The Voice From North Point Douglas: Spatial Justice, Embodied Dispossession and Resistance in Winnipeg

By

Emma Bonnemaison

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a participatory action research project using the photovoice method to examine women's perceptions of safety and ideas for positive community development in Winnipeg's urban core. I work with women who frequent the North Point Douglas Women's Centre to create a platform for participants to raise safety concerns and to actively participate in mapping unsafe space in the city. I combine emerging analytical frameworks in feminist geography, critical race theory, and spatial justice to create an intersectional-spatial framework to interrogate the production of unsafe space and the perpetuation of colonial gendered violence in Winnipeg. Together with the women, we produced an arts-based public exhibit on safety, community concerns and strengths – *The Voice from North Point Douglas*. Most importantly, my research investigates women's grounded community activism and Indigenous resistance as a form of spatial justice in the colonial city.

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INTRODUCTION

"We make our geographies just as it has been said that we make our histories, not under conditions of our own choosing but in the material worlds we collectively have already created – or that have been created for us." Edward Soja, 2010, 18.

"No matter hard I try, I can't leave the Main Street Strip." Julia, Photovoice Participant.

Story One: Julia

This story begins with a photo. The photographer and co-researcher in this photovoice project explained that it speaks to themes of safety, mobility, community, and place. A man looks

unabashedly at the viewer with the Sutherland sign in the background, marking the beginning of the North Point Douglas neighbourhood. There are two security cameras above the man's head, signaling themes of state surveillance, safety, and insecurity. A street sign indicating "don't walk here," also the title of the photo, symbolizes the tensions present in the question of mobility and access.

Her friend stands in front of the Sutherland hotel, a landmark bar on the Main Street Strip in North Point Douglas, a small neighbourhood in close proximity to downtown Winnipeg characterized by complex poverty, marginalization, and community resilience. The photographer's personal narratives are encapsulated within this photograph, inviting viewers to see what she sees; her everyday landscape and reality of living in North Point Douglas. Julia, the photographer explains:

> I can tell you what I feel as you see it. So I just feel that I'm following a pattern as to what like what my life was as a child.
>
> Now I'm going to that life where—where I feel like I'm following my mom's footsteps. And I really don't want to.
>
> I just feel like I'm being pushed into a cycle of life that I don't want to be in.
>
> I would love to be successful. I would love to do my writings [pause]. And it's just very hard to get ahead in life if — if you're constantly getting into like trouble due to like racism or anything else, just living a life where you're constantly in need of money and looking for a way to— make money and not being able to find a job—[pause]
>
> And I feel like I've been pushed down where I have a lot of talent and I can't—can't show it because nobody's willing to—to overcome these obstacles.

The proliferation of bars, pharmacies, and pawn shops are clustered along the Main Street Strip, a geograpical space that spans only three city blocks. Julia spoke of having to navigate the Strip whether she liked it or not. It's part of the community, she told me. The Sutherland Bar is a social hub for many, where you connect with friends and take refuge from

the streets. But for Julia it is where she encounters emotional and physical violence. As a story, the Sutherland does much the same work as the title of the photograph, *Don't Walk Here,* which contains multiple meanings that are overlayed with Julia's personal geographies but also touch on local associations of the "gauntlet,"[1] how colonial processes shape the urban landscape, and the symbol of surveillance and vulnerability embued by the "security" camera (which, paradoxically, is not even operative). Don't walk here; it is almost as if the state is questioning Julia's right to walk on her own land. Stories, and the spatial geographies of North Point Douglas, contain multiple meanings.

Julia, the photographer, grew up in the North End of Winnipeg and has lived there all her life. The above quote, and the photograph that it contextualizes, reflect the stuctural barriers that Julia faces everyday. Yet they also represent the long histories of settler colonialism that have shaped the social space, physcial landscape, and institutions that pattern her life. She was raised for a short period of time by her mother who had to endure a host of complex challenges that included living off reserve without family, intimate partner violence, absolute poverty, lack of job opportunities, and the destabilizing effect of navigating mutiple government systems like Child and Family Services (CFS). As Julia explained to me, CFS put her into a foster home at the age of 11 which signalled a long history of living in and out of various foster homes, in CFS protective services, and at Marymound, a group home in Winnipeg.

During this time Julia survived mutilple sexual assaults and spent periods of time in juvenile correction facilties. Intergenerational trauma casts long shadows; her childhood and youth now patterns her life circumstances. Encounters with CFS, cycles of intense poverty and addiction now affect her own life. Despite the mutiple forms of oppression that Julia faces daily

[1] This is a commonplace derogatory term for the Main Street Strip employed by Winnipeggers.

within a colonial state, she is determined to care for her daughter, and continue pursuing her dream as a writer.

Story Two: Recent provincial funding cuts

In May 2017, the Manitoba Conservative government announced that it planned to dramatically cut funding to the Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA) program, which had been created to invest in "long-term, community-based, social and economic development" initiatives in Manitoba and central Winnipeg (Neighborhoods Alive! website). The NA! program contributes to ongoing community development initiatives in 13 low-income urban areas in Manitoba and six within Winnipeg's inner city. In 2015-16, the program allocated $4.8 million in 182 projects, "in urban areas with high rates of complex poverty" (Silver, 2016) and offers substantial core funding to both community and women's resource centres and neighborhood renewal corporations/associations, including the North Point Douglas Women's Centre located in the North End of Winnipeg,. Urban Studies scholar Jim Silver states that NA!, "has been instrumental in bringing about much needed positive change" within inner city neighbourhoods, including North Point Douglas (NPD) (Silver, 2016).

The NA! program is still under government review; however, the program website states that its new and "improved" design seeks to "support community development through simplifying programming, cutting red tape, and placing a strong focus on outcomes" (website). NA! has essentially been downsized and downgraded: "red tape" translates to firing NA! staff that administer, monitor, and assist in the implementation and maintenance of community development initiatives while the language of "outcomes" and "simplification" signals the arrival of a new technocratic approach to social policy that will be organized through "deliverables" and

"improvement." Much of this redistribution of responsibility will happen through the transfer of provincial funding dollars to private charity organizations like the United Way who will now be responsible for allocating dollars. This is social policy as entrepreneurialism. This represents a consolidation of a neoliberal mandate within the Pallister government by allocating its own responsibilities for poverty-alleviation and community development squarely on the shoulders of the private sector and private donors who fund these charities. For organizations that will continue to receive funding through NA! directly, "simplifying programming" could mean anything from a reduction in scope of community development projects, to a change in the type and structure of funding dollars organizations receive, i.e. ongoing, multi-year, core funding to contract project based dollars. Within these conditions, social policy is made precarious.

The North Point Douglas Women's Centre received notice that funding would not be renewed despite a signed contractual agreement between NA! and the NPDWC that guaranteed funding up until the 2018-2019 fiscal year. The loss of provincial funds removes one-third of the Centre's core funding, a total loss of $120,000. As a result, unless other competitive funding is secured, the Centre will be forced to reduce fundamental services: it may be no longer be able to provide counselling and advocacy services to women; the Centre's ability to keep their Drop-In Centre open to the public may be directly impacted; and the Centre's ability to provide basic needs support, resource provision, peer counselling, and accessible safe space to over 100 community members and their families daily will come into question. Layoffs could directly impact eight staff positions. Overall, this funding cut could have a crippling effect on the Centre's ability to adequately provide integral resources and services to women and their families in Winnipeg's most marginalized neighbourhood.

The Centre's response was swift. A media release was sent out—over five news articles covered the story within 24 hours. NDP MLA Nahanni Fontaine brought the Centre's press release to the legislature chamber stating, "We're talking about women's lives … this is a massive hit to a small organization" (Martin, 2017). As the issue became politicized, the Centre, its board of directors, and community members organized a rally in opposition to the Pallister government's sudden financial withdrawal from NA!. The rally was well attended by community members, Centre participants and advocates, and stakeholders of the Centre, including Indigenous elders, Executive Directors from allied women's centres and community organizations, Bear Clan co-founder Mitch Bourbonniere, and MLAs from Green, NDP, and Liberal political parties. Another Centre advocate, Bernadette Smith, an Indigenous activist and co-founder of the Manitoba Coalition of Families of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women in Manitoba, was also in attendance and spoke movingly about the importance on the NPDWC. Smith's sister, Claudette Osborne, has been missing from Winnipeg since 2008.

Tara Zajac, the Centre's Executive Director also spoke at the rally, announcing that, "we see this as a direct attack on the health and safety of women and their families in North Point Douglas and the wider community." A host of speakers voiced support for the Centre's commitment to anti-violence and healing work, including many community women who will be most affected by the cuts. One participant from the Red Road to Healing program that supports women as they identify and heal from multiple forms of violence, chronicled how the program helped her regain control over her life and the health and wellbeing of her family.

Women and their families who frequent NPDWC confront marginalization and multiple forms of violence in their everyday lives. Some of these are systemic, like the recent proposed cuts. Others are more direct forms of violence to bodies and individuals. The Centre has become

a safe space for women to confront, identify, and heal from multiple forms of violence that they encounter on a daily basis. The NA! program will continue despite the de-funding of certain organizations, but it has created a climate of uncertainty and precariousness in the non-profit sector in general and in North Point Douglas in particular.

Space matters

I begin with these two stories to illustrate the overlapping and multiple dimensions of spatial injustices in Winnipeg. Julia's story is not dissimilar those of other participants in this project and many other women who live in North Point Douglas. It is a story of struggle, survival, and resistance and takes place at the intersection of colonialism, patriarchy, and poverty. The gender injustice she has experienced emerges from colonial policies and heteropatriarchal systems of power that carve deep into her life. Julia's story illustrates how spatial injustice is ingrained into the built social and economic landscape of North Point Douglas; many participants within this project connect city neglect of the neighbourhood to the assumption held by many Winnipegers that residents are less-deserving of basic measures of safety, security, and good health.

The second story illustrates the outright indifference the Pallister government appears to have for residents of North Point Douglas (NPD). The NPD neighbourhood embodies one of the most spatially concentrated and racialized poverty locations in Canada. It is home to one of the largest per capita Indigenous populations in Canada. Of the 66,000 Winnipeg residents who identify as Aboriginal (to use the census term), 29 percent live in NPD. Although NPDWC works with a diverse population, Centre statistics indicate that 83 percent of participants that frequent the Centre idenitfy as Indigenous. This is a neighbourhood that deals with the effects of acute poverty, heavy incarceration rates, multiple forms of violence, and sexual exploitation.

