinese immigration policies and taxes (Matsunaga, 2021), among other equity seeking and minority populations. Following an explanation of how the age of apology has developed and changed over time, this paper will analyze and contrast previous public apologies to the settler colonial State response to the discovery of unmarked burials on the sites of residential schools. This paper will conclude with an assessment of what the most recent response/nonresponse may mean in terms of the larger processes of redress and reconciliation in settler colonial Canada.

Apologies as Political Strategy

There is a long-standing tradition within social theory of unpacking what makes a “good” apology or confession (Derrida, 2001; Foucault, 1979; Ahmed, 2004; Coulthard,

2014). A consistent feature within much of the existing literature on apology is the emphasis on action and change to accompany the language of apology- the material commitments to change/ revise behaviour in the future (Ahmed, 2004). An apology without substantive change is shallow and demonstrates a willingness to save face or to talk but also demonstrates an unwillingness or a failure to commit to the uncomfortable and difficult work of reparation (Coulthard, 2014). For the governments of settler colonial Canada, engagement with Indigenous Peoples is very much focused on inquiries, public apologies, and reconciliation. So much so, that in some ways these elements of attempting to right past wrongs are being evacuated of their power, or appear to just be words alone (Coulthard, 2014; Corntassel and Holder, 2008; Alfred, 2001). In the case of the federal government, under both Liberal and Conservative Prime Ministers, we see the political strategy of apology lacking substance, and at its worst, apology can be understood as just a means of averting public attention to continued colonial violence and complacency in the face of oppression and racism. The danger of the taken-for-grantedness of apology is that apologies become lip service as opposed to action, public declarations instead of consistent work, and easy and cost-effective non-action as opposed to the challenging and expensive (politically, emotionally, and economically) work of reconciliation.

The Beginning of the Age of Apology

A decade before Harper's official apology on behalf of the government of Canada, then minister Jane Stewart released her "statement of reconciliation", and in doing so, brought the language of reconciliation into both the government's vocabulary and the public discourse on residential schools (Dorrell, 2009). Other ministers and

deputy ministers, speaking both formally and informally at conferences, public gatherings, and in the house would echo the same language of apology and of reconciliation, feeding into a broader social and political moment of speaking remorse for what had happened, but overwhelmingly locating the source of that remorse in historical terms and at a comfortable distance from any form of real action or responsibility (Coulthard, 2014; Matsunaga, 2021).

The timing for when the age of apology really began and hit peak saturation in Canada was more contrived than it may initially appear. It wasn't simply that the apologies were overdue or that Canada had hit a new level of settler self-awareness. Instead, the emergence of apology as a political strategy of crisis management coincides with a number of important developments socially and politically. First, there was a cascade of legislation change at the provincial level regarding the relationship between apology and fault. Traditionally, apologizing or saying sorry was an admission of personal guilt and responsibility (O'Connell, 2015). Professionals, such as medical professionals or service providers, were coached by legal teams and human resource managers to never apologize for anything as "I'm sorry" was potentially very expensive language. Apology opened up the next logical step of designating who should be responsible for compensating wronged parties (O'Connell, 2015). However, by the time of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's 2008 apology for residential schools, half of Canadian provinces had either passed or were working on "Apology/ Sorry" bills to make it possible for individuals, companies, and even eventually government agencies to apologize and not be fearful that they were activating an automatic financial liability at the same time (O'Connell, 2015).

As will be discussed further in the findings section of this article, Harper's apology was also timed strategically, at a moment when his administration was being criticized for their refusal to participate in the signing and recognition of the UNDRIP, that many other states at that time were committing to (Dorrell, 2009). Also, following costly and time-consuming court battles and mediations, Harper's apology also marked the beginning of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Herein, TRC) (Dorrell, 2009). Both of these social and political contexts had a very important role in determining the timing and scope of Harper's apology. Likewise, the Trudeau apology to Cowessess First Nation occurred following multiple discoveries of unmarked burials at residential schools and came on the heels of the announcements by Tkemlups and Cowessess First Nations (Dangerfield, 2021; Hopper, 2021). The mainstream settler media attention on these discoveries had hit a fever pitch, with significant and immediate coverage following these initial discoveries. Unlike Harper's apology, Trudeau's apology came as a component of a press briefing, that also featured updates on the Covid-19 reality in Canada. The outdoor setting scheduled covid briefing and also how social media and mainstream tv, newsprint and radio media picked up this story at the time it did are all products of the particular social context of the spring/ summer of 2021.

At Tkemlups

The disappearance and killing of Indigenous children at residential schools is not new information for Indigenous survivors, families and nations (TRC, 2015; Hurlbert, 2015; Hurlbert, 2022). Within the Calls to Action of the TRC's Final Report, there are several calls that specifically speak to the need for ongoing research and investigation

to locate missing children and to undertake the extremely difficult work of locating where their bodies were buried (TRC, 2015). However, with the public announcement in May 2021 of the Tkemlups First Nation, the settler colonial media finally started to pay attention to this component of the genocidal violence of the residential school system. The mainstream colonial media treated the rediscovery of hundreds and then thousands of children buried in unmarked graves as shocking or surprising, when for the Tkemlups and many other nations, they knew all along that the children had been killed and the bodies were there but had now confirmed precisely where they were located (Hurlbert, 2022). Deniers of the violence of the residential school program were confronted with material evidence that many children did not survive incarceration in residential schools. The fact that many of these graves were unmarked, unrecorded, and only relocated through the use of ground penetrating radar only added to the outrage and the perceived horror of the discoveries that were communicated within the mainstream media. These children, who were denied opportunities to return to their families and to grow up were for many decades reduced to stories told by survivors and families left to mourn. The news of the discovery of these burials brought this part of the colonial violence enacted within residential schools to the settler colonial majority. The initial findings at Tkemlups were followed by those at Cowessess, Cranbrook, Penelakut, and most recently at Williams Lake, B.C (Kelowna Now, 2022). As of the time of writing, more than 1800 unmarked burials have been located between May 2021 and January 2022, with several more investigations pending or only just beginning (Kelowna Now, 2022).

The news from Tkemlups began intense media coverage from Coast to Coast to Coast and many other First Nations began to pursue similar work, such as ground penetrating radar scans of the sites of residential schools and archival investigations to uncover what if any records exist of mortality at the residential schools (Dangerfield, 2021). More bodies were relocated. The number of children proven to be killed and buried on residential school properties increased. With each new announcement, the immenseness of the violence of the residential school program became clearer for settlers (Dangerfield, 2021). The majority was appalled- the language of news articles on the discoveries echoed feelings of shock, horror, sadness, and anger. Indigenous Peoples added their frustration with how long it took to get these investigations underway and their reminder that although this information is new and shocking for white people, it has been known for generations within Indigenous nations (Dangerfield, 2021). For far too long this knowledge was not actioned, believed, or listened to. There were calls from multiple parts of Canadian society for an immediate response by the Government. There were also calls for an apology.

The recent apologies offered more specifically to the Tkemlups and Cowessess First Nations following the rediscovery of Indigenous children buried in unmarked graves on the grounds of residential schools have been met with mixed reactions. Many within Indigenous activist and community leadership circles have called for more and clearer specific commitments alongside apologies (Palmater, 2021). The expectations for apologies also surpass just a simple “sorry” to a more nuanced acceptance of responsibility and clearly labelling the wrong that has been done. Part of the critique of apologies that have already been given is that they obfuscate settler

responsibility through the empty act of apology with minimal at best commitments of money and time. To contextualize these critiques, this paper tracks how the act of apology has become commonplace, particularly in how the government responds to shocking instances (the crisis) of colonial violence that become widely known in the general settler colonial public.

Methods

, This paper makes use of critical discourse analysis to contrast the 2008 Stephen Harper apology for residential schools to the 2021 Trudeau apologies regarding the unmarked burials of Indigenous children at residential schools. Based on Fairclough's (2001) 3-pronged approach to critical discourse analysis, I used the micro, mezzo, and macro levels of the discourse of these apologies. With micro, mezzo, and macro level analysis of the apologies, their contexts, and their deliveries, this research unpacks the two apologies nearly 25 years apart and places them in conversation. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a qualitative approach to content analysis that takes discourses as components of broader social structures and as deeply power-laden (Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 2001; Anderson et al, 2012; Hodes, 2018).

