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CHAPTER 18

Creating Safety and Social Justice for Women in the Yukon

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Violence against women is frequent and ubiquitous. This chapter locates response-based informed activist work in one of Canada's northern territories—the Yukon. In this Indigenous Canadian space, infamous for pioneer histories and the Canadian gold rush, many Yukon women are harmed by male violence with relative perpetrator impunity. Structural issues such as a lack of affordable housing means that many women are blocked in finding new homes and living free of violence. Relative isolation and the dearth of services in the Yukon create particular difficulties related to ensuring women's safety. Challenges in the justice system, such as underfunded legal aid and low rates of sentencing, mean that much violence remains unchecked. Here, where Indigenous existence clashes uncomfortably against discourses of brave pioneers conquering a savage land, the safety and rights of Indigenous women are often tenuous and fragile.

This chapter documents a Yukon social justice activism, aligned with response-based practice (RBP), and designed to increase safety for women. We present community work that takes place at the intersection of counseling and social justice activism and share our approach to creating safety and equality for women dealing with male violence in the Yukon. This work reflects a collectivity of counselors, service-providers, and social justice allies¹ influenced by Indigenous holistic approaches respecting the importance of land, relationality, and spirituality. Our work is informed by women's resistance knowledges, feminism, and a respect for the sacred of all beings.

In this chapter we also present the reader with the foundations of RBP, including: the importance of dignity; the ever-presence of resistance; and the belief that violence is social, unilateral, and deliberate. As counselors, activists, and women in various positions of leadership, we share a response-based orientation, founded on a desire to contest the epidemic of victim-blaming and to create safe and respectful communities. In this work, terms such as “victim” and “perpetrator” are contextually and situationally based and do not imply states of identity.² We believe that women should not be blamed for the violent actions of men in the community, or targeted with censure, for speaking out against male violence. Often, drawing attention to violence against women is accompanied by more violence in an attempt



Figure 18.1 Photographed: Trina Erin Nolan-Pauls
Source: Photo by Allan Ogilvie, Photographics. Reprinted with permission.

to silence women's voices. Statistics show that it is more towards the "norm" for women to experience men's violence than an anomaly, particularly for Indigenous women and women of color. After situating violence and the evolution of RBP, a diagram follows that serves as an analytical guide for exploring violence, resistance/responses, and prospects for victim recovery. The response-based practices we will describe are embedded in a social justice-oriented approach. Where social justice is lacking, the counselor/activist addresses the injustices both publicly and privately in therapeutic conversations. The more just and effective the responses to victims of crime, the more likely violence against women will be addressed both as a social issue and as an issue of immediate concern for victims.

Situating Violence and Response-Based Practice

What is social interaction? It is a process of engagement between at least two people in the world. Where violence is concerned, there is a perpetrator and a victim, the

first acting against the will and well-being of the other. In studying violence, it is clear that the problem exists in the social world, not in the mind of the victim as so many psychological approaches tell us (Coates & Wade, 2004; Richardson, 2008; Richardson & Wade, 2008, 2012). In RBP, violence and responses to it are the main interest of study, along with an analysis of the situation and the social context. Power relations are of interest, including consideration of who has the most resources at hand to help them when they are accused of being a perpetrator or a victim. This approach was developed through direct service with people who have been targets of violence. Key aspects include contesting the blaming and pathologizing of victims, focusing on accurate representations of interaction, highlighting resistance knowledges, and understanding the actions of victims and perpetrators in context. We work with the understanding that dignity is central to human interaction and that dealing with violence revolves around maintaining and repairing dignity after the humiliation of being violated.

Around 2005, RBP evolved to include an analysis of social responses to victims, linking responses to the recovery processes for victims and becoming actively involved in coordinating positive collective responses to victims. Understanding and evaluating the quality of social responses became important for assessing victim safety and perpetrator accountability/impunity. It further involved understanding the "situational logic" of women's decisions and seeing victim responses as understandable (not sick or dysfunctional) within the specific context.