NPDWC works on the frontline with participants to combat the negative impacts of these issues, as well as the more systemic problems of social exclusion, intergenerational trauma, and marginalization brought on by ongoing processes of colonization. To cut funding to such an organization directly jeopardizes the health, safety, and security of Indigenous women and their families living in NPD.

How do the above stories intersect and why is it important to think about them within a critical spatial framework? Julia's story takes place on the individual scale, while the second is a story of structural forces that shape sociopolitical circumstances on the ground. Julia's feelings of isolation and powerlessness are shaped by cyclical patterns of poverty, trauma, and racism, and are the embodied result of living in a colonial state that has shaped her life. As critical geographer Edward Soja notes, "the socialized geographies of injustice significantly affect our lives, creating lasting structures of unevenly distributed advantage and disadvantage" (2010, 20). Building on Soja's statement, we may ask then: how does the colonial city continue to (re)produce uneven urban geographies and how are they embodied? What is the relationship between unjust urban space and women's safety and security in North Point Douglas? And how are women resisting ongoing dispossessions in the colonial city?

The dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their own lands is an inherently spatialized process. Settler colonialism's project to dispossess "Indigenous bodies from Indigenous lands" was inherently tied to the assimilation and murder of Indigenous bodies connected to "a direct attack on Indigenous political orders because these bodies generate knowledge, political systems, and ways of being that contest the hegemony of settler governmentality and thus make dispossession all the more difficult to achieve" (Coulthart and Simpson, 2016, 254). In Canada this takes many forms, from the large-scale state management of Indigenous populations through

state managerial techniques like the *Indian Act* to local government neglect of racialized inner-city neighbourhoods. Dispossession is ongoing and manifests today in many forms. Dispossession *is* the Canadian state's production of insecure, unjust, and unsafe urban space for Indigenous women living in the inner city. Dispossession *is* the government's decision to sever funding ties to NPDWC and the resigned indifference toward urban Indigneous populations. Dispossession *is* ongoing cycles of povery, racism, and violence that Juila must face daily. The locus-point from which to discuss spatial injustice is dispossession; an analysis of safety and security in North Point Douglas is intimately connected to colonialism. In other words, taking a critical spatial perspective involves making crucial connections between large structural and ongoing forces like settler colonialism, dispossession, and the multiple forms of spatialized and racialized violence that women face in NPD.

The analytical possibilities offered by a critical spatial perspective can be seen in a recent report from a UN-Winnipeg Safe Cities study that makes clear the connections between colonialism and sexual violence. Safe Cities-Winnipeg states, "due to the legacy of colonization, persistent and insidious perceptions of Indigenous women and girls as sexually available underlie the myriad of factors that contribute to their vulnerability, regardless of their socioeconomic status, education level, sexual orientation, disability or birth place" (2016, 46). As Safe Cities-Winnipeg makes clear, women's everyday lives in the inner city are circumscribed by the historical and spatial dynamics that have produced the colonial city. Not only should we think of sexual violence as a form of direct violence against one's bodily integrity, we should also understand that it must be seen within persistent spatial and historical processes of colonialism, dispossession, and state-sanctioned assimilation and violence. When we talk about sexual violence we must think about it as existing on a continuum. Sexual violence includes actions that

range from verbal harassment to physical assaults to the most harrowing, the murder and disappearance of women. It also plays out on a spatial and historical continuum, embedded in colonial processes that have produced uneven urban space, the reserve geographies of the province, unequal access to resources and economic opportunities, and the questions of who is fundamentally deserving of safety and life itself.

Spatial framework

In this thesis, I argue that space matters. Employing an intersectional-spatial framework, informed by participatory action research with women for the North Point Douglas Women's Centre, reveals the connections between gender violence, ongoing colonial dispossession, and uneven urban geographies in Winnipeg. Applying a spatial framework enables a powerful analytical device when investigating safety and security for women living in North Point Douglas. I do this by utilizing the concept of spatial justice. In a very broad sense, spatial justice refers to an emphasis on spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice, as they manifest across multiple geographic scales—from the corporeal body and emotional geographies, to larger structural forces that govern bodies. Spatial justice seeks to identify and uncover the underlying processes producing unjust geographies. The concept encourages coalition-building through social action to (re)make unjust space—space is socially produced and can therefore be changed by social action.

First, the concept of spatial justice provides the analytical and normative scaffolding to investigate how gendered injustices in the city are produced, how the multiple forms of violence that women face are predicated on structures of colonialism, and how women have a "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1996) to shape and remake unjust space through feminist and Indigenous activism. Second, employing a critical spatial framework makes clear how (un)safety and

(in)security for women in NPD is produced and governed by complex social and political processes, while also making clear the relationships between unjust urban space, racial inequality, and the multiple forms of violence that women face in the colonial city. Third, taking a spatial perspective draws attention to how the construction and maintenance of racialized spaces of marginality and containment in the colonial city become a method of state violence inflicted on Indigenous bodies and are intimately tied to and representative of settler colonialism's continued project—the dispossession of Indigenous bodies from Indigenous lands.

I combine emerging analytical frameworks on feminist geography (Razack, 2000; Massey, 1993), spatial justice (Soja, 2010; Goldberg, 1993; Harvey, 2010), feminist intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill-Collins, 1999; Razack, 2000; hooks, 2000), and critical Indigenous scholarship (Coultard and Simpson, 2016; Monture-Angus, 1996; Simpson, 2014; Stevenson, 1999) to better understand the production of spaces of (un)safety for women in North Point Douglas. Soja's (2010) notion of spatial justice recognizes that race, class, and gender are the three main forces shaping spatial discrimination, reinforcing its compatibility with intersectional approaches. Sherene Razack (2000) and Anne O'Connell (2010) have explored how race, articulations of whiteness, and racialized violence are spatially organized. Both scholars have opened up new horizons for spatial theory, identifying how white supremacy, colonialist structures, and heteropatriarchy restrict or expand a person's mobility and her access to resources, health, bodily integrity, and justice within a given space. For Glen Coulthard and Leanne Simpson (2016), this racial and spatial disjunction is directly related to their call for a "grounded normativity": an Indigenous political practice and ethics that are intimately connected to land, sovereignty, place, and associated forms of knowledge that have been directly targeted by the Canadian settler state.

Thinking spatially reveals connections between the emotional geographies of participants, politics of the body, localized gender and city regimes, and the colonial state. To bring the colonial and spatial aspects of these intersecting stories into stronger focus, I reiterate Sherene Razack's (2015, 929) questions throughout the thesis: "how is ongoing dispossession embodied?" Importantly, I insist on continually revisting the question: "how are women challenging these dispossessions through active forms of resistance?"

Description of the project

In 2016, I mobilized a photovoice project to explore issues of safety and security in North Point Douglas through the lens of nine community women. Developed in partnership with the North Point Douglas Women's Centre and with support from the Manitoba Research Alliance and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the project created a platform for women to discuss and create visual narratives around questions of safety, security, and wellbeing in Winnipeg's North End. Using photography to relay visual information in regards to safety, security, and mobility issues that affect women in the community represented a unique, participatory medium for women to contribute to anti-violence, anti-racism, and decolonizing activism in Winnipeg.

I work alongside the North Point Douglas Women's Centre on the Executive Board in the position of chairwoman. Although the participants and co-researchers in the project where not known to me before the project was launched, I had a strong understanding of community issues and concerns in NPD and a desire to work more closely with community members. The project took shape through initial conversations with the Executive Director and two staff members from the Centre and their understanding of working with Centre participants who experience both

direct and structural violence within the colonial state. Some women have missing Indigenous sisters and continue to fight for justice in their names. These conversations, paired with an understanding of spatially concentrated and racialized poverty in geographically distinct neighbourhoods in the city, led me to ask more particular questions around the spatial and racial dimensions of insecurity, safety, and sexual violence in Winnipeg.

One of the central concerns of the photovoice project was to highlight and understand (un)safe spaces for women living in North Point Douglas and how women are responding to and challenging multiple forms of violence initiated at the grass roots level. This project initially sought to document and understand how sexual violence operates in the city. Limiting critical engagement to sexual violence alone becomes highly problematic as many of the women that I worked with are affected by multiple forms of violence, be it structural, lateral or direct, cultural, spiritual, emotional, and/or mental. Sexual violence cannot be researched apart from the multiple forms of violence women face in NPD. To do so would conceal how this form of violence intersects with state violence and ongoing colonial processes. As one participant told me, "Everything connects."

It is my hope that the academic research contributions will be both empirical and more broadly conceptual. From an empirical perspective, my primary academic contribution will be furthering an emerging literature on safety and security issues for women in urban spaces and emerges from the women's knowledge and stories within this project. This empirical research will be mobilized by a conceptual design that I believe is untested within Peace Studies. My aim is to bring the spatial turn and, more specifically, literature on spatial justice, into the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. Furthermore, alongside the spatial justice literature, I incorporate critical scholarship from feminist geography, critical race theory, and Indigenous scholarship in

order to analyze specific sites of both inequality and of resistance. Additionally, the empirical and conceptual research elements will be brought together in a mapping exercise that will identify (un)safe spaces as well as highlight feminist and Indigenous activism within North Point Douglas. It is my sense that a mapping project like this one is needed in Winnipeg and specifically in North Point Douglas, an area that is often neglected by city planners and policy advocates operating in the neoliberal colonial city.[2]

Organization of the thesis

Chapter two contextualizes the argument that *space matters* when discussing ongoing embodied dispossessions that women face in North Point Douglas. I frame the practice and process of colonial dispossession in the inner city in order to understand how this encounter produces unjust space. Importantly, I show how the production of the North End as a space apart from the rest of Winnipeg was not an outcome of a natural course of events; it was the product of deeply embedded historical, political, and economic forces that enclosed the North End and Indigenous peoples in a particular space. Yet the tale of dispossession told in this narrative is not all-encompassing. The second half of the chapter highlights community-based activism and Indigenous resistance that challenge these dispossessions and are inherently spatial in their manifestation. Hope and community are still strong in NPD.