CDA breaks discourses open to explore their meaning-making and problematizes the language, methods, and social contexts for these discourses (Hodes, 2018; Fairclough, 2001). At the micro level of analysis, CDA explores specific word choices and phrasing and explores the intentionality behind how certain identity labels, verbs, and tenses are deployed (Wodak, 2001). At the mezzo level of analysis, CDA looks at not only meta-language elements of communication beyond syntax, but also at the context through which the discourse was produced and how the discourse was

produced (Wodak, 2001). Finally, at the macro level, CDA positions the discourses being analyzed within broader structures and within the particularities of the society the discourses were created by and for, with attention paid to what the discourses reveal about broader and more persistent power exchanges and imbalances (Wodak, 2001; Anderson et al, 2012).

For the analysis of this project, the work began with a close reading of the Harper apology and Trudeau's apology to the Cowessess First Nation regarding the unmarked burial rediscoveries. These apologies were chosen for several reasons. First, analyzing apologies on both sides of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Final Report allowed for an opportunity to reflect on the social and political importance of this restorative justice style of public truth-telling. Secondly, although considerable work has been done on the Harper apology, very little work has reflected on Harper's apology in relation to what is now known and has been publicly communicated within settler colonial Canada. Finally, based on a review of the existing literature on the politics of apology, reconciliation, and settler colonialism in Canada, there has not been a focus on how the "age of apology" has changed over the several decades Canada has been within it, and less still has been done on imagining what future may exist post age of apology.

Following the selection of the apologies, the written transcripts of these apologies were retrieved. In the case of the Harper apology, the entirety of the apology was published in written form at the time of the speech in the House. For Trudeau's unmarked burial apology, the recording of the statement was transcribed and reviewed several times for clarity. Recordings of the apologies discussed are widely available

online. Coding for the CDA of the texts was done by hand, with pre-existing and emergent themes being coded throughout. Initially, starting at the broadest level and working toward a narrower analysis, the apologies were analyzed according to the macro level of CDA. Important topics at the macro level that were considered were the impact of the TRC, the "crisis" nature of the re-location of unmarked burials, and the broader structures of Canadian settler colonial patterns of "reconciliation" and Indigenous-Crown relations. The mezzo level came second with consideration for where, when, and to whom the apologies were given and in which way they were delivered (formal/ informal, read from a script, offered in response to a prompt or a media question etc.) Finally, the texts were read at the closest (micro) level for syntax, linguistic devices/ components, voice, and labels used. Although all three layers of analysis influence and co-construct each other, a concerted effort was made throughout this work to focus on the particular level and scale of analysis at hand.

As will be explored more within the findings section of this article, several important themes and points of difference and similarity emerged through analysis of these apologies. Temporal Distance, Policy as Perpetrator, Event over Structure, and Moves Towards Innocence all emerged as critical themes within the discourses that these apologies belong to.

Findings

Temporal Distance

Harper premised his apology for residential schools by naming the residential school program a "sad chapter" in Canadian history, and effectively communicated that by apologizing, he was firmly closing that chapter. As readers and listeners of this apology, many members of settler colonial society would comprehend “chapter” as a discrete, well-bordered, and succinct event (Dorrell, 2009; Anderson et al, 2012). Chapter also conjures memories of lengthy history textbooks, which can be closed and also frequently can be left unattended to collect dust on a bookshelf. Chapters are *over t**here*- up on that bookshelf, lost in a high school history text, and overall, comfortably away from the *here* and the *now* of settler colonial Canada. The use of the language of "chapter" is misleading and insidious because it obscures how colonial power imbalances and damages to culture and health of Indigenous Peoples related to this program are persistent and have an active role in the contemporary. Closing the chapter, as Harper attempted, did nothing to eliminate the inequalities and colonial attitudes that persist to the present day.

Within a matter of moments, Trudeau in his apology to the Cowessess First Nation uses the word “past” six times. In Harper’s apology for residential schools, he also used the word “past” six times. This label of time spent and time that is removed shapes how the audiences of these apologies connect to and understands the violence being apologized for. As Coulthard explores in his critiques of apology and the politics of recognition more broadly, the practice of distancing between colonialism as a “past” and contemporary colonialism is a political strategy to incorrectly position contemporary settlers and leaders as somehow innocent (2014). The distance between the apology

and the act that they are apologizing for matters and this temporal distance is a construct that is anchored to intentional choices in language within these apologies.

Trudeau indicates that residential schools are “a piece of our past, of decades past” (Trudeau, 2021). This intentional written in correction of not just “past” but “decades past” is another move to distance the apology from the act and this distancing is meant to lessen the perceived level of responsibility that the current government must take on. However, as many Indigenous activists and leaders indicated in response, residential schools and these recent rediscoveries of burials just further demonstrate how much of a contemporary issue colonial violence and the ongoing trauma of the residential school experience is. Not just in the past, but in the present, residential schools are physical and material reminders of the often-invisible structures of inequality and violence that underpin settler colonialism.

Anderson et al, in their research on the discourse of the apology argues that, “a textual analysis of the PM’s discourse reveals linguistic features that try to distance the government from its responsibility in the residential school system” (Anderson et al, 2012: 578). Although she does not specifically highlight the words “sad chapter” Anderson’s point connects to this language in how it is designed to distance, both temporally and physically, the current administration and the spaces of the residential schools. Anderson further argues that Harper’s apology was written in such a way “to construct a particular reality of both the government’s role in residential schools and the nature of Canadian diversity” (Anderson, 2012: 571). Harper’s apology was designed to close not open and in the language of “sad chapter” he revealed a contemporary state anxiety of definitively naming an end to colonialism and articulating a particular reality

where residential schools are treated as historical mistakes and not symptoms of the ongoing structures of colonialism and violence perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples.

As is the case with the recent apologies offered by Trudeau regarding the discovery of unmarked burials at various residential school sites, the Harper apology was contextualized with a number of important social and political events. Firstly, his apology marked the undertaking of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and also the settlement process for supporting and compensating survivors. As Dorrell argues, the apology also came as the international community was observing Canada's vote against and subsequent refusal to sign onto the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (2008). This apology, although much needed and important, also appears to be timed fairly strategically and again raises the question of what the true motivation or intention behind the apology is. The same question echoes in the hollowness of Trudeau's most recent apologies as although the news of thousands of unmarked burials of children killed at residential schools was an immediate and new shocking piece of information for settler colonial society, the knowledge that thousands were missing and killed was not new. The TRC report contains as entire volume devoted to the topic of missing and murdered children and generations of survivors, their families, and their communities, have also testified to the brutality faced and the number of children killed (TRC, 2015). Instead of an immediate engagement following the publishing of the TRC report, Trudeau's apology came as the settler colonial media was full of coverage of the graves themselves (Dangerfield, 2021).

Policy as Perpetrator

As mentioned at the onset of this article, one important piece of apology work is giving voice to responsibility and owning actions. "Good" apologies identify that the person apologizing is responsible and indicates that they are also responsible for the repair work moving forward (Derrida, 1979; Coulthard, 2014; Ahmed, 2014). When these apologies were offered, perhaps the language of "apologize on behalf of Canada" in Harper's apology or "we are sorry" for Trudeau acts as a signal that they are taking responsibility. However, there is another guilty party that is pointed to in both the Harper and Trudeau apologies: policy. In the language of these apologies, policy is anthropomorphized and held up as the true perpetrator of the violence. Harper mentions policy three times in his apology and at each instance names the profound consequences of the "policy." What isn't included is the recognition that policies are written by Peoples in positions of power and privilege who write and enforce such policies to safeguard their own positions of privilege and to validate violence and oppression. Instead of naming architects and administrators of the residential school system, Harper's apology indicated that "the policy" committed harm and did terrible things, without much unpacking of who created those policies and why, nor any attention to how the same policies that made residential schools legal, persist today.

Within Trudeau's apology, the blameworthy policy returns. In the opening 18 seconds in spoken time or first two sentences when read of his apology, Trudeau identifies "this was an incredibly harmful government **policy**" (Trudeau, 2021; bolded for emphasis). He continues to state that "a **policy** that ripped kids from their homes" existed in Canada's "past" and implements the same linguistic strategy of Harper's apology to clearly indicate that the policy is the real actor to place blame on here.