Categories of Response-Based Contextual Analysis

The conceptual diagram shown in Figure 18.2 may be used for situation analysis in fields such as counseling, clinical supervision, criminology, policing, and for the writing of reports. Due to its circularity, one may begin developing an interactional analysis with any particular category in the diagram. We often begin with a description of the *context/social material conditions* and the situation (*situation interaction*) with answers to questions such as "What is happening and under which conditions could such interaction occur?" For example, certain political moves can make violence against women and children more socially acceptable, such as Russia's move to decriminalize domestic assault (Solomon, 2017) and the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States with his plan to reduce the rights of women (Moore, 2017). Within the socio-political context, one finds the actions, responses, and decisions of individual women.

Exploring the client's experience often begins with the questions "Who is doing what to whom?" and "How is the victim responding?" For example, if we were to see a woman walking down the road wearing two different shoes on her feet, we might wonder why. Typically, without adequate information, we turn to stereotypes or assumptions. In RBP, we would ask ourselves "Under what conditions would a woman wear two different shoes?" We would rely on self-reflection to avoid jumping to conclusions or explanations that lack evidence. We later learn that this woman lives with a man who is violent towards her. In identifying

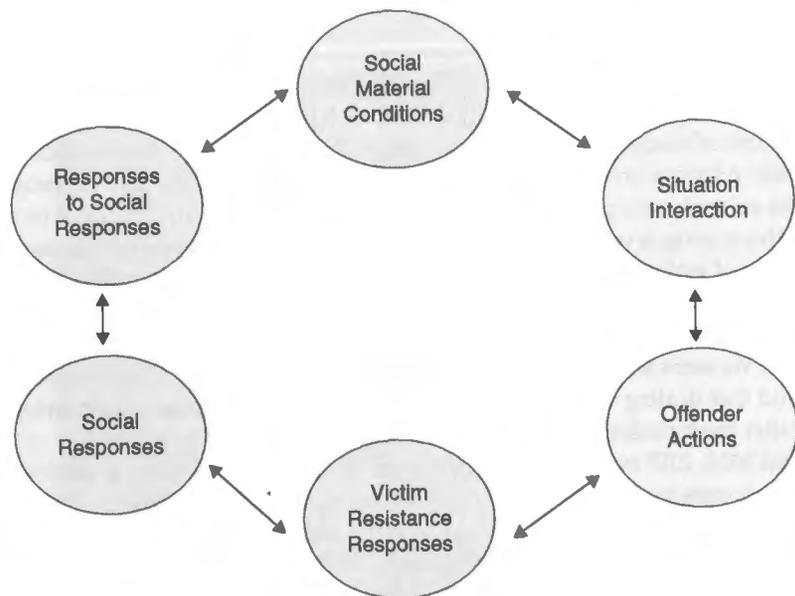


Figure 18.2 Categories of response-based contextual analysis

Source: Bonnah, Coates, Richardson, & Wade, 2014; reprinted with permission.

offender actions, we learn that each morning before he leaves for work, he takes one shoe from each pair and places them in the trunk of his car. He tries to keep her isolated at home. She, in response, wears whatever footwear is available so she can function. We try to *situate the action, or interaction*, in the broader context, or the present *social material conditions*, including the status of women in the society. We highlight the patriarchal influences and the conditions leading to impunity for many men who use violence as the backdrop for acts of power, control, and domination. When we consider the lives and situation of many Indigenous women, we consider structural and interpersonal racism and colonial policies in Canada.

Particular situations are placed in context as we gather details about the violence and the responses to it. We understand many of these responses as “acts of resistance” or what have been called “small acts of living” (Wade, 1997, p. 25). As such, we become students or “detectives” of human interaction, understanding that “whenever people are mistreated, they resist in some way” (Wade, 1997, p. 23). In RPB, we assume that: (1) resistance is ever-present (though often mistaken for a symptom or erratic behavior without interactive details); (2) resistance is one response and it seldom stops violence due to power imbalances, but is oriented towards preserving dignity; and (3) providing positive social responses aids victim recovery (Coates & Wade, 2016).