[2] Harvey (2005) offers a definition of neoliberalism as a system of "accumulation by dispossession," comprised of four main pillars: 1) the "privatization and commodification of public goods; 2) "financialization"; 3) the "management and manipulation of crises"; and 4) "state redistribution," whereas the state becomes the mechanism in which wealth is redistributed upwards to economic elites (p. 159-164). The neoliberal agenda in Canada has seen the disinvestment in social supports for women and the dismantling of the physical infrastructure of women's centres, thereby contributing to women's insecurity. This broad definition plays out in different ways in different places and an understanding of the characteristics of neoliberalism in Winnipeg and the North End in relation to women's safety will be part of a broader agenda of this thesis work.

Chapter three confronts the analytical question at the heart of this thesis: how can we extend the concept of spatial justice to make space for an understanding of colonial-spatial relationships that produce unjust geographies for women living in the settler state? I do this by building a critical spatial framework that brings critical feminist geographies, critical race theory, and Indigenous scholarship into conversation. I view the multiple forms of violence that women face in North Point Douglas as ongoing colonial dispossessions, what I call *embodied dispossessions*.

Chapter four discusses the need for critical and intersectional methodologies when engaging in research with Indigenous communities in a settler state. I introduce both Indigenous methodologies and participatory action research as the primary methods informing the production of knowledge for the project; namely, photovoice and the sharing circle. I use this chapter to describe the fundamentals of the research process and the photovoice project, ending with a discussion on research ethics and reflexivity through relational accountability. The following chapter outlines the process of the action project that emerged from photovoice practice and series of meetings, showcasing the major body of participant photography. It is here that participant photographs are presented, alongside their accompanying narrative comments.

The first data-driven chapter presents themes generated in discussion within the project connected to what participants described as "Culture of Violence." The themes were articulated by participants themselves within sharing circles and participant interviews. Together we collectively produced the two thematic documents offered in these chapters. In the "Culture of Violence" chapter, I continue to explore a central normative question: "why is it important to think spatially about the multiple forms of violence women face on the ground and within the colonial city alongside their resistance to such violence?" In the following chapter, in order to

avoid the kind of proscriptive characterization of the North End as a space of poverty, violence, and danger, I offer a discussion of themes connected to what participants describe as a "Culture of Hope." Culture of Hope is an outlook and ethos that guides women's approach and work towards resisting and combatting violence in their lives, in their community, and in their city. The chapter also documents women's active, embodied, every-day activism and resistance to multiple forms of colonial violence. There is hope in North Point Douglas and the participants insist that it should be front and centre of this presentation of spatial justice in North Point Douglas.

Story Three: Resistance and "Warrior Women"

It's a bright summer morning in the North End. I'm on my way to pick up Aleesha at her house. Although Aleesha is the youngest participant in the project, she has many adult responsibilities. At age nineteen, Aleesha is the primary care-giver to her younger sisters, a responsibility she takes great pride in. The Centre has always been a big part of her life. She often talks about how the Centre practically raised her when she was growing up. Aleesha now works at the Centre running the Girl's Group, a mentorship and leadership program for youth.

Aleesha has been asked by CBC Radio to talk about the upcoming photovoice exhibit at the Urban Shaman Contemporary Art Gallery called *The Voice From Point Douglas. The Voice* is the culmination of five months of work and research executed by photovoice participants. Aleesha jokes that she was more nervous waking up at 5AM to make the morning radio show than actually talking on live radio about her experiences. We arrive at the CBC studio and Aleesha is introduced to the radio team and broadcaster who will be interviewing her. I am asked to wait in the viewing room while Aleesha is being fitted with microphone and headphones in the sound room. She is poised and ready to tell her story.

Aleesha speaks about what it was like growing up in North Point Douglas as a young girl. She talks about her photographs; one shows layered images including the Women's Centre, a poster of a young missing Indigenous woman named Delaine Copenance, and a reflection of her old apartment building where she witnessed a murder at the age of 11. Her second photograph shows prescription pill bottles and speaks to Aleesha's struggle and triumph over addiction. The interviewer asks her what she hopes to accomplish with the exhibit and in talking about her concerns with perceptions of North Point Douglas. She responds with, "I hope that it's a safer and better place for people, that people don't think that it's a really bad community when it really isn't." Aleesha's story illustrates that dispossessions can be contested through social action. If unjust geographies are socially produced then they can also be shaped and changed by political and social resistance.

CHAPTER 2: SPATIAL (IN)JUSTICE IN NORTH POINT DOUGLAS

Winnipeg's North End has a lasting legacy of stigmatization, with many "outsiders" perceiving it as a zone of crime, violence, and degeneracy. Contradictions abound in the North End space. It exists within the city but is outside of it, characterized by city neglect and callousness, on one hand, and an intense city campaign of attrition, containment, and violent state interventions on the other. It is also home to a culture of resistance and a wide range of community-based organizations and Aboriginal-led organizations that follow a community development approach to tackling poverty-related issues and empower community members who are affected by poverty, racism, and colonialism.

Winnipeg's North End is also home to the North Point Douglas Women's Centre (NPDWC), nestled in the heart of North Point Douglas at Euclid and Austin Streets. Along the side of the NPDWC is a mural painted with words that read "family," "love," "sisters," and "hope"—words that encapsulate the ethos of the Centre and its guiding principles. The NPDWC was started in 2000 by community women as an empowerment project that emphasized the need for female leaders to address issues of inequality and violence as well as women's diverse needs in the community. With the support of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, these leaders established the NPDWC, a space where women could come together to identify community issues, devise solutions, and create meaningful change. Although the Centre started as a safe space for women to gather and seek much needed resources, its focus is to create healthy families in the community. Support extends to men in the community since it is understood that all members need support, healing programs, and opportunities to fully engage as citizens and create positive change in their community. The Centre recognizes that trauma, alienation, and

exclusion are ongoing consequences of colonialism, racism, and oppression. They exist to "walk with women" on the path to combat these injustices. The organization is community-led and its programming created and evaluated from the "Medicine Wheel," an Indigenous traditional and holistic approach to community development.

Winnipeg is now home to the largest Indigenous population in Canada, with Indigenous people making up between 28 and 55 percent of the population in five inner-city neighbourhoods, including Lord Selkirk Park and Point Douglas, North End neighbourhoods where the majority of participants in this project reside (Silver, 2010). The 2016 census recorded 92,810 Aboriginal residents in Winnipeg, which constitutes over 10 percent of Winnipeg's population (Statistics Canada 2016). According to the NPDWC Needs Assessment Report, over 29 percent of residents who identify as Aboriginal reside in North Point Douglas. Further, 50 percent of the community lives under the poverty line and 15 percent of the population is unemployed. The presence of stressors such as poverty, unemployment, addiction, and lack of education create an environment of insecurity for women and their families. We begin to see that NPDWC is not only a hub for Indigenous-led activism and much-needed programming for residents, but also a life-line for many. It is also a space of refuge, of hope and possibility, and of need.

A thorough historical analysis of colonization, settlement, and industrialization of Winnipeg is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I ground the chapter in an analysis of colonial dispossessions and Indigenous resistance to highlight the idea that like other colonial cities, Winnipeg's incorporation and development was contingent on the annexation and multiple displacements of Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands. Anne O'Connell (2010) reminds us that no space is "neutral or naturally occurring" (541). Instead, spaces are made

through historical and political processes and, in the case of Winnipeg, are structured on colonialist narratives that imbue space with meaning, constructing zones of inclusion and exclusion that produce gendered and racialized power relationships (O'Connell, 2010). The history of these power relationship is the primary focus of this chapter.

The primary aim of this chapter is to contextualize colonial dispossession in the inner city and to understand how this produces unjust space. The second goal is to highlight community-based activism and Indigenous resistance that actively challenge ongoing dispossessions to reshape the social-spatial terrain in Winnipeg. This chapter proceeds in three parts. First, I chart the historical geographical development of the North End and follow this with a discussion of how uneven urban development produces social and economic inequalities in the colonial city. Second, I argue that uneven urban development was predicated on the containment and expulsion of certain ethnic populations that continue to shape the built environment today. Third, the chapter highlights the importance of community-based organizations and Indigenous resistance and activism in the production of a safety network for marginalized people living in the inner city. Taken together, this discussion contextualizes the argument that space matters – spatial justice is a valuable critical lens – when discussing ongoing embodied dispossessions that women face in North Point Douglas.

Spatial injustice in Winnipeg: Historical context

Manitoba's colonial history and relationship to Indigenous peoples has patterned contemporary configurations of spatial injustice in the city, producing multiscalar social, political, and economic inequalities that shape its current landscape. From 1870-1930 the fur trade economy contributed to Winnipeg's commercial development whereby new regimes of private property,

the land system, and natural resource extraction, reinforced by English civil and criminal law, drastically affected Indigenous peoples' way of life, their economies, and their spatial organization (Peters, 2000; cf. Harris 1995). Geographer Frank Tough (2011) chronicles the economic history of Manitoba between 1870-1930, highlighting the technologies of Indigenous dispossession during the shift from mercantilism to industrial capitalism to argue forcefully against the colonial narrative that claimed the dislocation of Indigenous societies was the result of their inability to keep pace with industrial modernity. Tough shows how Indigenous peoples participated in the shifting economic geographies of the region, dominated` by the fur trade, producing a similar "moditional" economy described by John Lutz in the context of Indigenous-settler labour and economic relations in British Columbia (Lutz, 2009; cf. Colpitts 2014).