Trudeau's apology to Cowessess First Nation also places blame on Child and Family Services, indicating that CFS "continued to take them away from their families…. continued to remove them from their language and culture" (Trudeau, 2021). Once again, naming Policy as the perpetrator, places some much-needed distance between the contemporary government and the heinous acts he is somewhat apologizing for. His indication that the policy did things and the policy hurt people demonstrates that even in the act of apology, he is producing avenues to reduce the blameworthiness of himself and his administration.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

Residential schools upheld inherently racist colonial objectives and attitudes and resulted in systematic genocidal violence (Anderson, 2012; Carter, 2003; Kelm, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Haig-Brown, 1988; de Leeuw, 2009; Alfred, 2010). Expressions of Indigenous cultural identity by Indigenous children while at residential school were fiercely punished (Alfred, 2010; Furniss, 1992; de Leeuw, 2009, Reagan, 2010; Chrisjohn and Young, 1997; Chrisjohn and Young, 1996; Miller, 2000; Alfred, 2010; Haig-Brown, 1988; Partridge, 2010). The dominant focus within the existing literature on residential schools is historical accounts of the mistreatment of Indigenous children (Furniss, 1992; De Leeuw, 2009, Reagan, 2010; Haig-Brown, 1988; Kelm, 1996; Million, 2000; Milloy, 1999). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission increased settler knowledge of residential school experiences for Indigenous children and for their families and communities (Newhouse, 2016; Niezen, 2013; Niezen, 2016). The commission's final report is a critically important repository for survivor testimony and

historical analysis of the residential schools program (Niezen, 2013). It also legitimizes experiences of survivors and their families, which have been known by Indigenous communities for generations, yet have been largely ignored or underestimated by the settler colonial majority. The TRC detailed not only the violence faced by children in the schools, but also indicated how residential schools were connected to larger projects of colonialism and imperialism: namely the assimilation and/ or genocide of Indigenous Peoples and the theft of Indigenous land and resources (Niezen, 2013). Prior to the TRC, discourse on residential schools was dominated by the State, with Indigenous survivors attempting to access reparations and give voice to their experiences through the court system on a case-by-case basis (TRC Introduction, 2015:1).

The federal government of Canada established the TRC with a mandate to investigate and listen to the experiences of survivors of the residential schools program (Regan, 2010). The commission, following multiple sessions across the country and a lengthy fact gathering process, produced both an interim and a final report, outlining findings and making possible suggestions for next steps in the reconciliation process (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, Regan, 2010). The TRC is perhaps the most important or most central text within the ongoing discourse on reconciliation and the residential schools program. The TRC robustly outlined the history of Canadian colonialism and collected more than 6000 testimonies and millions of pages of documentation to illustrate the collective and individual experiences of Indigenous children who attended residential schools (TRC, 2015). The TRC, in its

recommendations or "Calls to Action" stresses the importance of reconciliation, commemoration and further Indigenous driven research (TRC, 2015).

The TRC, has ushered in a state focus on reconciliation as the current method and narrative for Indigenous- state relations (Coulthard, 2007; Newhouse, 2016). Coulthard, in a critique of the politics of recognition, questions how reconciliation is possible and who stands to benefit really from this pursuit, without any commitment to return stolen Indigenous land and resources. (Coulthard, 2007). He questions how meaningful reconciliation can ever take place when it doesn't disrupt the inequalities and seizures of Indigenous land and resources that are so central to the colonial project (Coulthard, 2007). Coulthard (2007) considers how the discourse of reconciliation may be working more for the status quo/ state interests than for Indigenous Peoples. Echoing Coulthard, I reject the apparent neutrality and innocence of the language of reconciliation and the taken for granted nature of "reconciliation" as a political management strategy (2007; also Alfred, 2010). Unfortunately, reconciliation has been absorbed in many ways into the meaning-stripped and dislocated government-speak of federal politics. The power and action-focused nature of “reconciliation” as a move or a responsibility has been severed from the word reconciliation as a signal. What work is reconciliation doing when it is spoken by members of the settler government? This complex question cannot be satisfactorily unraveled in this paper, but certainly includes how the language of reconciliation is moral signalling and in many ways functions to close instead of open discourses on settler responsibilities. Dorrell frames this issue as “focusing on closure rather than disclosure” within apologies, which seems to be the

case with the most recent experiences with apologies regarding the rediscovered burials (2009: 30).

Event Over Structure

Many researchers examining settler colonialism in Canada stress the importance of viewing colonialism as a structure instead of an event (Coulthard, 2014; Wolfe, 2008; Kauanui, 2016; Barker, 2011). Naming colonialism as a structure allows for a consideration of how it persists, changes, and remains largely intact, even while historical context changes. Colonialism is not a moment or event that can be located, it is a structure that coordinates the lived realities of all Peoples who reside in this place. However, what emerges as a central theme within the discourses of the apologies offered by Harper and Trudeau is the opposite- a focus on naming colonialism as an event instead of a structure. Colonialism is variously referred to as a dark chapter, a piece our distant past, Canada's history, a terrible mistake, and other very clear ways of defining borders and time bracketing the "event" of colonialism.

To be fair, there is much more work being done in the language of Trudeau's apology to demonstrate the connective tissue that binds the past to the present. However, throughout the apology, the focus on past as something that is over reads throughout the syntax. Perhaps most striking in Trudeau's language is the phrasing of "the terrible terrible mistake that we willingly undertook in the past' (Trudeau, 2021). At this point in his apology, Trudeau is suggesting that the apprehension of Indigenous children was the work of government agencies in the past and the baggage that the word "mistake" carries with it is considerable. Reminiscent to a car accident or a building collapse, calling century-old and still enforced racist policies of child

apprehension that disproportionately harm Indigenous children and families, a “mistake” is a concerted effort to evacuate the act of any responsibility. The “mistake”, as constructed in this discourse is a moment of error, an incident that caused harm as opposed to a much more appropriate description of colonial-based and perpetuating racist policies.

Towards Innocence

When analyzing the most recent Federal government responses and apologies regarding the unmarked burials discovered in several residential school sites across Canada, Tuck and Yang’s “moves towards settler innocence” are subtly interwoven into the language used (2014). Instead of reading or sounding like a commitment, the apology sounds like a beleaguered mea culpa. There is an exhaustion in how the apologies is offered. An exhaustion with the finds, with having to answer for them, and more broadly with the work of apology. Part of the challenge for the Canadian government lies in the balancing act between the seemingly irreconcilable notions of Canada as moral, non-violent, and tolerant and at the same time also the perpetrators of genocidal violence, enacted through the bodies of Indigenous children. The apology, at least in theory, must hold both of these narratives in a way that preserves Canada’s sense of self.

An End of An Era or More of the Same?

At time of writing, Trudeau has most recently issued a surfing apology. Following the much-touted establishment of Canada’s newest national holiday- Truth and Reconciliation Day, instead of accepting the invitation of Chief Cassimir to be alongside survivors at the place where the first unmarked burials were relocated, Trudeau decided

it was appropriate to take his family surfing in Tofino. Although Trudeau argued that everyone deserves time off and after a hard campaign, he needed time to reconnect with his family, the choice to do this reconnection on the day designed to be spent reflecting on children that were killed (and denied any opportunities at all to be with their families) reads as tone deaf and callous. As is the case in so many components of the apology, there is perhaps distance between the optics of this most recent apology and the spirt or intentions of both the apology and the actions that necessitated it.

Although it has not taken place at time of writing, many within both Indigenous activist and leadership circles, and now even the Canadian Government have called for the Pope to issue a much overdue apology on behalf of the Catholic Church for their role within the genocidal violence of the residential schools program. The Canadian Bishops have already issued an apology and on a more local level parish priests have also engaged in apology work, but the silence on the part of the Vatican remains deafening, especially within the social norms and expectations for public behaviour of institutions that operate during this era of apology.

Conclusion

Canada, founded on colonialism, expanded through violence, and defined by the relentless evictions of Indigenous Peoples off of their land and out of white spaces must recognize that although the residential schools have officially been closed, the attitudes and oppressions that underpin the foundations of these schools remain intact (Barker, 2011; Regan, 2011). The crisis of the burials being relocated has caused shock waves throughout settler colonial Canada and has led to a national moment of reckoning. Reading and unpacking the apologies offered by the State is essential to understanding

how settler colonial Canada is making sense of and accounting for this violence committed against children. As discussed at the onset of this paper, the unmarked burials signal that Canada's national sense of self is in direct opposition to how Canada has always treated and continues to treat Indigenous children, families, and nations. The practices and conventions of official apologies are a window into how the Canadian State grapples with these inconsistencies.

The politics of settler apology are powerful and move largely invisibly or under analyzed. Apologies are never neutral and importantly function to clarify who has wronged and who has been wronged, within various historical and contemporary contexts. Beyond assigning these social positions, however apologies hold great power to either radically change the course of events and relationships or to double down on denials of responsibility and ownership of harms caused. By recognizing the meaning-making housed within apology, this paper and other work that this paper is in conversation with seeks to pinpoint the political and social heavy lifting that these apologies are designed to do. By close reading the language, social context, and delivery of these apologies, the way in which settler colonial society and the Canadian government react to and attempt to politically manage moments of crisis regarding colonialism can be laid bare.