Victims’ resistance responses, or acts of resistance, are responses to rather than effects or impacts of violence (Richardson, 2008; Richardson & Wade, 2008). If we

focus on how a victim is *affected* by violence, we will conceptualize a person who is unwell, symptomatic, and sick, and we provoke no change in the system. If we focus on the person’s *responses* to violence, there are political implications and calls to increase social safety for women. A person’s responses to violence and oppression unfold in alignment with a situational logic, and reflect the options open to them as well as their deeply embedded, moment by moment analysis of violence and safety in context. Sometimes people resist in a manner that increases the violence towards them, but serves to reassert their dignity. A victim’s actions and responses are often situated in prior experience and knowledge about what to do under certain violent conditions: we refer to these responses as resistance knowledges. Resistance can come in many forms, as described by Wade (1997, p. 25):

Any mental or behavioral act through which a person attempts to expose, withstand, repel, stop, prevent, abstain from, strive against, impede, refuse to comply with, or oppose any form of violence or oppression (including any type of disrespect), or the conditions that make such acts possible, may be understood as a form of resistance.

Acts of resistance often relate in some thematic way to the violence perpetrated and tend to be fueled by similar energy and force; the more dangerous a perpetrator, the more prudent and thoughtful the resistance tends to be. Self-respect is typically at stake and, while victims can seldom stop violence, they will often respond to their disrupted sense of dignity.

In analyzing victims’ resistance responses, we create intervention strategies to help stop the violence and promote victim recovery for this woman as well as for women in general. The approach involves documenting resistance strategies that can be formalized into a safety and social justice plan. After examining acts of resistance, we explore the next category of the response-based analysis, which is the quality of the social responses received by the victim.

Social response refers to what people do and say in response to the disclosure of violence. Research has shown that many people receive negative social responses from family, friends, and professionals (Andrews, Brewin, & Rose, 2003). Women and marginalized groups are more likely to receive negative social responses. These types of responses (e.g., being blamed, being criticized for not reporting, receiving unsolicited advice) are more likely to lead to longer-term suffering, depression, diagnosis with a mental illness, and even thoughts of suicide (Reynolds, 2016). In the final phase of response-based analysis—*responses to social responses*—we pay attention to the ways in which the victim responds to the variety of social responses received after violence. While left to “manage” the responses of others, she often attempts to preserve her dignity (and that of her children), her reputation, her privacy, and her safety. If someone reports to authorities that a mother has been assaulted by her partner, very soon this woman will be dealing not only with the violence but with a number of professionals such as police, child protection, victim services, lawyers, medical doctors, therapists or psychologists, and staff from the

children's school. During this interaction, and perhaps in a traumatized state, this woman will often put on a brave face, treat each professional in a particular way while trying to demonstrate her competency, her pre-existing ability, her intelligence, simultaneously trying to preserve her dignity and often the dignity of the professional. To protect herself in an interview with a "helper," the mom might offer a problem for discussion while holding private a different problem that is potentially more embarrassing or distressing. Each response can be understood in relation to events and the aspects of the response-based contextual analysis.

An Example of Response-Based Analysis

We offer the following scenario to provide an example for the type of analysis used in considering events and interaction *in context*.

There was a Yukon couple in which the young mother (B) had two kids and was pregnant with the third. B's partner was considered to be an attractive man. He was charismatic, romantic, and attentive. People liked him and women especially found him to be "a catch." After a period of time, he started to become controlling, surveilling her and demanding to know her constant whereabouts. He would ask her to report who she had spoken to, what they talked about, and why. As well, he started to insult her regularly and to punish her for her perceived infractions. He told her that her friends were "idiots" and that her family was after him. He told her to not let her family into their home. He would monitor her phone calls and texts.