In Manitoba during this period, Indigenous peoples maintained 'traditional' subsistence systems while also participating directly and intentionally in the bourgeoning system of capital exchange (Peters, 2000). Clearly, Indigenous peoples had agency in this transitional encounter, but this process did not preclude multiple forms of state-sanctioned dispossession. Following Tough's (2011) narrative of dispossession, economic dislocations forced Indigenous peoples into treaty negotiations, yet these did not produce equitable rights or ownership outcomes or resource allocations. Instead, Indigenous peoples were placed in a double bind: loss of land base rights resulted in loss of control over resources while treaty agreements failed to honour access to natural resources or the capital for Indigenous economies to thrive against competing industries. Further, the state was slow to negotiate treaties within Indigenous nations until capital over-exploited resources in Northern Manitoba (forests, fur, mining, caribou) with damaging effects for Indigenous communities. Tough argues that the economic disparity experienced by Indigenous communities after 1945 are the direct result of a sustained project of economic

underdevelopment by colonial powers. Peters (2000) reaffirms this argument: "Dispossession resulted not only from the legal terms of the treaties, but also from the failure to create mechanisms which would have provided economic compensation for the loss of common property resources" (48). Critical geographer Cole Harris (1997) has also documented how the "land system" operated to further dislocate Indigenous groups from their lands:

> [The land system] introduced exclusions that established where people could and could not go, and backed these exclusions with a decentered system of surveillance. Suddenly there were survey lines and fences on the land. There were owners who could identify trespassers, tell them to get off, and know that their commands would be backed, if need be, by the full apparatus of the state. [...] In a colonial regime, the emphasis of power had shifted toward the control of land, the management of movement thereon, an imposed spatial discipline with a profound capacity to modify Native life. (101)

In 1867 *British North American (BNA) Act* (Section 91(24)) granted the federal government jurisdiction over the administration of Indians and Indian reserves (Stevenson, 1999). Legislation within the *BNA Act* consolidated previous colonial regulations regarding Indian status, lands, and revenues, and institutionalized the Indian Department (now Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada). In 1876 the *Indian Act* was passed, which granted the state sweeping powers over Indigenous life and lands. Treaties One and Two agreements resulted in massive containment projects in Southern Manitoba that saw the relocation of Indigenous peoples to reserve systems that have continuing implications for Indigenous identities, rights, and governance (Stevenson, 1999). As Evelyn Peters (2000) documents, reserve systems were established in remote locations to spatially separate Indigenous bodies from urban centers. This was in part due to racist beliefs that urban life was incompatible with Indigenous traditional lifeways and Indigenous settlement would create a burden on urban economies. Further, the *Indian Act* solidified the association between Indigenous rights and identities and their location

on reserves. The federal government authorized responsibility for reserve systems, but equated Indigenous peoples living off-reserve as Canadian citizens without Indigenous rights or benefits, thereby institutionalizing the reserve-urban dichotomy and denying Indigenous peoples' relationship to their traditional land (Peters, 2000).

Colonial technologies of Indigenous dispossession were not gender neutral. Colonial legislation created patriarchal gender systems on reserve with detrimental effects to Indigenous women's autonomy, identity, and traditional governance roles. From 1876 to 1951, colonial legislation allowed only Indigenous men to engage in reserve politics, erasing Indigenous women's traditional political and economic governance roles and installing male-dominated political systems on reserve (Stevenson, 1999; Peters, 2002; Carter, 1993). Under the same legislation, an Indigenous woman who married a non-Indigenous man lost her Indian status and right to live on-reserve. Additionally, Indigenous women who married Indigenous men from a different Band were transferred to their husbands' reserve. Cree historian Winonna Stevenson (1999) explains that gender-specific provisions within the *Act* were meant to "reduce the number of status Indians the government was responsible for, impose Europeans patrilineage systems, and elevate the power and authority of men at the expense of women" (68).

In 1872, the Canadian government passed the *Dominion Lands Act* that established the conditions for the erasure of traditional Indigenous territories in favour of Euro-Canadian settlement and agricultural development in Winnipeg. Free and low-cost homesteads offered to white European immigrants and the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1881 contributed to the rapid industrial and commercial development of Winnipeg. By 1886, Winnipeg's population had grown to 20,000. The vast Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) yard was the industrial backbone of Winnipeg's economy; it also created geographical boundaries within

the city that spatially separated the rail yards from the rest of the city, with lasting spatial effects that still echo today. As Jim Silver (2010) describes, "the rail yards cut the city in half" (333), which structured the built environment of the North End. The CPR "North Yards" became the "North End," an area dubbed the "Foreign Quarter" due to the mainly Eastern European immigrants that resided there (Hiebert, 1991).

Class and ethnicity played a key factor in structuring who participated in and exploited Winnipeg's growing economy. For example, the integration of particular kinds of immigrants into the labour market was closely aligned with ethnicity (Silver, 2010; Hiebert, 1991). Most large-business owners were British and "90 percent of Winnipeg's professional, managerial, and other white-collar workforce was also British," while "two-thirds of all German and Scandinavian heads of households were blue collar workers" (Hiebert 1991, 69). The city's economic elite and managers of the CPR dominated Winnipeg's economy and solidified their hegemony through the establishment of the Board of Trade and participation in political affairs in the city (Heibert, 1991). Vast wealth was amassed quickly by enterprising settlers in local industries and real estate.

In 1901, class-based segregation resulted in a clear north-south city divide, where living conditions of the poor were hidden away from view by the CPR yard. Adverse health and living conditions characterized the North End. Overcrowding within poor-quality housing and shanty developments was common. Most houses were not connected to the city's water supply, contributing to poor sanitary conditions and the 1904-5 typhoid epidemic, which resulted in the highest mortality rate from the illness in all of North America (Silver, 2010). Poverty-level wages were common for workers living in the North End. J.S. Woodsworth, director for the All Peoples' Mission, recorded in 1908-9 that a minimum annual income of $1200 was needed to

maintain a healthy standard of living, compared to the annual average income of $600 or less that many lived on. Child labour was also recorded as a common-place practice and a necessary way to supplement family incomes (Silver 2010 cf. Artibise, 1975).

Adverse living conditions and poverty were blamed not on subsistence wages but on the "moral failings of the poor," despite the fact that the majority of North End residents were employed with the railways or in textile factories, mills, shops, and stores (Silver, 2010, 334). North End residents at the turn of the twentieth century faced discrimination and prejudice from the wealthy or elite class. As Jim Mochoruk and Nancy Kardash have documented, the distain and racism was blantant:

> The Slavs were the 'despised men in sheepskin coats', 'dumb hunkies'…Polacks, 'drunkards'…the Germans were the much-hated enemies of the last war; and finally, the Jews faced extreme anti-Semitism, ranging from ethnic slurs, housing covenants, which excluded them from the rest of the city and a quota system which kept their children out of the medical school at University of Manitoba, to actual violence against persons and property. (Silver, 2010, 336)

In this sense, the North End was not only geographically separated from the rest of the city, but it was also deeply segregated space marked by its perception of foreignness, poverty, and "undesirable character" (Silver, 2010).

Jim Silver's work has been central to understanding the historical narrative of the North End as a layered analysis of labour politics, class and ethnic relations, and poverty experienced by Eastern European immigrant workers at the turn of the century. However, many other narratives are left out of his description of the North End history. Due to restrictive gender relations at the time, limited opportunities for women to participate fully in the labour market saw many women from various ethnicities and class backgrounds seek remuneration as brothel keepers and workers in the sex trade. Unofficial red-light districts around Colony Creek,

presently downtown Winnipeg, and Thomas Street, now Minto Street (Loftson, 2015) were established by a group of women from a range of classes and ethnicities (Wilkinson, 2016). In 1904, a sustained campaign against "social vice" led by Mayor Thomas Sharpe closed down Winnipeg's red-light district but failed to eliminate sex work throughout the city. Whereas sex work was previously contained in a red-light district, women now took to working more visibly in public spaces.

Growing visibility of sex work resulted in the Mayor's office reestablishing a policy of containment by moving sex work across the tracks to North Point Douglas, dubbed the "Segregated District." The creation of a sex work district had multiple benefits for the city. It protected property values of the middle and upper classes, ensured that "boomtown" remained attractive to settlers and labourers, and allowed municipal and provincial governments to capitalize on regulation through the administration of prostitution fines levied on sex workers and brothel owners. Winnipeg residents supported segregation because it moved the sex trade across the tracks away from plain sight and into an increasingly racialized neighbourhood that most "respectable" residents never frequented (Wilkinson, 2016).

Historian Amy Wilkinson (2016) has documented how urban development of Winnipeg relied on the acceptance of informal economies like sex work during this time:

> Business owners, civic officials, and women themselves recognized the important role prostitution and other informal economies played a part in the demographic and physical growth of the city and understood the necessity of the regulatory discourses and actions that developed in response to them. By producing and reshaping the city's red-light districts, Winnipeg's sex workers—and the other historical actors with who[m] they interacted—influenced the social and geographic patterns of urban development in boomtown, the effects of which can still be felt one hundred years later. Prostitution in Winnipeg was not—as some have argued—an effect of urban development, instead it was constitutive of it. (8)

This argument strays from much of the other historical research on the North End or on sex work in Winnipeg since it highlights the role "women played in shaping the social and geographic patterns of Winnipeg's early development" (8). In this sense, the women who worked in the sex trade shaped the city space by competing economic and material interests of the city; the police, city officials, and politicians understood the importance the sex trade played in the larger economy and actively participated in the production of the district, and in the maintenance of white affluent neighbourhoods. As much agency and financial gain that women achieved within this informal economy, the Segregation District also led to increased surveillance and regulation of women's bodies by city and state actors. It also re-inscribed North Point Douglas as a zone of 'degeneracy' to be contained, policed, and set apart from other city spaces.

The North End after the Second World War

Despite the spatial segregation of the North End, many businesses flourished in the middle decades of the twentieth century along with a proliferation of social, cultural, and educational organizations built by the culturally and ethnically diverse population (Silver, 2006; Hiebert 1991). Selkirk Avenue was a business hotspot with over 128 businesses and a public market between Flora and Stella Streets across from the CPR yards (Silver, 2010). As Silver (2010) claims, although people were relatively poor at this time, they were also employed as labourers, tailors, blacksmiths, caretakers, clerks, food mongers, etc. and participated in "literary associations, sports clubs, and a wide range of alternative schools that kept alive traditional teachings and languages" (338). There existed a vigorous co-operative sector that aided in food provision and helped to provide basic needs for community members, radical labour political

organizations and organized meetings to give voice to worker rights, and mutual aid societies providing services and resources to the disadvantaged (Silver, 2010).

Discrimination experienced by North Enders began to dissipate after World War II. Many were able to rise to the middle class through occupations in law and medicine and through small business ownership. The suburbanization of Winnipeg saw wealthier residents migrating to newly burgeoning suburbs, a process that continued well into the 1980s. The movement of residents to the suburbs contributed to the hollowing out of the North End, as many businesses closed or relocated to newly developed suburbs, bringing with them skilled workers. As a result, the North End's once lively commercial district atrophied and the city's poorest neighbourhoods were adversely affected due to a lack of investment in infrastructure and social services. As people left the North End, real estate values plummeted. Emerging landlords capitalized on the downturn on property values by buying properties to be used as rooming houses (Silver, 2010). The North End and the inner city became a space of cheap housing for lower-income people, a process resulting in the spatialization of poverty.