Perhaps the age of apology is waning. Optimistically, perhaps even the State realizes that empty apologies will not have positive long-term results. However, maybe the age persists, and the nature of apologies are just slowly changing. It remains to be seen as the future discoveries of more unmarked burials become known if the government will offer more apologies as public political maneuvers, or if the Cowessess

First Nation apology will remain the final public apology, with future apologies offered privately on a nation-to-nation basis.

Based on the language, context, and delivery of the most recent apology offered by Prime Minister Trudeau, my sense is that the age of apology is evolving and responding to some of the critiques and complaints levelled against shallow apologies. The most recent apology, although still not going far enough to name the persistent responsibility of the contemporary Canadian State in colonial violence, at least was more specific and targeted in identifying who had been harmed and what actions caused the harm. It is important to note that the apology is also being offered directly to a nation- the Cowessess First Nation in a way that recognizes the sovereignty of that nation, as opposed to the broad and vague nature of apologies issued to all Indigenous people. Although not precisely identified in the apology itself, the most recent apology was associated with the availability of limited research funding to support Indigenous nations engaging in ground penetrator radar searches and archival research. These shifts in the specificity and the commitment to action of the most recent apology are important to note. As more discoveries are made and as more Calls to Action with the TRC are acted upon, it will become clearer how the age of apology is either persisting or waning within Indigenous-Crown relations in Canada.

Afterword

Although this work is still very fresh, I am pleased to be able to look back on this paper and offer a comment on how this paper relates to my dissertation's overarching themes surrounding good work as a settler researcher, how colonial violence is framed

and managed within settler colonial Canada, and the power of critical discourse analysis to unsettle often seemingly innocuous language and narratives. My research to date has been interested in how the Canadian state reconciles its sense of self as just, peaceful, and moral, with its contemporary and historical reality as a deeply racist and colonial state, premised on and perpetuating various structural inequalities and systems of oppression. One change that has taken place since researching and writing this article, is that the current Pope, Pope Francis, has issued an apology on behalf of the Catholic Church (Taube, 2022). For his apology, Pope Francis invited representatives from Inuit, Metis, and First Nations populations, and had meetings with all of the representatives. This apology, although not offered by a sitting Canadian Prime Minister was also acknowledged as an important moment in Canadian reconciliation. Many within the delegation of representatives spoke in the mainstream media of their cautious optimism that the apology was the beginning of new and much-needed commitments by the Catholic Church, while others echoed familiar critiques of the importance of actions, and not just apologies that are nonperformative in nature (Caron, 2022). It remains to be seen how the Catholic Church will respond to repeated criticism and calls for the immediate release of Church records that would allow for the relocation of children that were killed or disappeared from residential schools. I would in the future like to unpack the Pope's apology as well, to tease out the meanings embedded in this most recent apology regarding residential schools. This article offers an opportunity for me to explore the flexibility and cognitive dissonance necessary for the Canadian State to simultaneously apologize for colonial violence and also maintain its presumed innocence.

When engaging in reflexive analysis of my work in this article, I am cognizant of how the discoveries of unmarked burials at residential schools remains a developing and expanding issue. For the Harper apology in 2008, there was Indigenous engagement and involvement within the apology, and I do acknowledge that this apology was important and wanted for many Indigenous Peoples. However, I have not in this research so far, analyzed how involved or engaged Indigenous Peoples were in the most recent apology offered by Trudeau. As I mentioned, I would also like to engage with the Pope's most recent apology. I would like to take up questions of land and territory within the discourses of apology within this work.

References

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Alfred, T. 2010. Foreword to: *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. P. Regan (Author)Vancouver: UBC Press.

Anderson, Willow. 2012. “Indian Drum in the House: A Critical Discourse Analysis of an Apology for Canadian Residential Schools and the Public’s Response”. *The International Communication Gazette*. 74(6): 571-585.

Bannerji, Himani. 1993. *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Bentley, Tom. 2019. “Settler State Apologies and the Elusiveness of Forgiveness: The Purification Ritual That Does Not Purify” *Contemporary Political Theory*. 19(3): 381-403.

Caron, Cassidy. 2022. “Residential School Survivors Deserve Action after Pope’s Apology.” *Hill Times*, no. 1918 (2022): 3.

CBC News. June 2021. “Sask. First Nation announces hundreds of unmarked graves found at former residential school site” Accessed online June 24 20221.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Indigenous Americas: Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Coulthard, Glen. 2007. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition in Canada". *Contemporary Political Theory* 6(1): 437-460.

Corntassel, Jeff; Chaw-win-is; T'lakwadzi. 2009. " Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation." *English Studies in Canada*. 35(1): 137-159.

Dangerfield, Katie. 2021**. “**TRC requested $1.5M to find graves at residential schools. The feds denied the money in 2009” Global News Accessed Online June 3, 2021.

de Leeuw, S. 2009. “‘If Anything is to Be Done with the Indian, We Must Catch Him Very Young’: Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children and the Geographies of Indian Residential Schooling in British Columbia, Canada”. *Children’s Geographies*. 7(2): 123-140.

de Leeuw, S. 2007. "Artful Places: Creativity and Colonialism in British Columbia's

Indian Residential Schools" PhD Dissertation. Ontario: Queen's University.

Derrida, J. 2001. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London: Routledge.

Dickson, Courtney and Bridgette Watson. 2021. **"**Remains of 215 Children Found Buried at Former B.C. Residential School, First Nation Says" CBC News Accessed online May 28, 2021.

Dorrell, Matthew. 2009. "From Reconciliation to Reconciling: Reading What "We Now Recognize" in the Government of Canada's 2008 Residential Schools Apology." *ESC* 35.1: 27-45.

Final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

Foucault, M. 1991. *Questions of Method in the Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures and an Interview with Michel Foucault*. Eds. G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller. Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Furniss, E. 1992. *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School, 1891-1920*.

Gaertner, D. 2020. *The Theatre of Regret: Literature, Art, and Politics of Reconciliation*.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Anchor Books.

Goldberg, David. 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Hopper, Tristan. 2021. "How Canada forgot about more than 1,308 graves at former residential schools" Globe and Mail. Accessed Online July 1, 2021.

Hurlbert, Margot. 2020. "'Now Is the Time to Start Reconciliation, and We Are the Peoples to Do So', Walking the Path of an Anti-Racist White Ally." *Societies (Basel, Switzerland)* 12 (2): 31–40.

Kelm, M. 1996. "A Scandalous Procession: Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950". *Native Studies Review*. 11(2): 51- 88.

Kelowna Now. 2022. **"**A timeline of events since the finding of unmarked graves in Kamloops Last May" Published online, author unknown. Accessed March 21st. 2022 at: kelownanow.com

Lawrence, B. 2002. "Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indigenous

Resistance in Eastern Canada". In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 21-47.

Matsunaga, Jennifer. 2021. "Carefully Considered Words: The Influence of Government on Truth Telling about Japanes Canadian Internment and Indian Residential Schools." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 53(2): 91-113.

Mawani, R. 2002. "In Between and Out of Place: Mixed-race Identity, Liquor and the Law in British Columbia, 1850-1913". In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 47-71.

Million, Dian. 2000. "Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in Indian Residential School Histories". *Canadian Woman Studies*. 20(2). Accessed online at http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/cws/article/viewFile/7615/6746 on March 26th, 2015. .

Oikawa, Mona. 2002. "Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subject(s) of the Internment'". In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Ed. Sherene Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 71-99.

Palmater, Pam, 2021. "How Serious is the Federal Government About Reconciliation?" CTV News. Accessed online December, 2021 at: Pamela Palmater: How serious are the federal leaders about reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples? | CTV News.

Pratt, Geraldine. 2005. "Abandoned Women and Spaces of Exception" *Antipode*. The 2005 Antipode Lecture. 1053-1077.

Razack, Sherene. 1998. *Looking White Peoples in the Eye: Gender, Race and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Razack, Sherene. 2002. *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Toronto: Between the Lines.

Razack, Sherene. 2011. "Timely Deaths: Medicalizing the Deaths of Aboriginal Peoples in Police Custody" *Law, Culture, and the Humanities*. 9(2): 352-374.

Razack, S. 2012. "Memorializing Colonial Power: The Death of Frank Paul" *Law and Social Inquiry* 37(4): 908-932.