In response, B would secretly go to her neighbors and use their phone to call her mom. She and her mom learned how to block him from being able to monitor her phone.

He started staying out late at night and sometimes wouldn't return home until early morning. When he came home he demanded sex for which he would give her money, both to demean her and to lessen his guilt. Sometimes he had a lot of money. She would stash money in a bag in the pantry with a spare set of keys. He would tell her she was ugly and that everyone hated her, and that she would never find anyone else.

She would argue with him and tell him "this shit was hurting the kids." He would drag her into the bedroom where he threw her on the bed and choked her. Sometimes he would cover her mouth with his hand and rape her. She would stay quiet so the kids wouldn't wake up: she would think about the beach.

One night when he was assaulting her, the neighbors called the police. The police called child protection services. When they arrived, she was angry. Her partner had been choking her; she was screaming and spat at him. He presented himself calmly and talked in a peaceful manner to the police and child protection professionals. The social workers were concerned about her ability to care for her children. They told her she should leave her home and go to a

shelter or else they would apprehend the children. They blamed her, at least partially, for the situation.

When B arrived at the shelter, she was quiet and "scoped out" the workers. The staff at the shelter supported B and she got a lawyer. B submitted a statement to police about her partner's ongoing violence and abuse. She received a threat from child protection authorities that they were planning to remove her children because she was not protecting them from witnessing violence. B reconnected with her family and friends. She stayed at the shelter and was required to meet with a child protection worker several times a week. B was angry at this and voiced how unfair she found this to be. She told them this was "shit" saying: "He can go off, drink, and schmooze with other women and I'm stuck in a shelter with lots of rules." He got to stay in the house and she had to relocate with the children, leaving mostly everything behind. B continued working with her lawyer to get custody of her children. Child protection services never eased up their threat of child removal. On the day of the court process, B was victorious and was granted custody of her children. She got on a plane and moved to another province. Her message for the system ... "Fuck all of you!"

In this passage, we can observe some of the context and what we might already understand about the rights of battered women in Canada, in the Yukon specifically. One receives basic information about the situation and the interaction between the parties. When considering the actions of the perpetrator, one is made aware of violent acts, such as hitting, controlling, insults, surveillance, rape, and degradation. One can also see that this man is upheld and admired for his charm and attractiveness based on his appearance and outer demeanor. When gathering information about the interaction, we would then ask about what B did and how she responded to each of these violations of her dignity, her body, and her being. We would ask her to tell us more about what brought her to certain safety practices and how she knew what to do in order to maximize her safety and that of her children.

Another critical aspect of our analysis and information gathering is to understand as fully as possible the social responses directed at B. Here, we see her experiencing the shelter as a place that obstructed her freedom with its many rules. She received a negative social response from child protection, and from police who called them. Even though police are obliged to call child protection, there are ways of discussing this with the mother and walking her through a process so that she doesn't feel ambushed by the process.

We can also assess whether police were helpful to B by acting as advocates and letting child protection workers know that the children are now safe and that they have addressed any safety concerns by dealing with the perpetrator. While B doesn't elaborate, one might predict that the social responses of her family and friends are mixed, many being supportive and some involving unsolicited advice-giving or judgment.

The final aspect of the analysis involves understanding how the victim responded to the social responses. As such, B's pre-existing ability becomes apparent as she "manages" numerous professionals, the state, as well as the needs of her children. While there are cases where the actions of the mother create danger to the child, these types of cases are the minority and should not be confused with those where both mother and children are victim of a perpetrator (Strega, 2006; Strega et al., 2013).

As this mother makes a choice to leave the community where numerous social injustices have been directed at her, she is protesting with her feet (e.g., leaving), as well as with her words. Her indignation is clear at having been accused of being a danger to her children when she was actually working hard to manage her partner's violence. As workers, we can align with the preferences and resistance of the mother to offer support in the moment, support that goes a long way towards assisting in the personal recovery from violence and injustice.