This project of spatial reorganization of the city was controlled by the Winnipeg's City Planning Department and was heavily subsidized by government through patterns of investment in infrastructure to service the suburbs and through government support for mortgages (Silver, 2010). By 1974, suburban political dominance of Winnipeg's City Council pursued large-scale development and beautification projects rather than public investment in the inner city and poverty-alleviation strategies (Galston, 2015). For example, Robert Galston (2015), quoting Llyod Axworthy, noted that city council exhibited a "disregard for economic or social development policies that would have met the needs native people who have migrated to the

central city" (45). As capital projects took seed in downtown Winnipeg, entrenched poverty in surrounding neighbourhoods was overlooked by council.

The spatial segregation of poverty produced a secondary demographic migration that took place alongside suburbanization. As the middle class was leaving the North End, Indigenous peoples were moving in large numbers from remote reserve communities in the years after 1960 due to overcrowding and a lack of economic opportunities on reserve communities. Ongoing incursions on Indigenous economies exacerbated by the inability of federal reserve systems to provide basic economic opportunities and adequate housing supports for First Nations populations, pushing Indigenous peoples into the city (Peters, 2000). A changing labour market due to post-industrial restructuring and racist beliefs towards Indigenous peoples created serious barriers to employment. Jobs that were previously available to Eastern European migrants with little formal education during the city's boom period, namely, industrial jobs in factories and warehouses, were relocated to suburbs or overseas. Further, Indigenous migration to prairie cities was viewed with malign by government, employers, and non-Indigenous city residents, popularizing the racist belief that Indigenous peoples were incapable of adjusting to Euro-Canadian city life (Peters, 2002). The National Commission on the Indian Canadian conference on Indigenous urbanization in 1957 reflected this view:

> Our Indian Canadian is faced or hampered with … his own personality. The Indian Canadian is different from his fellow Canadians of European descent…. These differences are from his cultural heritage…. For instance, his concepts of time, money, social communication, hygiene, usefulness competition and cooperation are at variance with our own and can prove a stumbling block to successful adjustment. (Cited in Peters, 2002, 58)

Peters (2002) documents from 1950s onwards, governments' and city officials' apprehension towards Indigenous migration and their worries about the 'health' of cities in regards to protecting property values, maintaining welfare costs, and the fear of "inner-city

decay" (57). The Saskatchewan Government's 1960 proposal to the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons stated that, "the day is not far distant when the burgeoning Indian population, now largely confined to reservations, will explode into white communities and present a serious problem indeed" (58). As late as 1977, a City of Winnipeg report confirms this fear: "A major in-migration of generally low skilled, minimally educated … and relatively impoverished people will serve to exacerbate the increasing expenditure and service demands" (57). By the 1980s, many Indigenous peoples had settled in the North End and the city's core where housing costs were low. Yet Indigenous people taking residence in the city core were met with "consistently inadequate or misdirected governmental response to increasingly severe infrastructure degradation and rising poverty" (Masuda et al., 2012, 1247; Alaazi, 2015).

North Point Douglas today: Spatial justice and the production of safe space

On reviewing this history, we begin to understand how poverty in the North End was spatially concentrated and historically shaped the built environment of the North End. As described by Silver (2010), poverty and racism continue in today's North End; however, the type of poverty and the nature of the racism experienced by Indigenous people are markedly different from the experiences of Eastern European immigrants. Moreover, while the socio-political and spatial character of poverty in the North End and robust culture of resistance continues, it differs in important ways (Silver, 2010). Historically, poverty experienced in the 1900s was a "poverty of the working poor; it was a working class phenomenon" (Silver, 2005, 331). However, after the Second World War, with shifts in the labour market due to post-industrialist restructuring and the outsourcing of factory jobs, a large portion of people residing in the North End who live in

poverty are the "jobless poor," operating out outside of and with little experience of the labour market.

Silver (2010) uses the term "new poverty" or "complex poverty" to differentiate the poverty that people experienced at the turn of the century in the North End from contemporary "spatially concentrated racialized poverty" that exists today (348). Aptly using two metaphors to explain "new poverty," Silver writes:

> One is the notion of a complex web—a web of poverty, racism, drugs, gangs, violence. The other is the notion of a cycle—people caught in a cycle of inter-related problems. Both suggest the idea of people who are trapped, immobilized, unable to escape, destined to struggle with forces against which they cannot extricate themselves. The result is despair, resignation, anger, hopelessness, which then reinforce the cycle and wrap them tighter in the web. (Silver, 2009)

Poverty and violence experienced by communities in the North End are patterned on historic and contemporary processes of colonialism. For example, Indigenous families and communities have experienced lasting intergenerational trauma and cycles of violence as a result of land dispossessions, cultural genocide, the disappearance and murder of Indigenous women, the residential school system, high incarceration rates, and institutionalized racism in many facets of governmental systems. As a consequence, the emotional and psychic effects of living in poverty experienced today are more pronounced and psychologically damaging. For Indigenous youth the real lack of employment opportunities has created an environment in which gangs, drugs, sex work, and associated street-level violence become a feature of entrenched poverty (Comack et al., 2009). Marginalization and poverty in the North End is layered over and exacerbated by the persistent class inequities that have characterized social relations in the North End in the postwar era. We begin to understand how class, race, and spatial configuration intersect to create an environment spatial injustice in the city. While class is an important component of this dynamic it is not front and centre of the intersectional analysis that I develop

in this thesis. Yet it is still held within the intersectional analysis; the historical context of this class analysis can be seen in this context chapter and its echoes are present throughout the gender and spatial frameworks produced later on.

Yet there is boundless resolve and strength represented in community members' resilience and their resistance to abject poverty, multiple forms of violence, and social disadvantage experienced within the North End. Daily acts of individual resistance alongside more organized attempts to transform the inner city continue to motivate community members to transform their lives and community in positive ways. These acts of resistance, either individualized or more organized, come to represent a profound spirit of activism that abounds in North Point Douglas.

Grounded community development

Contemporary responses to poverty and violence in the inner city and the North End has taken the shape of a home-grown, grass-roots form of development involving a multiplicity of small community-based organizations (CBOs). Bronwyn Dobchuk-Land, Owen Toews, and Jim Silver (2010) describe CBOs as "relatively small, non-profit, non-governmental organizations typically delivering and/or coordinating services of some kind, located in inner city neighbourhoods, staffed largely by inner-city residents, and funded primarily by government, United Way Winnipeg, various foundations and occasionally private funders" (21). This collection of CBOs is dynamic and designed and spearheaded by inner-city community members rather than external "experts." The work of these CBOs is instrumental in breaking down the multiple barriers that exist for many individuals living in the North End, whether in the form of healing from intergenerational trauma, male violence and aggression, creating job opportunities

and training, recidivism programs[3], arts-based youth and educational programs, or family-oriented services and resources.

Within the network of CBOs are distinctive Indigenous CBOs that work alongside and sometimes in collaboration with non-Indigenous CBOs. Ka Ni Kanichihk, Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Ndinawemaaganag Endawaad, The Indigenous Women's Healing Centre, Urban Circle Training Centre, Thunderbird House, and the North Point Douglas Women's Centre are a few of the Indigenous-led CBOs that utilize a holistic framework to community development with an ideological and political approach to decolonization. A holistic approach to community development focuses on the need to utilize Indigenous epistemological and spiritual frameworks to assist individuals in healing from multiple forms of violence produced by colonization and racism, and to strengthen traditional and cultural knowledges, all of which are guided by Indigenous cultural values.

One example of a holistic and Indigenous-based model is the Circle of Courage model utilized by the North Point Douglas Women's Centre within all of their programs. The Circle of Courage model was first described in the book *Reclaiming Youth at Risk* written by Larry Brendtro and Martin Broken Leg (2009). The Circle of Courage is a medicine wheel representing balance and harmony. The four quadrants represent universal developmental needs of Indigenous people: belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity. For the North Point Douglas Women's Centre, the model is paramount in their work towards decolonization. The Centre incorporates the Circle of Courage model in their programming in order for participants to understand the roots of their trauma and to heal from past or ongoing trauma, while also creating

[3] recidivism programs are those that offer social re-integration supports to offenders re-entering society.

pathways to community participation and activism. Bianca Ramos, Safety Coordinator with the NPDWC explained during an interview:

> More and more so now I feel like we're trying to adopt different like initiatives or strategies [that] fall in line with the Truth and Reconciliation and decolonization. I think it affects our overall outlook on things. We're talking about, Dr. Brokenhead's Circle of Courage model and that model is separated into four quadrants: belonging, mastery, independence and generosity. The way that I interpret belonging is creating a community; mastery is learning all our skills and acknowledging our skills; independence is learning how to take responsibility for our actions and be our own person; and generosity is giving back to the community. I think the model shows how healing leads to activism. We have created a safe space for people, acknowledge their gifts, and give them opportunities to make good choices. Through that process is where they'll be able to give back to the community. And because everyone has something to offer, I think it's creating the environment for them to do that.

Indigenous-led community development directly challenges atomistic Western models of development because it begins with the deconstruction of colonial historical forces and how Indigenous peoples, and by extension their communities, are negatively affected (Silver, Ghorayshi, and Hay, 2006). Decolonizing efforts are inherently connected to Indigenous self-determination in which Indigenous community development and cultural continuation are its two main pillars. In the context of Indigenous-led community development, to de-colonize means that participants are made aware of the structural reasons for complex poverty and multiple forms of violence in their lives brought on by the continuing legacy of colonialism rather than individualizing responsibility. To decolonize also encompasses the pursuit of cultural continuation whereby Indigenous participants are provided with opportunities to learn about their traditional heritage and culture. This tactic is meant to empower participants through deconstructing colonialist agendas, structures, and discourses in order to understand the roots of internalized oppression. It often begins with individual healing work based on variations of the

medicine wheel teachings and the seven sacred teachings, and building an appreciation of one's culture and heritage as a source of pride and strength.

The Indigenous CBOs mentioned above are led by passionate Indigenous leaders who have experienced complex poverty and multiple forms of colonial violence living in the inner city. They are what Silver (2010) describes as "organic intellectuals," meaning they are "deeply knowledgeable about who they are, about how they came to be constructed as they have been by broad historical forces, and about how to build for positive change" (351).