Regan, P. 2010. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Sibley, D. 1995**.** *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.* London: Routledge.

Taube, Michael. 2022. “Pope Francis and a Dark Chapter of Canadian History; A Welcome and Heartfelt Apology for Catholics’ Role in the Country’s Abusive Residential School System.” *The Wall Street Journal. Eastern Edition*. 2022.

Thobani, S. 1998. “Nationalizing Citizens, Bordering Immigrant Women: Globalization and the Racialization of Citizenship in Late Twentieth Century Canada” PhD Dissertation, Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.

Thobani, S. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2008. “Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide.” In *Empire, Colony, Genocide* (1st ed., p. 102–). Berghahn Books

Dissertation Conclusion

Introduction

The dissertation format for this project has allowed for both a snapshot of the work and contributions I have completed while in my PhD program and also my own reflections on the initial project and where my work will head following my learning from that not completed work. This conclusion will bring together the findings from the articles housed within this dissertation, reengage with the initial research aims of this work, and finally offer some insight into where future work in this area is needed and how this dissertation contributes to these ongoing conversations. This conclusion also demonstrates some of the central learnings that I have gleaned from the work of ending the initial project and reconfiguring my work. This conclusion, along with the introduction is provided as a means of not only illuminating the connections between and across the three articles of this dissertation, but to also give clarity regarding how I am positioning myself and my research contributions within the broader area of critiques of settler colonialism and colonial violence. Through this conclusion I hope to clarify how I hope to continue to position myself and contribute to the existing scholarship on settler colonialism, Canadian national sense of self, the meaning-making of places, and discourses within and about the settler colonial State.

The three articles presented together in this dissertation demonstrate a research focus within my work on unpacking what is taken for granted within settler colonial discourses. The articles are united in their interest in better understanding settler management of the discourse of colonial violence and a focus on contributing to ongoing work in research to expose and combat colonialism. The three articles also

share an approach- that of critical discourse analysis CDA (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak,2001). Throughout these articles, I have explored the potential within this approach to engage with and contribute to conversations regarding colonialism, reconciliation, and the social meaning of colonial violence, without also engaging in potentially harmful extractive-focused research.

The first two articles in this dissertation have already been published, while the third piece has been presented and discussed with peers and colleagues at two academic conferences. I hope to submit this final article for publication and will use it as a springboard for further investigations into how the era of apology has changed and continues to change as the discourses around settler responsibility and apology widens and becomes more complex. The initial research and literature review that underpinned the project that was not completed will also be productive in supporting future research on places, particularly with a focus on how places are socially and culturally managed in order to support public mourning and commemoration.

In addition to the analytical components that come out of this dissertation and are foundational in my future work, I will continue to explore and analyze within qualitative research methods and design how settler researchers can be more explicit and intentional in how choices in design and how research is done is also a productive of the colonial society and academy that they are living, learning, and working in. These two interests can and will move together in my work, where I continue to better understand best practices within research as a settler and also continue to find taken for granted components of settler colonial discourse that needs to unpacked and problematized.

Project Redesign and the End of the Initial Project

My work from the beginning of my PhD program until now has changed substantially, because of my own growth and learning as a junior academic and also through the experiences that are much broader than this project or even academia. The important shifts that have happened through the publishing of the TRC Final Report (TRC, 2015), the Covid-19 pandemic, and most recently the rediscovery of unmarked burials of thousands of children killed at residential schools all took place while I worked on this project. These important social and political points of change and reckoning have made my academic work what it is today and has radically opened up my own research to more reflexive examinations of my own responsibilities and limitations as a settler colonial researcher interested in contributing to anti-colonial work.

The initial PhD project, which I devoted close to a decade of ongoing collaboration, trust building, and redesigning was not completed. Given the reckoning and revaluation that the rediscovery of the burials of children on the grounds of residential schools, I am not sure that the initial project would make sense again in the future. However, the partnerships and opportunities for future collaboration with the Tseshaht First Nation remain, strengthened instead of weakened by the decision to cease work on the initial project. I have demonstrated through actions instead of words, that my responsibilities and accountability are with the nation and the community of survivors and knowledge keepers whom I am fortunate to have been able to have meaningful conversations. I will continue to support the band in anyway that I can to

work on projects that make sense and meet community needs. The experience of ending the project at the moment felt like a complete disaster, but on the other side of that collapse, I can see the important learning and meaning produced through the work-in-progress that led up to that point. Learning effective approaches to collaborative research design, fully committing to respectful engagement with community-based protocols and approval processes, building trust and relationships as not only a researcher interested in collaborating but also as a settler, working to support and enact reconciliation.

The incomplete project also gave me invaluable real-world experience and familiarity with some of the issues and embedded colonialism found within the academic ethics process. What I learned through navigating the inconsistencies between what the ethics board demanded and what the First Nation needed was training that I wouldn't have otherwise got and will certainly inform my continued research into anti-colonial approaches to qualitative research and my analysis of ways that settlers can engage appropriately and meaningfully in research on settler colonialism. I learned through doing the work of settler reflexivity, as I went back and examined the points of inconsistency between the goals of the initial project and the pressures of settler academic research. I found the meaning-making housed within the process of ending and analyzing a project that no longer represented the needs and priorities of the nation I was collaborating with and in the process unsettled a great deal of the colonial goals and priorities that were shaping me as a settler researcher.

Submitting this incomplete and ultimately abandoned project as a component of my dissertation was initially uncomfortable for me as a researcher. It felt as though I

was illuminating my own personal failings or presenting my mistakes on a platter for outsider analysis and critique. However, as I worked through the process of analyzing the incomplete work, I realized how absolutely necessary it was for me to discuss this process directly in this dissertation. Meaning was generated within the incomplete project and even though the conclusion of the project was universes away from what I had hoped and imagined for it, I present this incomplete project as a demonstration of my learning, and genuine commitment to doing good work as a settler. I had to sit with the frustration and sadness of the project ending and use those emotions to not only make sense of my experiences, but to forensically examine what had led to that point, after nearly a decade of planning, collaboration, and good intentions. The project ending opened up analytical space in my work to consider more deeply what my own position and the ways in which settlers such as myself engage in collaborative research means for ongoing efforts to dismantle colonialism. The project continuing on its initial trajectory wouldn't have caused me to reconsider the implications of extractive-based research conducted by settlers and wouldn't have allowed me the space to consider alternative methods for engaging with critiques of settler colonialism.

The initial project ended with a genuine desire to continue to support and be responsive to the Tseshaht First Nation. In my most recent conversations with a close contact within the band, I recommitted to being available for band-led and prioritized work. I remain committed to my initial interest in leveraging my privilege and academic-based research training to amplify, support, and advocate for Indigenous-led social research that is culturally safe, relevant, and needed. Ending the project when it was no

longer fulfilling these criteria allows me to continue to grow as a potential research collaborator in the future.

Where previously, my research had emphasized analyzing Indigenous lived experiences and knowledge (which at the time felt and sounded like the most appropriate approach to the work I wanted to do) my work necessarily turned away from asking more of Indigenous participants and instead placed emphasis on what researchers and what the settler colonial state was doing. Instead of relying on the extraction of data from Indigenous experts, this project became an opportunity to bring greatly clarity to the components of settler colonialism that are so commonplace or presumed to be so well intentioned, that they often disappear (Calderon, 2016; Noble, 2015; Tuck, 2009; Regan, 2010; Barker, 2012). This allowed me to deepen my exploration into how and where colonialism saturates expectations within settler research about data collection, analysis, and most importantly the idea of productive or publishable material (Daigle, 2019; de Leeuw et al, 2013; Wilson, 2019) In this dissertation and its articles, I pick up critical discourse analysis as one alternative research approach that allows me, as a white settler, to contribute to ongoing dismantling of colonialism within academia, without relying on potentially extractive approaches. This dissertation also allowed me to unpack the emancipatory potential within failure and refusal, not as obstacles to good work, but as tools to rely on when the priorities and expectations of settler academic research potentially conflict with the priorities, needs, and desires of Indigenous research participants and collaborators (Simpson, 2007).

Even with the dramatic re-framing of my research, certain key themes and areas of research have remained. I stay committed to identifying how race/gender/place come to be known and understood and how settler colonial Canada tells stories to its members. I will always remain curious about how particular sites, locations, and areas absorb the colonial violence and misogyny that are imprinted on them. I continue to examine the deployment of settler innocence in the way the Canadian State responds to the colonial history and contemporary inequity of Canadian society. This foundational research and reading in these areas, which underpinned my initial project design also echoes in the articles housed within this dissertation.