Activism within Response-Based Practice

Activism is designed to create social change and can include activities ranging from contesting injustice, advocating for those being harmed/exploited, working on sensitization campaigns, lobbying, as well as more "behind the scenes" activities drawing attention to injustice. A key focus of the response-based work featured in this chapter is our ongoing challenge to contest inequities in service delivery for Aboriginal women, such as unequal access to the law and the justice system due to poverty and racism. While these issues may exist across the board, they become more pronounced the more one has to deal with the system, such as post-assault. Several key issues need to be addressed in order to increase safety and justice for Aboriginal women in the Yukon. These include continuing to support improved RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), child welfare, health care, and social service practices. Many of these reforms relate to addressing racism. Analyzing the situation in context elucidates what Aboriginal women are facing and how they are already attempting to deal with the situation.

Context and Background

The particular history and social geography of the Yukon are pertinent for understanding some of the risks and the opportunities for women activists. The Yukon is a place of contrast: breath-taking scenery, upscale bistros, trendy bakeries, and a brutal history of violence against women and Indigenous peoples. A recent report showed that violence against women in the Yukon is four times the national average at 1,900 victims per 100,000 and that the severity of violence, and the fear for life, is disproportionately higher in the Canadian territories (Wohlberg, 2013). Colonialism and male-driven enterprises such as the gold rush (1897–1899), the long-term presence of the US military who built the Alaska Highway in 1942,³

and the mining industry have created a particular landscape where there are few repercussions for perpetrators of violence and many challenges for women. The situation of unmarried men, far from home and with disposable income, can sometimes lead to women being sought and then exploited in various ways. Findings from a 2014 study conducted by The Ending Violence Association indicate a link between extraction industries in British Columbia and domestic abuse (Wood, 2014). Mi'kmaw lawyer Pamela Palmater has recently discussed links between mining and violence against women (Porter, 2016). There are particular social factors at work in the Yukon that need to be addressed to create more safety and justice for Indigenous women in the territory. The colonial history of Canada has left many injustices in place. While there are too many to mention here, Appendix 18.1 demonstrates some of the inequities related to funding disparities as well as the extent to which Indigenous suffering and "management" has become a top industry in Canada. Response-based practice is oriented towards contesting such social injustice, as reflected in the example that follows.

The RCMP have recently been called upon to address inadequate services to women who report violence (Richardson, 2013, 2016). Yukon Member of the Legislative Assembly, Lois Moorecroft, published the report *If My Life Depended On It* (2011) documenting improper RCMP responses to women and why women, especially Aboriginal women, would not report violence. Historically, the RCMP were primarily concerned with gathering enough information for charges to "stick," rather than creating immediate and longer-term safety. Many women who are being harmed will not call police because they know police will contact child protection services and that they run the risk of having their children removed from them permanently (Moorecroft 2011; Strega et al., 2013). The RCMP express frustration that battered women often change their mind about reporting; women have been criticized for this safety-related decision. This has created a "practice tension" between Indigenous people/women and the RCMP. The consequences of an unhappy process are events that move from spousal assault to child removal, to a self-medicating mother who ends up on the streets, often in Edmonton (Alberta) or in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (British Columbia). The over 3,000 missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada is a devastating outcome of suffering, poverty, homelessness, drug addiction, and broken-heartedness (Reynolds 2014, 2016; Richardson & Dolan-Cake, 2016). This is precisely the kind of structural violence that social justice activists are trying to prevent. Concerns about RCMP treatment extend much further, however. Historically, the RCMP enforced the removal and surveillance of Indigenous children as they were interned in "residential schools" (V. Boldo, personal communication, March 14, 2016; Wollmann, 2014).