Community-based organizations as safe space network

The collection of CBOs mentioned above create a network of safety for the many participants that they work alongside. Based on their interviews with 48 representatives of CBOs in four inner-city neighbourhoods, including North Point Douglas, Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver (2010) have categorized three ways in which CBOs effectively work towards safety within the inner city: they act as "first responders to safety concerns; as mediators between residents and government institutions; and as builders of networks and community bonds" (21). The secondary benefits produced by CBOs make clear the more salient contributions towards the positive social production of spatiality in Winnipeg and more broadly to spatial justice in the inner city.

Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver (2010) see CBOs as "first responders to safety concerns" in communities (21). For example, women who experience intimate partner abuse or sexual assault will access a women's or family centre rather than seeking help from the hospital or police. CBOs in themselves are recognized as safe spaces with staff that are knowledgeable and non-judgmental. Utilizing a strengths-based approach, staff work alongside participants to

insure that particular interventions do not produce unwanted results; for example, a mother getting her children taken by Child and Family Services because of domestic abuse. CBOs also create programs designed to empower women and their families. For example, NPDWC offers programs that help women heal from physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual violence, a men's anti-violence group, and a healthy parenting program. They also provide drop-in services where women and men can access a counselor free of charge, make available emergency food bundles, and access resources to assist in housing needs. As first responders, CBOs shield against social and economic vulnerability and insecurity that would otherwise see women and their families resort to participating in informal economies like sex work and crime.

Community consultations led by NPDWC that measure positive outcomes for participants have reported that their work encourages community participation through volunteerism and community events. This promotes social cohesion, skill development, and self-confidence of participants. Further, women and men are breaking cycles of intergenerational trauma and addiction in their families, and have become better parents or guardians. In this sense, the work of CBOs extends outward into the community and within the intimate spaces of people's homes and relationships.

Besides being first responders to safety concerns, CBOs also act as mediators between community members and governmental institutions (Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver, 2010, 22), often mentioned by study participants as "systems" to describe Family Child Services, Employment and Income Assistance, police, and the judiciary. These systems are seen as the extension of colonial forces, difficult to navigate, and hostile to the wellbeing of the individual, and are often avoided if necessary. CBOs often assist residents in navigating these state institutions. In the case of NPDWC, staff, volunteers, or peer support workers will accompany a

participant to a governmental office to ensure that they are not harassed or disregarded due to prejudiced officers and governmental workers.

Additionally, Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver noted community residents were hesitant to call the police in regards to safety concerns as they may be seen as "rats," which many result in a backlash from the community, or do not trust the police to resolve the issue in an ethical and productive manner; others fear police brutality and the possibility that they may be targeted by police despite trying to access their protection. The North Point Douglas Residents Committee created the "Powerline," which allows community residents to anonymously call in safety concerns or issues in the neighbourhood. Powerline is still operational and used quite frequently by residents and, for the most part, is well responded to by the police.

According to Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver (2010), CBOs are also adept at creating strong community networks and "social bonds" (23). For example, NPDWC noticed that parents were fearful of their children walking to school by themselves due to the threat of johns and sex trafficking in North Point Douglas. There is no public school bus service in North Point Douglas. NPDWC designed the Walking School Bus program to the remedy this safety issue in which peer workers pick up children from their homes and walk them to and from Norquay School. A similar issue of sex work and children's safety was raised in William Whyte in the North End, which prompted Sage House to create a community volunteer program where safety monitors accompanied children to and from school and the creation of "safety corridors" for children. Sex workers have responded positively to this development and if issues arise, safety monitors contact Sage House before calling the police. Sage House also ran "perspective building" meetings with residents to make them aware of the multiple forms of violence sex workers routinely face as well as the socio-economic reasons that women are pushed into street-level sex

work. These sessions created a deeper understanding of the politics of sex work and fostered compassion towards sex workers in the neighbourhood. According to Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver (2010), this is a strong example of community-level work that "changes the character of an intervention that can be defined as collective efficacy, from punitive/exclusive to supportive/inclusive" (24).

The Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver study creates a useful typology for understanding the work of CBOs and their secondary safety benefits. However, I offer an additional secondary benefit produced by CBOs; namely, how CBOs foster a ripe environment for community-based activism that is implicitly spatial and contributes to the production of safe space in the inner city.

Community-based activism and safety

The following examples of community-based activism have grown out of the work of CBOs or utilize the support of CBOs and are implicitly spatial in their configuration. They also bring varying activist groups together, working towards positive community development in the North End.

NPDWC Main Street Project

In 2016, NPDWC partnered with Status of Women Canada to create a community strategy to reduce violence on Main Street in the NPD neighbourhood. Women from the community gathered to consult one another about safety concerns and devise an action plan. After weeks of consultation, the women determined that causes of these safety concerns were the "lack of identity, community voice, and connection among community members and their [Indigenous] culture" (NPDWC Safety-Needs Assessment Report). This understanding led to the

creation of the Women's Warrior Circle and Men's Night Circle, both of which are guided by the work of psychologist Dr. Gabor Maté relating to trauma and addictions and supported by the understanding of intergenerational effect of the residential school system and Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

Warrior Women's Circle

Women's Warrior Circle is led by community women who focus on addressing the underlying causes of community issues. The group has a "supportive structure that eliminated barriers and encourages community women to assume leadership roles" (NPDWC Safety-Needs Assessment Report). The group embodies the seven sacred teachings (honesty, truth, respect, love, wisdom, humility, and courage) as a governance model and framework for action. This is a political act as the women believe that community concerns stem from a disconnection between Indigenous community members and their culture and the loss of the seven sacred teachings. Building relationships between community members and resurgence of Indigenous culture has become their key strategy to positive community development. The Circle of Courage model has been integrated into their work and relies on the idea that a sense of belonging builds healthy communities.

NPDWC's Men's Night Circle

Working with the men in the community was identified as a key strategy to reducing violence against women, increasing safety, and building healthy relationships in the community. In 2015, women within the NPDWC's Red Road to Healing Program—a program that supports survivors of domestic violence—identified the need and importance of providing men in the

community with similar resources and supportive programming. The women believe that in order to "reduce violence against women, men also need safe spaces to heal" (NPDWC Safety-Needs Assessment Report). The program seeks to create a sense of belonging and space for men to heal from ongoing colonial violence in order to fully engage as supportive community members alongside women. This work is integral to reducing recidivism and positive reintegration into the community as many men accessing this program are coming from correctional facilities. NPDWC states that, "this healing work is essential for building community capacity and is new to many community women" and provides "increasing opportunities for them to actively collaborate with women."

Meet Me at the Bell Tower

Meet Me at the Bell Tower (MMBT) began in 2011 after young community members were frustrated with the violence taking place in the North End. They were angered at attending frequent funerals and vigils of lost loved ones. Every Friday at 6PM, approximately 40 to 80 community members meet at the Bell Tower, Winnipeg's old city hall, for an evening of discussion, community activism and peer support. The bell is rung as a symbolic gesture so that others in the community are reminded that "there is a group of helpers that care about them" (Global News, 2017). The group moves to the Indigenous Family Centre for further discussion. Community activist Michael Champagne spoke about the importance of MMBT:

> Part of why young people being in leadership positions is so important for MMBT and the village is because indigenous young people too frequently, especially in Manitoba, are put into situation where their voices are silenced. So by simply asking for help and sharing our gifts we find that it is a very effective way to empower young people to determine what they feel are effective solutions. And by surrounding them with helpers that have various elements of systems literacy, and diverse gifts as well, we can build a solution that doesn't duplicate services but supports and enhances what's

> already happening out there in the community but provides additional support to the young people and the families (Global News, 2017).

These community meet-ups foster further community activism surrounding issues as diverse as youth employment, violence in the community, Shoal Lake #40 Freedom Road, and murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls, MMBT also interacts with other community-activist groups like the Bear Clan, Momma Bear Clan, NPDWC Warrior Women Circle and Men's Night Circle, which also contribute and participate in community discussions.

Bear Clan

Bear Clan is another example of community-based activism that spatializes safety in the inner city. Operating out of the Ndinawe Youth Drop-in Centre in the North End and with over 375 volunteers, Bear Clan is a community patrol group that promotes safety, conflict resolution, "mobile witnessing," and crime prevention, providing early responses to situations and building a sense of security and support for the community (Bear Clan website). Bear Clan "came about as a result of the ongoing need to assume our traditional responsibility to provide security to our Aboriginal community … the concept behind the patrol, then, is community people working with the community to provide personal security in the inner city in a non-threatening, non-violent and supportive way" (Bear Clan Website). Bear Clan was founded by Larry Morrissette in the 1990s and re-invigorated by James Flavel in 2014 as a response of the murder of 15 year old Tina Fontaine (Morrissette et al, 1993). It is a "community based solution to crime prevention that promotes safety, solidarity, and belonging to both its members and the communities they serve" (Website). In this sense, Bear Clan spatializes justice mainly through relationship and community building, and its conciliatory approach to safety within the communities it serves. There exists a decolonial aspect to Bear Clan's work as it is "an effort to restore to our

community the capacity to address our own needs. It is possible to re-develop our community according to our own values and vision" (Bear Clan website).

Mama Bear Clan

With the support and blessing of Bear Clan, NPDWC founded Mama Bear Clan, born out of the Women's Warrior Circle program, led by Indigenous women, and supported by men. Mama Bear Clan works mainly in and surrounding the North Point Douglas neighbourhood and follows the same community-based, conciliatory approach to safety and security as does Bear Clan. It also closely patrols areas close to the Red River, known to community members as an unsafe space for women. Members of the Mama Bear Clan have described the importance of having female-led safety patrol groups given the high number of cases of murdered and missing Indigenous women in Winnipeg. Jennifer Roulette, NPDWC staff member and patrol member, describes why Mama Bear Clan is important: "we need to empower our women to become stronger and to show them that, if we get together, there are so many amazing things we can do" (Troian, 2016).

Community marches

A host of CBOs participate in the organization of community marches and media awareness campaigns linking various actors—including the general public, social activists, community members, political actors, and CBO workers—together for social and political mobilization to advocate for policy changes and bring awareness to pressing social issues in the inner city. More so, community marches offer community members and those most affected by poverty and violence in their communities an opportunity to participate in meaningful civic

engagement. Participants in this project often called themselves "warrior women," those that must fight to be seen, heard, and listened to by means of publicly participating in social and spatial mobilization on the streets. Examples of community marches abound in Winnipeg; however, North Point Douglas Women's Centre's Domestic Violence Awareness marches, 24 hour safe space for women march organized by Ka Nakanichuk, and the most recent march organized by Manitoba Moon Voices, Every Sister is my Sister for Tina Fontaine, are just some examples of spatial mobilization of community members, CBOs, and the general public.