As a white settler living and working on Indigenous land and territory, I have always found myself drawn to how I might engage in research that would contribute to and amplify Indigenous research and priorities. I feel a responsibility to leverage the privilege I have, to do work and amplify work that directly impacts the local Indigenous nations on whose land I have lived and grown, in positive ways. Jeff Corntassel, in his reflections on insurgent education and Indigenizing the academy quotes from George Manuel, a Shushwap elder and leader (Corntassel, 2011). Corntassel quotes Manuel directly stating, “we will steer our own canoe, but we will invite others to help with the paddling’ By helping with the paddling, insurgent education is about making one’s research priorities directly relevant and centered on the needs of local Indigenous communities” (Corntassel, 2011:1). Corntassel stresses the importance of finding collaborative opportunities for cross-cultural exchange and understanding. This PhD research, both the initial research project and my exploration of alternative research methods that may be more appropriate for settler researchers offering critiques of the

settler colonial state, picks up this spirit of cross-cultural exchange. I will remain committed in my future research in dismantling colonialism within my own methods, my own research questions, and my own contributions to this research area. Part of the humbling experience of the failure of the initial project was illuminating how part of producing work that is less oppressive and less colonial in nature is recognizing that good collaborative work with Indigenous populations can and sometimes must fail. The measure of whether or not a project is good or successful is not measured in how publishable or complete the "findings" of the research is, but instead in how the work centered on Indigenous priorities, needs, and desires.

As described in the introduction of this dissertation, the political and social changes that occurred while my PhD research was in progress dramatically shaped the need to cease and reimagine my work. The publication of the TRC and the Calls to Action, the discovery of the unmarked burials at residential schools, and the ongoing activism and Indigenous-led and directed research that has followed these discoveries in the spring and summer of 2021 and onwards continues to shape the contemporary discourses around settler colonialism in Canada (Warburton, 2021). Even while writing this conclusion, more discoveries at residential school sites have been made since I have written the introduction, with the responses to and political management of these discoveries changing dramatically in less than a year. Many within the settler colonial media and academia alike have described this period as a moment of racial reckoning in Canada- an important tipping point that prevents attitudes, ignorance, and disappearances of the genocidal might of the residential schools from returning (Warburton, 2021; Blackstock and Palmater, 2021). It remains to be seen what the

long-term shifts and results of these discoveries will be. They have fundamentally caused numerous levels of reflection for settlers working in academia and have necessarily resulted in more recognition of how Indigenous knowledge, testimony, and research needs are too often overlooked or marginalized within dominant settler research. This transformation, happening in the middle of my work in this area demanded my project to end and change and although this was difficult and daunting at the time, has allowed me greater clarity around how I can contribute to and support ongoing efforts to expose and dismantle the taken for granted nature of colonial and structural inequality in our society and within academia.

The length of this project, from years of initial work through to the production of these articles, has also spanned considerable changes within my own university and other institutions across Canada. As mentioned in my introduction, this project spanned revisions to the university ethics process for work such as my initial project. The university-based ethics process was updated to have separate and more extensive processes for the assessment of the ethics of Indigenous-based research. Introduced during this project, Memorial University has introduced a “Policy on Research Impacting Indigenous Populations” (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2020), which details how research agreements, communication, data ownership, and records keeping must occur with Indigenous-focused research. As the new ethics procedure for Indigenous-based research is much more supportive of good social research with and for Indigenous Peoples, it will be important to see how the nature of Indigenous-based research emerging from Memorial University may change or reflect these new developments.

The dissertation is a living document in that it is ultimately unfinished. It is a snapshot of progress and change over my PhD research, but it is also a testament to how much has changed within less than a decade of research and writing on settler colonialism. I have acknowledged in the prologues and afterwords of the articles in this dissertation, some of the context that supported the research and some of the changes or additions I would now make, given the clarity and learning that I have gained since initially writing them. The manuscript style grants that opportunity for me to not only demonstrate findings and contributions but to also show growth and change in my own thinking and approach over time. Although not a traditional field research-based dissertation, this dissertation demonstrates my developing and evolving areas of expertise and how my research will engage within broader areas of contemporary settler-colonialism, discourses of Canadian national identity, and anti-colonial research.

Major Findings in the Articles

While these three articles included in this dissertation focus on specific case studies (hitchhiking on the Highway of Tears, ugliness as a political category applied to MMIWG2SG women in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, and federal apologies for colonial violence) they are united in the work of unpacking taken for granted cases of settler colonial society making sense of colonial violence. A major finding in all three of these articles is how the settler colonial state tells stories to itself of colonial violence that distances the State from the violence itself. In the case of the Highway of Tears billboards, the violence is anthropomorphized as a singular shadowy killer, as opposed

to a structure of gendered, classed, and racialized violence that disproportionately victimizes Indigenous women. In Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, the discourse and category of "ugly" is mobilized in order to demonstrate the victim's own responsibility for the violence they faced, setting up MMIWG2SG as being outside of the bounds of expected and anticipated settler femininity and engaging in "ugly" behaviours that renders them acutely vulnerable to violence. Finally, in the age of apology, where Prime Ministers and government officials offer sweeping apologies with very little action associated, the focus on temporal distance and disassociating the policies from the settler colonial State that wrote and enforced them once again demonstrates the component of settler colonialism that severs obvious instances of colonial violence from the State to maintain settler myths of innocence and tolerance.

The three articles have also taken up three components of settler colonialism that may on face value appear to be quite positive, or at least, constructive attempts to respond to colonial violence. However, as has been explored throughout this dissertation, this apparent neutrality or good intention behind these actions are only shallow and a closer analysis of the content of these responses to colonial violence demonstrates that these moves validate and obfuscate instead of confronting and challenging colonial violence. This dissertation has pushed the analysis back onto settlers and the settler colonial State in an effort to overcome the pitfalls of strictly extractive research or in over-emphasizing damage narratives within studies of settler colonialism (Tuck, 2009; Calderon, 2016). This research has taken apart three taken-for-granted components of how the contemporary settler colonial State has responded to colonial violence of residential schools and MMIWG2SG.

Places and the construction of places of violence have been a central component of all of my research thus far, with an emphasis on how places are tangly and layered through time. Even within things like missing posters, apologies, and billboards, place matters and holds significant meaning. Part of what these critical discourse analysis articles have done is locate and unpack this meaning that is embedded into spaces of violence that these discourses are tethered to. Place will also continue to factor into my ongoing research, with an effort to demonstrate particularly in the case of "historical" places, that these sites continue to coordinate social relations, produce social meaning, and hold substantial power within Canada. Intersections between power, place, and the stories settler colonial Canada tells about itself shapes my ongoing research.

In the Hitchhiking article, I contend that the way in which Indigenous women engaged in "contentious" mobility along the Highway of Tears is important in unpacking the determinants of the gendered and racialized violence in this area. Too often mobility is treated as a neutral behaviour- something that all Peoples do in various forms, with not enough assessment of why and how particular populations engage in mobility in given times and spaces. I also contend in this article that the billboards that have been placed along the Highway of Tears to deter predominately young Indigenous women from hitchhiking speak to the settler colonial State's larger preoccupation with constraining and constructing Indigenous mobility as existing outside of the norms of settler colonial (largely car ownership based) mobility. I pick up apart the discourses reflected in the format, presentation, content, and positioning of the billboards to demonstrate how the State response to instances of MMIWG2SG along the Highway of Tears is centered on blaming Indigenous women for their behaviour (especially their

mobility) as being the cause of the colonial violence they face. Instead of the State response being focussed on supporting Indigenous safety within mobility practices, funding safe and accessible transportation, or adequately funding and supporting investigation and culturally safe policing in the region, the State highlights the decision to hitchhike as being the real culprit. There has been research done on the Highway of Tears and the case of the MMIWG2SG in Northwestern B.C., but virtually no attention has been paid to the billboards, or more broadly, at the way the State and its institutions such as policing have focused on hitchhiking and placed the onus on Indigenous women to change their mobility practices. I will continue in my research to look at other cases in other jurisdictions where mobility, colonialism, violence, gender, and class intersect to see how the findings from this article and research may have broader applications and comparable case studies elsewhere.