Reconceptualizing Offender Actions

The actions of violent perpetrators are often explained by linking them in the present to a distressing dynamic from the past (e.g., an unhappy childhood, psychological or anger issues, or just being misunderstood), or to anger or alcohol (Coates & Wade,

2004).⁴ While it may be natural for people to try to find the cause, this type of inquiry tends to result in minimizing offender responsibility and increasing the blaming of victims (e.g., How could she report her husband to the police?). Some acts of unilateral violence are re-cast as mutual in what are called “he said/she said” accounts. Perpetrators are seldom referred to as having a “violence problem,” but more so as having “anger issues,” or issues of self-control or alcoholism. If we mislabel the problem, it is more likely the perpetrator will be sent to a treatment intervention that does not address violence against women directly. Readers may be interested in an analytic tool, the Four Operations of Language, that Coates and Wade (2007) developed to reveal how perpetrators are excused from their actions and how, subsequently, the responsibility/blame is passed onto the victim. It is important to understand that individuals are more likely to perpetuate violence in cultures where impunity for perpetrators exists. Supporting this view, Reynolds applies a social justice-based critique of the absence of justice in cultures of rape (Reynolds, 2014) and UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margo Wallström, condemns what she calls cultures of impunity, where male perpetrators are often not held responsible for their crimes due to state inaction (UN News Centre, 2010).

Creating a Positive Social Response for Women in the Yukon

Commanding Officer Peter Clark of the Yukon Royal Canadian Mounted Police was interested in addressing some of the issues in the RCMP and improving the relationship between police and community members. In 2012, I (AM-R), former chief of the Liard First Nation and founding Executive Director of the Liard Aboriginal Women’s Society in Watson Lake, approached CO Clark to secure funding for a joint project to address violence, particularly against Indigenous women, to increase safety and to improve the police response to women facing violence. Although the goals of the police and the Kaska women of the Liard First Nation came from different cardinal points, there was sufficient shared concern about violence against Indigenous women that we made progress. This kick-started the Together for Justice project—one of a number of community initiatives through which the Liard Aboriginal Women’s Society (LAWS) and the Yukon Women’s Transition Home Society representatives became allies. For example, I and LAWS members might advocate for a single mother experiencing health issues so that she could obtain medical treatment, and have support to travel for care and have assistance for her children. Kaska members living with disabilities, combined with poverty issues, often need community support for basic quality of life. I hold male leaders accountable for taking care of citizens and creating safety in the community.

Our team has also developed a number of safety interventions designed to work systemically with families while promoting systems and practice-change in organizations. These interventions include Islands of Safety (in child protection settings), “Together for Justice” (working with RCMP and community/women’s groups), and “Telling It Like It Is” (contesting the sexualizing of child

rape/abuse). Response-based interventions are also prevalent in the approach of the Yukon Women’s Transition Home Society and the Liard Aboriginal Women’s Society. LAWS has also brought this approach into the schools, doing anti-violence work with youth. These initiatives involve a noticeable re-adjusting of power relations and new commitments to fairness, collaboration, dignity, and improved outcomes for women, families, and service users.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the perspective of four women activists who have engaged in social change in Canada’s Yukon. We have provided examples of how we conceptualize, approach, and problematize male violence, and the tools we use to dismantle violence against women and bring accountability to perpetrators. Much of this learning has been hard-earned, at personal cost, and while attacks on feminist and Indigenous organizers continue. Canada is a colonial country where Indigenous land has been taken, and continues to be taken, by force (Harris, 2002; Todd & Wade, 1994) and where economic and industrial interests take precedent over women’s safety. Yet the activist and community development work being undertaken by women continues to produce a powerful counter-narrative to many of the more patriarchal, sexist, and racist influences described in this chapter. The field of counseling and professional helping has an important role to play in violence prevention and recovery, as well as in decolonizing social institutions. While personal and social transformation are parallel processes, the shifting of a powerful group of individuals—violence survivors—can accelerate social justice change in communities. One main aspect of this transformation is the personal releasing of guilt and shame associated with victimization. Once a victim understands “It was not my fault,” both the violence and the responses/resistance can be recontextualized into a social justice problem in the community, rather than as individual deficit. Just as rape victims are not responsible for rape, or stopping it, Indigenous survivors of residential school internment are not to blame for the actions of the government. Response-based practice involves an invaluable critique of state and colonial violence, as well as a critique of language use that minimizes and distorts such violence (Coates & Wade, 2007; Richardson & Wade, 2008). Naming violence, and acknowledging and celebrating resistance, can be helpful in this struggle. Indeed, accurate language can be liberatory for victims of violence, and promote justice and accountability for those who use violence. When we clarify violence, as well as resistance to it, we can assist those on the path to recovery and to social justice.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge all the women activists in the Yukon. There are too many to acknowledge by name but their collective spirit and energy does not go