Conclusion

In the vacuum created by the colonial state and social services, community alternatives have emerged as powerful voices for Indigenous self-determination for how to bring about positive community development. As a result of neoliberal austerity measures and sweeping funding cuts to public investment throughout the Conservative's term, government spending for community-based organizations, the health sector, recidivism programs, and education in Winnipeg has atrophied, deepening already entrenched poverty in the city. Currently, the Conservative government is reviewing its Non-Profit Organization Strategy (NPO) with more than $600 million promised to CBOs by the previous New Democratic Party. Various CBOs like the NPDWC have had their funding agreements cancelled, others have had their funding indefinitely put on hold, and the orientation of funding contracts have been changed from long-term multi-year agreements to short-term funded projects. In this financially precarious environment, many CBOs laid off staff, drastically downsized programming, and cut viable services relied upon by countless Manitobans living in poverty (Smirl, 2017). Further, any approved funding contracts will be scrutinized by a newly implemented evaluation metric—

"value for money"—which calls for quantitative, evidence-based data to determine which programs and projects have a "return on investment" (Smirl, 2017).

Evaluating outcomes of government-funded community based initiatives is not new; however, this new metric poses substantial problems to how programs will be valued. The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA), *State of the Inner City* report explains, "clear outcomes measured primarily through quantitative data lack a nuanced understanding of the complexity of the problems they are dealing with. If not designed and employed with a critical lens, these evaluation frameworks can run the risk of missing the true value produced" (Smirl, 2017, 22). For example, it is harder for organizations like NPDWC to quantify the positive outcome of a Red Road to Healing[4] participant gaining self-confidence and a sense of safety after leaving an abusive relationship. As the CCPA has documented over 10 years of research, "evaluation tools should incorporate a holistic understanding of the nature of complex socio-economic issues and evaluation frameworks used to evaluate Indigenous programming should be decolonized …" and further, "if the government is interested in maximizing value, it should recognize that the NPO Strategy already provides good money for good value" (Smirl, 2017, 24). An independent evaluation of the NPO Strategy in 2013 found that it enhanced "service delivery, effectively stabilizing organizations by streamlining funding agreements across departments and committing to conditional multi-year funding" (Smirl 2017, 22).

This chapter has demonstrated that space matters when discussing Winnipeg's historical geography of development alongside the sociopolitical consequences of uneven urban development. Uneven urban development and the complex poverty experienced by residents in

[4] Red Road to Healing is a therapeutic program for women who have experienced family and/or male violence that uses traditional Indigenous teachings to aid in emotional, spiritual, and mental healing.

the North End and inner city are the result of broad colonial forces that continue to pattern ongoing colonial dispossessions. Finally, community-based organizations and the networks they have created provide a safety net for individuals affected by multiple forms of violence and complex poverty. It is this very network that generates a spatialized platform for social and political action that aids in the mobilization of various actors fighting for positive community development in the colonial city.

However, grassroots organizing and neighbourhood-level efforts cannot ameliorate complex poverty and its associated issues without strong governmental support (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). A neoliberal political climate since the 1980s has allowed local government to authorize an entrepreneurial approach to public investment (Harvey, 1989). Winnipeg spends a negligible amount of its budget on social services and collects less in taxes from residents than almost any other similar sized municipality in Canada (Hugill and Toews, 2014). Neoliberal austerity measures intensify existing funding gaps and infrastructural deficits that contribute to entrenched poverty experienced by many in the North End and the inner city.

Geographically uneven development and its resulting spatial inequalities are structured on ongoing dispossessions in the colonial city. Racialized and spatialized violence and poverty experienced in the North End exists due neoliberal economic restructuring, a drastically different job market, and salient racisms that restrict Indigenous people's access to economic opportunities that may have been open previously to the white working poor during the turn of the century. Winnipeg has the largest urban Aboriginal population in Canada, a population 50 percent higher than any reserve community (Hugill and Towes, 2014). However, settler colonialism continues to operationalize itself institutionally through government policies and practices and how it chooses to allocate its financial support. In this sense, neoliberal austerity

measures and government funding cuts result in a continuation of dispossessions that serve to displace Indigenous bodies in the colonial city.

CHAPTER 3: EMBODIED DISPOSSESSION AND COLONIAL VIOLENCE

In this chapter I ask: how can we extend the concept of spatial justice to make space for an understanding of colonial-spatial relationships that produce unjust geographies for women living in the settler state? I address this question by building a critical spatial framework that brings critical feminist geographies, critical race theory, and Indigenous scholarship into conversation. I view the multiple forms of violence that women face in North Point Douglas as ongoing colonial dispossessions, what I call *embodied dispossessions*. Naming violence as embodied dispossessions reveals linkages between state and/or structural violence and interpersonal violence; it also reveals how the violence of colonialism is reproduced in urban space and across the body spaces of women in North Point Douglas.

The chapter begins with a discussion of why space matters when discussing the multiple forms of violence that women face on-the-ground and includes an introduction to the concept of spatial justice and how it is applied in this research. I follow with a discussion of the importance of using an anti-colonial, spatial, and feminist intersectional approach to an analysis of colonial violence. The remainder of the chapter applies this intersectional-spatial framework to develop the idea of embodied dispossessions to consider how this violence is maintained through ongoing colonial processes.

The spatial turn

An innovative approach to thinking about space and spatiality has emerged recently in what some have called a "spatial turn" in the social sciences and humanities. Critical urban geographer Edward W. Soja (2010) points to the tendency of social scientists to emphasize a sociological and historical rather than a geographical or spatial perspective. He argues that attention is paid mostly

to social processes as they develop over a time rather than using a spatial perspective to understand how social processes and consciousness develop and are influenced by the production of space (3). Spatial theory initially arose within critical geography; however, many scholars across the disciplines of art, anthropology, economics, sociology, and law are now adopting a spatial perspective to interpret the relation between the social, historical, and the spatial aspects of our lives. The space we inhabit is routinely thought of as a fixed geographical background, unchanged by the social world in which we live. However, taking a spatial perspective can contribute to any research framework; in this sense, space can be seen as a significant force shaping social action. For example, we might consider how the study of social justice is spatialized in its causes and effects or we might ask how taking a spatial perspective can illuminate new possibilities for emancipatory politics through the study of relations across and through space.

The spatial turn in the social sciences and humanities has theoretical roots in critical geographic literature. In the 1970s, Marxist geographers studied the underlying power relations that construct the meanings people attach to particular spaces (see Harvey 2010; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 2010; Massey 1994). These scholars used Marxist theory to develop a framework for studying spatial processes that made clear the linkages between culture and political economy and located space as a key dimension of economic and social reproduction. Henri Lefebvre (1991) wrote that, "one of the consistent ways to limit the economic and political rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space" (22). In other words, power relations intersect with the movement or containment of people and people also construct meaning produced within particular spaces. Similarly, David Harvey (1973) extended a Marxist analysis to interrogate how knowledge and power make space through the study of global capital

processes and to examine how these processes influence social and political inequalities in localized spaces. Building on Harvey's work, Doreen Massey (1994) agrees that global capital has significant effects on localized spaces, but argues for a more complete analysis of the way spaces maintain inequality through gendered and racialized processes. Through explicit theorizing of the gendering of place, Massey opens up new horizons for spatial theory to include how global processes of racism and patriarchy restrict or expand a person's mobility within a given space. These ideas became foundational in modern geographic thought (Cresswell, 2012).

What is currently driving this transdisciplinary interest in and implementation of a spatial perspective? And how can a spatial perspective benefit our research? Soja (2010) presents two fundamental ideas shaping a resurgence of spatial thinking across disciplines. First, Soja explains that applying a spatial perspective can "open up new sources of insight and innovative practical and theoretical applications" to better understand how the "spatiality of (in)justice" affects society and human relationships "just as much as social processes shape the … specific geography of (in)justice" (3). Second, he posits that there "exists a mutually influential and formative relation between the social and the spatial dimensions of human life, each shaping the other in similar ways" (4). These two ideas can be summed up with what Soja calls the "socio-spatial dialectic," a formation that shows how space has the potential to shape social relations and human development just as much as "social processes configure and give meaning to the human geographies or spatialities in which we live" (4; see also Harvey 2010; Fainstein 2010; Mitchell 2003).

The benefits of a socio-spatial dialectic are two-fold. First, looking at the spatiality of social processes like social stratification or racist and sexist practices can illuminate how social life shapes the space we occupy. Second, it provides an analytical framework to interrogate how

space can generate and maintain inequality, exploitation, racism, sexism, and a multitude of other forms of discrimination and oppression. I add a third benefit here: the socio-spatial perspective actively challenges scholars to tear down the asymmetries that exist between favouring either a social or spatial explanation of unjust realities by actively pursuing an understanding of their ontological relationship.

Applying a critical spatial perspective to the study of violence and safety in North Point Douglas makes clear how ongoing colonial processes produce intimate embodied dispossessions and how social processes like gender inequality and racialization produce unsafe spaces for women in Winnipeg. Spatializing Indigenous activism and resistance to colonial violence exposes the process that links these embodied dispossessions to territorial dispossessions. Indigenous reclamation of space (as land, territory, rights, bodies, etc.), and the power to shape space in their own right, situate Indigenous resurgence and self-determination as inherently spatial. Exploring the spatial dimensions of embodied dispossessions and resistance to these dispossessions offers a critical theoretical and practical framework for analyzing how colonial violence continues to operate in the city and across the terrain of the body, for understanding how safety is spatialized, and for imagining possibilities for a politics of recognition, reconciliation, and healing.

Spatial justice

Soja (2010) popularized the concept of spatial justice to focus attention on the spatial dimension of social processes and interactions alongside the inequalities that are produced and reproduced through spatial relationships. One aspect of spatial justice is the idea that citizens possess power in how spaces are produced and managed within urban landscapes. Spatial justice seeks to understand how injustices are produced and maintained by space, producing a spatial analysis of

injustice that has the ability to advance the fight for social justice. For Soja, spatial justice "seeks to promote more progressive and participatory forms of democratic politics and social activism, and to provide new ideas about how to mobilize and maintain cohesive collations and regional confederations of grassroots social activists" (28).