In the politics of ugliness article presented as the second piece within this dissertation, my findings are specific to how ugliness and markers of ugliness percolate within the State's actions and inactions toward primarily Indigenous women who were murdered and went missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. I explore ugliness as not just an aesthetic category based on taste or style, but as a political category, steeped in an understanding of desirability on the basis of settler ideals has deployed in order to invalidate or ignore violence perpetrated against Indigenous women. I pick apart ugliness as a category and identify how ugliness is invoked within how the State and its agencies and institutions failed MMIWG2SG within the Downtown Eastside and examine the power of ugliness as a means of normalizing colonial violence. This article explores markers of "ugliness" that are too often applied onto Indigenous women,

particularly when they are located within spaces of exception such as Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Examining missing posters and analyzing how certain assumptions were made of the missing women on the basis of attributed sickness, immorality, and undesirability allowed me in this article to dive into what makes the politics of ugliness so pervasive and so powerful. More importantly, this article questions what the category of ugliness is doing for the settler colonial State and what the State is able to say about itself through the categorization of MMIWG2SG as "ugly" within discourses of colonial violence.

Finally, within the apology-based article, I explore the most recent trajectory of the "age of apology" that the settler colonial State of Canada has remained since the early 1990s (Bentley, 2019; Matsunaga, 2021; Coulthard, 2007). I explore how the recent rediscovery of unmarked burials at the sites of residential schools has caused a new call for and offering of apology by the Prime Minister on behalf of the government of Canada. I analyse in this article how the Canadian State's official apologies have in some way shifted over time, but in many critical ways have remained committed to certain key political management strategies. Some of these strategies I uncovered within my critical discourse analysis of both the Harper apology for residential schools and Trudeau's more recent apology for the unmarked burials include a consistent attempt to distance the colonial violence from the administration- both in terms of time and in terms of who the offenders/ perpetrators of the violence were. I illuminate certain language choices within this article that demonstrate that even after a decade of "progress" according to settler colonial notions of reconciliation, persist across the two apologies. I question in this article who stands to benefit from these apologies. I find

that there is evidence to be seen within the discourses of these apologies that points to how these apologies are offered within a specific political context to respond to a "crisis" within settler colonial society without ultimately impacting the structure of colonialism in any meaningful way. Building on existing literature on apologies and the politics of recognition, I question whether we are approaching the end of the "age of apology" and if we are, what will follow as a new means for the settler State to control the discourses of reconciliation.

As can be seen in these articles, a deeper finding underscores all of this work: that the Canadian state has to work incredibly hard within the discourses of colonial violence to simultaneously acknowledge and respond to the violence and also safeguard the settler colonial state from any dismantling of the existing colonial structure of the State. Even in seemingly innocent or neutral reactions to colonial violence, the settler colonial State frames these responses in such a way to reinscribe colonial stereotypes and anti-Indigenous discrimination, overstate the responsibility or blameworthiness of Indigenous victims of colonial violence, and attempt to distance the State and its institutions from any real responsibility or accountability for this violence.

Analytical Contributions

This dissertation helps to further ongoing conversations regarding how the state manages its self-image, particularly how it manages its self image despite physical evidence of state sanctioned colonial violence. These articles have addressed three high profile cases of colonial violence to deepen understandings of how the settler

colonial State responds to this violence. Where a great deal of the existing literature on colonial violence in Canada has looked more at the lead up to the violence or at the nature of the violence itself, my work in these articles takes a different perspective and lens by examining the "after" of the violence- the discourses that are mobilized in order to account for and to challenge the meaning making of the violence itself. To often, the State's response to violence is treated as neutral or beneficial. There is a need for more analysis of what exactly the discourses are saying and not saying about Canada as a settler colonial State.

One concept that circulates throughout the three articles in this dissertation and within my other work is the idea of how Canada imagines itself is fundamentally different to how it acts and doesn't act toward Indigenous Peoples. Colonialism, as an ongoing structure has allowed for and validated immense levels of violence, perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples and frequently deployed under the settler colonial frames of what is appropriate/desirable/ economically beneficial social behaviour. Canada, as a self-described peaceful, nonviolent, and tolerant nation, engages in significant dissonance in order to hold at the same time contradictory elements of self-image and elements of political and social behaviour. Within the articles of this dissertation, I point to how the State and its institutions mobilize frames within the discourse surrounding these cases of colonial violence, to safeguard and even reinforce Canada's national sense of self.

My work also picks up three examples of discourses that are too often taken at face value or ignored entirely. In all three cases discussed, the actions of the settler-colonial State are usually perceived across settler colonial Canada as "helping" or left under analyzed as seemingly positive. However, there is a danger in not recognizing

how these discourses fit into and are themselves embedded into the structural inequality of colonialism that continues to cause harm and violence to Indigenous Peoples and nations. My work, instead of closely focusing on the violence itself or on the harm of the experiences with violence, looks to the "now what" moment of the settler colonial state attempting to reconcile that violence with its sense of self, in a way that ultimately does nothing to unsettle the persistence of colonialism in Canada.

These three articles focus directly on instances of colonial violence, where the Canadian State and its institutions have perpetrated immense harm on Indigenous Peoples. I am cognizant of how there is too much emphasis within critiques of settler colonialism to focus on harm and damage narratives (Tuck and Yang, 2014; Simpson, 2007). I have worked within both my analysis and in my methodological choices in this project to focus not on the perceptions of loss, lack, or damage of this violence, but to turn my attention back on the actions and the discourses of the State and its institutions. The stories that I tell within these articles are stories of how the Canadian State attempts to reconcile its sense of self (as peaceful, egalitarian, and virtuous) with the immense violence and racism it is predicated on and persists through. I am actively trying to explore colonial violence not as another story of harm, but as a story of the ways in which colonial States attempt to account for, obfuscate, and manage the immense violence they commit. These articles, and their through-thread of discourses of colonial violence runs beside my analysis of the ending of my initial project, to demonstrate my commitment to better understanding how settler researchers fit into the difficult and tangly work of dismantling settler colonialism, within research and within Canadian society.

Methodological Contributions

Another important contribution taken from all three articles is the practical application of critical discourse analysis as a means of tapping into often well buried or concealed settler meaning-making within discourses of colonial violence. The three articles gave me opportunities to explore how CDA would function to assess texts associated with discourses that are spoken, printed on billboards, and housed within missing posters in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. In all three cases, CDA allowed for an untangling of meanings at various levels of analysis, something that I would not have been able to capture with the same degree or scope of focus with more extractive focused approaches premised on extracting data directly from Indigenous Peoples, communities, and nations. This dissertation is as much (if not more) about the how of the research on settler colonialism and violence as the what of the findings I have made in each article and ultimately, my PhD research has been learning and unlearning how my own positionality and embeddedness within settler colonialism shapes and limits my own research and contributions.

CDA has productive applications within settler colonialism for disrupting damage and harm-based narratives by focusing less on lack and loss and more on the actions and inactions of the State and its institutions. The narrowing in on settler narratives and discourses possible within CDA is potentially transformative as it necessitates a closer reading of assumptions that are so ubiquitous, they become invisible to settler society. In an era, as explained in the third article, which is so enmeshed in the politics of

recognition and reconciliation, unpacking discourses becomes critical work in evaluating the depth and legitimacy of State apologies.

Moving Forward

There are two significant avenues forward from this dissertation that I will undertake in my future research. Firstly, this work continues to unsettle colonial violence and disrupt assumed neutrality in State responses to violence perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples and nations. Secondly, from the lived experience of seeing the limitations of extractive-based research and the learning that came from the project that wasn't completed, this dissertation also functions as a springboard toward future analysis of settler colonialism within qualitative social research, particularly research conducted by settlers regarding settler colonialism. These two avenues of investigation are of course deeply connected and questions of how and what settlers can and should research continue to percolate within my future research projects and contributions.

The re-discoveries of the unmarked burials of Indigenous children at residential schools not only reinvigorated nationwide conversations and reflections on the violence of residential schools but also necessarily opened up difficult conversations regarding the ongoing complicity of academia within settler colonialism. These discoveries triggered important and complex self-reflection within universities, academic circles, and within how knowledge is amplified, silenced, or appropriated. The importance of

continuing to analyze and unpack settler colonialism within social research is clear. The collapse of the initial project, the challenges and obstacles that were numerous within designing and mobilizing a project that truly was with and for the Tseshaht First Nation at the time felt like a failing, but ultimately, has resulted in considerable reflexivity and repositioning of myself and my research. The disruption was painful for me when the project unravelled, but the end result is immensely more positive in how I have gained firsthand experience in how settler approaches to research on settler colonialism can (and should) ultimately fail to adequately engage in meaningful work to disrupt the structure of colonialism and have engaged in deeper and more authentic self-reflection of my own position in academia as a white settler. This learning I truly believe would not have been so immediate and so immersive, had the initial project proceeded as intended.