unnoticed. There are women who show up at (uncomfortable) meetings, women who speak up though it is unsafe. There are women who write, document, publish, run for office, work in bureaucracies or from their kitchen table. There are many women who do brave things, who resist indignity and denial, and ask for what all women deserve. We dedicate this chapter to you.

Reflection Questions

1. How can professionals help women when they are blamed for the violence of their male partners?
2. In what ways could you assist “B” (the woman depicted in the scenario described above) if drawing from response-based practice?
3. What differences for clients, community members, and ourselves have we noticed when we do response-based type of work?
4. In what ways can dominant notions of “professional expertise” contribute to negative social responses and the diminishment of client knowledge?
5. What is important about privileging client knowledges, preferences, and pre-existing ability in the work against violence?

Appendix 18.1

Example of Canadian Professionals Profiting from Aboriginal Suffering

The following programs have created opportunities for Canadian professionals, including lawyers, mental health professionals, social workers, prison managers, and guards. Many of these approaches “manage” problems but do not problematize inequality and racism in Canada.

Funding recipient	Amount (source)	Reference
Lawyers overseeing residential school cases	\$100 million (federal)	Macleans www.macleans.ca/news/canada/white-mans-windfall-a-profile-of-tony-merchant
Aboriginal Affairs to manage reserve, the Indian Act (2016–2021)	\$8 billion (federal)	Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1359563865502/1359564020015
BC Child Welfare System*	\$500 million (federal) \$90 million (provincial)	The Tyee http://thetyee.ca/News/2013/11/07/BC-Aboriginal-Child-Welfare
(where 4,450 out of 8,106 children in the system are Aboriginal)	and \$57 million (federal) annually to Delegated Aboriginal Agencies	

Funding recipient	Amount (source)	Reference
Prisons (2007–2008)	\$340 million (federal) (i.e., \$117,000 (amount per inmate per year) x 2,906 (23% of total federal inmates being Aboriginal))	Macleans www.macleans.ca/news/canada/canadas-prisons-are-the-new-residential-schools
Aboriginal Healing Foundation (1998–2014)	\$515 million (federal)	Aboriginal Healing Foundation www.ahf.ca/downloads/september-29-2014-press-release.pdf

*Note: These funds are for investigation, removal, and foster care, not for family support.

Notes

- 1 Notable allies include Lois Moorecroft, Allan Wade, Vikki Reynolds, and certain members of the RCMP in the Yukon.
- 2 We refer to “her” for the specific purposes of this article but acknowledge that men and trans-gendered, two-spirit, gender fluid individuals are also targets of male violence and that response-based practice can be helpful in their recovery from violence.
- 3 After 1941 and the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese army, the US decided to build the Alaska Highway as a defense measure. The majority of US soldiers were African-American. Retrieved from <http://tc.gov.yk.ca/archives/hiddenhistory/en/highway.html>
- 4 While many people attribute violence to alcohol use, this does not explain why some individuals can use alcohol without hurting others and why sober individuals sometimes use violence.

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