This dissertation also, by nature of the initial project's abrupt end, necessitates my continued exploration of how failure in research can hold emancipatory potential. I have seen firsthand the value in failures in supporting and working towards anti-colonial and anti-oppressive research. Rearticulating failure in settler research away from an assessment of research's contribution and toward a potentially productive outcome for research is an important lesson I take from this work.

The final article, as the most recent of the three articles included in this dissertation, grapples with the ongoing "era of apology" that Canada is firmly entrenched in. It also considers the ongoing settler framing of reconciliation as a political strategy and discourse. These topics continue to be areas for further research, particularly in light of how our settler-colonial State responds to the unmarked burials at

residential schools and also in how the State actions the considerable number of Calls to Action of the TRC and Calls to Justice of the MMIWG2SG Inquiry still not fulfilled. My interest, reading, and writing on apology, reconciliation, and Indigenous-Crown relations continue to shape my ongoing work and future projects, informed by the learning housed within this dissertation.

The initial aim of my PhD program of study was ultimately to do good work as a settler and to contribute to research on places of colonial violence. I wanted to find ways to contribute to the ongoing work and conversation regarding how colonial violence is perpetuated and normalized within our settler colonial society. I wanted to seek out opportunities to better understand spaces of colonial violence, particularly spaces of colonial violence as sites of meaning-making that have persistent power in the contemporary. Although the how of this research changed dramatically, the aim and underlying research questions that informed all of my work have remained. I remain focused on exploring the idea and the markers of "good work" and especially good work that is informed by a critical understanding of how conventions within social research and deeply colonial and shaped (even with often good intentions) in ways that reinscribe instead of challenge colonial power inequalities and exploitation of Indigenous knowledge and lived experiences.

Although this project deviated tremendously from its initial design, the process of ending the initial project and embarking on a more intensive reflection on how colonialism reacts to instances of colonial violence with a simultaneous investigation into anti-colonial design, settler colonial research on itself, and the limitations of extractive focused research has been productive and rewarding. I have presented in

this dissertation a snapshot of my work as new academic in progress- a living and shifting reflection of how my own awareness, thinking, and perspectives have changed over the course of my PhD program. There is a dynamism in this dissertation that I believe would not have been possible if I had managed to pursue the initial project design.

I leave this dissertation, still dissatisfied with what the idea of "good work" truly means within the context of settler colonial researchers such as myself. The experiences of this work have certainly reaffirmed what the significant limitations on settler colonial research are, especially within the confines of colonial academic standards, bureaucracy, and expectations for social research. In the case of this dissertation, doing good work meant not finishing the work. It meant ending a project with the same trust, communication, and openness from its beginning. Doing good work meant actively investigating my own position and privilege within settler colonialism and realizing how these social structures had shaped my project design and desire to do the project I imagined. There is more to be done on good work, to further expand on what the measures or models for good settler research are and must be. This desire to further expand will continue to shape my forthcoming work.

This dissertation encompasses the incomplete initial project, the process of writing and submitting the included articles for peer review, and the work of writing about the meaning-making to be found within even the incomplete project and the shift in my own program of study. It captures a great deal of my developing and evolving research interests and demonstrates how I am contributing as an emerging researcher within the broader areas of critiques of settler colonialism and understandings of

meaning-making around Canadian national sense of self. In this conclusion, I have outlined the analytical and methodological contributions that I have made and point to the directions that I am headed in my future work. I remain as committed as I was when I first approached this work many years ago to how I can engage in good, supportive, and anti-colonial work as a settler researcher, and I will continue to hold myself responsible for seeking out new and better ways to engage in good work for and with Indigenous Peoples and Nations. In the spirit of ongoing responsibility to the nation on whose territory I began the initial project, I will continue to leverage my privilege and work to support the ongoing efforts to unsettle research on settler colonialism.

References

Alfred, T. 2010. Foreword to: *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. P. Regan (Author) Vancouver: UBC Press.

Barker, Adam J. 2012. "Locating Settler Colonialism." *Journal of Colonialism & Colonial History*, *13*(3),

Bentley, Tom. 2019. "Settler State Apologies and the Elusiveness of Forgiveness: The Purification Ritual That Does Not Purify" *Contemporary Political Theory*. 19(3): 381-403.

Blackstock, Cindy & Pamela Palmater. 2021. The Discovery of Unmarked Children's Graves in Canada has Indigenous Peoples Asking: How Many More? *The Guardian (Online)*. Guardian News & Media Limited.

Calderon, Delores. 2016. "Moving from Damage-Centered Research through Unsettling Reflexivity." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. *47*(1): 5–24.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Indigenous Americas: Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Coulthard, Glen. 2007. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition in Canada". *Contemporary Political Theory* 6(1): 437-460.

Corntassel, Jeff. 2011. "Indigenizing the Academy: Insurgent Education and the Roles of Indigenous Intellectuals" Canadian Federation of Social Sciences. www.fedcan.ca/en/blog/indigenizing-academy-insurgent-education-and-roles-indigenous-intellectuals

Corntassel, Jeff; Chaw-win-is; T'lakwadzi. 2009. " Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation." *English Studies in Canada*. 35(1): 137-159.

Daigle, Michelle. 2019. "The Spectacle of Reconciliation: On (the) Unsettling Responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples in the Academy." *Environment and Planning. D, Society &Space* 37, no. 4 (2019): 703–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818824342.

D'Arcangelis, Carol Lynne. 2018. "Revelations of a White Settler Woman Scholar-

Activist: The Fraught Promise of Self-Reflexivity." *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 18, no. 5 (2018): 339–53.

de Leeuw, S, Greenwood, M, Lindsay, N. 2013. "Troubling Good Intentions." *Settler Colonial Studies*.3(3–4): 381–394.

de Leeuw, S. D., Cameron, E. S., & Greenwood, M. L. 2012. "Participatory and Community Based Research, Indigenous Geographies, and the Spaces of Friendship: A Critical Engagement." *The Canadian Geographer.* 56(2): 180–194.

Fairclough, N. 2001. The Discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis. In: Margaret Weatherell, M., Taylor, S., and Yates, S.J. (Eds.), Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis (pp. 229-265). London: Sage Publications.

Fairclough, N. 2013. Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language, Second Edition. New York: Routledge.

Final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

LaRocque, Emma. 1996. "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar" in ed. Miller, & Chuchryk, P. M. 1996. *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength.*Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Matsunaga, Jennifer. 2021. "Carefully Considered Words: The Influence of Government on Truth Telling about Japanese Canadian Internment and Indian Residential Schools." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 53(2): 91-113.

Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2020. ""Policy on Research Impacting Indigenous Populations." Accessed online at: Memorial's new Policy on Research Impacting Indigenous Groups | Research | Memorial University of Newfoundland (mun.ca). Accessed online, August, 2020.

McGuire-Adams. 2021. Settler Allies are Made, Not Self-Proclaimed: Unsettling Conversations for Non-Indigenous Researchers and Educators Involved in Indigenous health." *Health Education Journal*, *80*(7): 761–772. https://doi.org/10.1177/00178969211009269

Noble, Brian. 2015. Thematic Section: Consent, Collaboration, Treaty: Toward Anti-Colonial Praxis in Indigenous-Settler Research Relations. *Anthropologica (Ottawa)*, *57*(2), 411–425.

Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. 1996. Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience. Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council.

Regan, P. 2010. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Simpson, Audra. 2007. “On Ethnographic Refusal : Indigeneity, “Voice” and Colonial Citizenship” *Junctures : the Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, *9*, 67–80.

Tuck, Eve. 2009. “Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities.” *Harvard Educational Review*. 79(3):409-428.

Tuck, E., M. McKenzie, and K. McCoy. 2014. “Land Education: Indigenous, Post-Colonial, and Decolonizing Perspectives on Place and Environmental Education Research.” Environmental Education Research 20 (1): 1–23.

Tuck, E., and K. W. Yang. 2014. “R-words: Refusing Research.” In Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities, edited by D. Paris and M. Winn, 223–248. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications

Warburton, Moira. 2021. “Canada's Victoria Cancels National Day Celebration After Discovery of Unmarked Burial Site.” Reuters. Accessed online June 21, 2021

Wilson, Breen, A. V., & DuPré, L. 2019. *Research and reconciliation: unsettling ways of knowing through Indigenous relationships*. Canadian Scholars.

Wodak, R. 2001. “The Discourse Historical Approach.” In: Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (Eds.), Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (pp.63-95). London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. & Krzyzanowski, M. (eds) 2008. Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences. New York: Palgrave Macmillan