In *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Soja (2010) traces the emergence of justice as a political objective among social, environmental, human rights, and political grassroots mobilization on multiscalar levels.[5] Community based organizations, NGOs, civil society, and labour unions are fighting for socio-economic, environmental, and social justice on a global scale to bolster local objectives, creating movements in which the local is connected to wider regional, national, and global campaigns and initiatives. Globalization can be seen as a challenge to realist conceptions of the nation state as the entity that defines citizenship, legal systems, social and political rights, and ultimately justice. The fight for justice, in all of its various forms, extends beyond nation-state boundaries from the global to the local. Soja makes clear that a focus towards the pursuit of justice within social activism has shifted away from "traditional binary, or we/they, politics of economic equality, attached to rigidly defined and often exclusionary channels of oppositional resistance based on class, race, gender, or sexual preference" (23). Instead, the formation of a new oppositional consciousness is based on an inclusionary and "combinative" politics aimed at building coalitions across and between different social bases and movements (23).

Thus, attention to spatial justice widens the scope of political action to include what Soja describes as the "production of discrimination and unjust geographies of many kinds relating to gender, race, sexuality, environmental factors, and others" (109). The focus on class struggle inherent in David Harvey's work (mentioned above) is expanded in Soja's understanding of

[5] Here Soja refers to the power relations that are embedded at multiple and overlapping spatial scales, from the intimate scale of the body to the more diffuse global political economy.

spatial justice to include the "multifaceted and multiscalar demands for justice in the contemporary world" (109; see also Massey 1994). Calling forth Lefebvre's "Right to the City," or the "demand ... [for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life" (158), Soja maintains that spatial justice can act as an "integrative umbrella for coalition building," a "glue that can help to unite diverse and particularized struggles into larger and more powerful movements" (109).

The concept of spatial justice provides the analytical and normative scaffolding to investigate how gendered colonial violence is spatialized, how it produces and maintains gender inequality and unsafe space in the city, and how women have a "right to the city" to shape and remake unjust space through feminist and Indigenous activism. It also provides a blueprint to discuss crosscutting feminist and Indigenous alliances and coalitions, on both local and global levels, that are fighting for the elimination of unjust and unsafe geographies for women. Spatial justice can be used as a framework in social justice movements that work with and across particular identity-related differences and across geographies that contend with structures of power that function to divide groups both materially and ideologically. In this sense, spatial justice can be used as an underlying framework that sees, for example, Indigenous dispossession, antiblackness, and heteropatriarchy as interlocking forms of injustice that structure capitalist accumulation and state power.

A spatial justice framework may allow marginalized groups and communities to work across micro-specificities to challenge macro-structural barriers to freedom and self-determination without ignoring place-based structures of exploitation and domination. The framework of spatial justice invites an inclusive emancipatory politics, providing room for a feminist intersectional analysis as a way to examine spatial power relations and gender violence

and specific localized gender regimes. Further, and in regards to this project, a spatial justice framework aligns itself with Indigenous claims and struggles that employ tactics to protect and maintain Indigenous territories, bodies, practices, and situated knowledges. What follows is an extension of Soja's idea of spatial (in)justice to include theories of colonial dispossession, an intersectional feminist perspective of colonial violence, periphrastic space, and embodied dispossessions—forms of state violence that take place across the terrain of the body.

Intersectionality and theorizations of violence

I draw here upon a rich history of Indigenous, feminist, critical race and queer scholarship and activism that have expanded theorizations of violence, power, and intersectionality in pivotal ways (Crenshaw 1989; Hill Collins 1990; Smith 2005; Mohanty 1991; Jiwani 2006; Lorde 1984; hooks 2000; Razack 1998; Monture-Angus, 1995). I am interested in how critical feminist geographers working with these literatures have developed an intersectional and spatial framework in their discussions of violence (Holmes 2015, Hunt 2014; Piedalue 2015), what Sarah Hunt (2015) calls "geographies of violence" (550). I follow how these critical geographers understand violence and resistance, creating space for people's lived realities and their experiences that are not shared within dominant discourses of violence and colonialism scholarship across academic disciplines. This work is informed by the activism of Indigenous women, feminists of colour, low-income women, and LGBT2SQ people who have widened the definition of gender-based violence, anti-violence activism, and emancipatory politics (Hunt 2015). From this work, they have argued that anti-violence frameworks have disregarded the interlocking nature of gender, race, sexuality, class, and disability in which violence takes complex forms and occurs between and across scales from the intimate to the global (Holmes,

2009). For example, there is less focus on the connection between racist, colonial, and state violence within Western feminism, instead focusing on interpersonal violence in the heterosexual private sphere (Holmes 2015; Monture-Angus, 1995). Further, within this more recent body of work, structural violence in the form of racism, colonialism, and state violence is questioned to reveal how it patterns people's lives and produces "geographies of violence" for individuals and communities that are often made invisible (Holmes 2015).

The critiques and work of what Cindy Holmes describes as "scholar-activists" (2015, 550) make apparent the importance of employing an intersectional framework with which to discuss geographies of violence operating within marginalized communities and against them, while paying attention to the connections between interpersonal, structural, and state violence (Razack, 2002; Smith 2005; Monture-Angus, 1995, Hunt 2015; Holmes 2009; Jiwani, 2006). Within this work and as Holmes describes, there is a tendency to break down the construction between violence in public and private spaces. In this sense, this scholarship employs a spatial analysis that attends to relational processes in which violence takes place across the terrain of the body, within varying communities, is multiscalar, and enacted by multiple actors (Holmes, 2015). Further, Holmes describes how a spatial framework also reveals why various forms of violence enacted on "certain bodies, in certain spaces become normalized and naturalized" and how these spaces are "materially and symbolically" produced to legitimize gendered and racialized violence (Holmes 2015; cf. Razack 2002).

A key insight of this scholarship is the theory of feminist intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). The varying connections between different oppressions have been made evident through the contributions of Black feminists and womanists who identified the privileging of white, middle-class experiences in feminist theory and instead focused on the intersecting nature of

oppression based on individual and collective lived experiences (Davis 1984; hooks 2000; 1994; Lorde Smith 2000; The Combahee River Collective 1995; McGuire 2010; Hill-Collins 2001; Morgana and Anzaldúa 1983). These works developed a distinctive oppositional consciousness born out of the experience of social marginality, white supremacy, and histories of resistance.

The term *intersectionality* was coined by American critical race scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) as a way to address the overlapping discriminations Black women faced within the American legal system. She argued that reliance on either a gender-based or a race-based framework failed to consider "interlocking categories of experience" and the inseparability of multiple subject identities, including gender, race, class, and sexuality. Nor it is possible, Crenshaw explained, to examine social, political, and economic inequalities through a single framework. Critical race scholar Sherene Razack often uses the term "interlocking systems" to denote how these systems "need one another" and how "tracing the complex ways in which they secure one another, we learn how women are produced into positions that exist symbiotically but hierarchically. We begin to understand how domestic workers and professional women are produced so that neither exists without the other" (1998, 13; see also Arat-Koc, 1999).

A feminist intersectional-spatial approach makes apparent the multiple systems of oppression that women face in North Point Douglas; how they interlock and are patterned by ongoing colonial processes and heteropatriarchal white supremacy and capitalism. An intersectional analysis is paramount when analyzing colonial violence and interpersonal violence in the city as it helps to uncover and describe hidden modes of subjugation and how they "obfuscate damaging power relations" and "how they construct, while paradoxically obviating, identities of the self" (Fernandes 2003, 309). Further, a feminist intersectional approach understands that women have multiple subject formations and identities that allow for

transgression of colonial space, the production of safe space, and everyday tactics and practices for resistance. I follow Geraldine Pratt and Susan Hanson (1994) by making clear how subject formations are constructed through lived geographies of place. In other words, the intersections of identities based on gender, race, class, sexuality etc. never operate apart from the spatialities of lived experience; they are made and remade through spatial processes.

Settler colonialism and embodied dispossessions

I interpret the multiple forms of violence that women face in North Point Douglas as ongoing colonial dispossessions that take place across the terrain of the body, what I call "embodied dispossessions." The formation of the Canadian state was predicated on the destruction and regulation of Indigenous political and cultural systems and sexual violence was a central tool of colonialism that has produced contemporary geographies of violence for Indigenous communities living in Winnipeg. Canadian sovereignty was established through *terra nullius*, denying Indigenous nations the right to self-determination and self-government, and political and cultural relationship to land base (Harris, 2001). As Sarah Hunt and Cindy Holmes (2015) point out, "[our] dehumanization is inherent in how the nation comes into being" (554). Framing violence up front as ongoing dispossessions spatializes my analysis, and makes clear how colonial nation-building projects rely—historically and in contemporary urban settings—on positioning Indigenous communities as operating outside of the nation, where structural violence is hidden through the naturalization of these spaces as degenerate and/or spaces of "expected violence" (553). In the following section, I discuss the relationship between colonial dispossession and gendered violence to highlight how contemporary geographies of violence in the North End are the result of ongoing colonial dispossessions.

Indigenous scholar Glen Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene First Nation) (2016) sees settler colonialism as a "structure of domination that is partly predicated on the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands and the forms of political authority and jurisdiction that govern our relationship to these lands" (251). Within settler colonialism, he posits, "diverse configurations of power" produce multiple violences, including environmental ruin, white supremacy, and "heteropatriarchal domination" (251). Settler colonialism's project to dispossess "Indigenous bodies from Indigenous lands" was inherently tied to the assimilation and murder of Indigenous bodies and to the regulation of Indigenous relationships and practices that maintain and reproduce "nationhoods, political practices, sovereignties, and solidarities" (254). Following Indigenous scholar Audra Simpson (Mohawk), Coulthard connects the murder and assimilation of Indigenous bodies to the destruction of Indigenous political systems: "these bodies generate knowledge … and ways of being that contest the hegemony of settler governmentality and thus make dispossession all the more difficult to achieve" (254). Therefore, the colonial assault on Indigenous political systems through the annexation of Indigenous land readied an environment for the colonial state to form and solidify through accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003).

Indigenous scholar Andrea Smith (Cherokee) argues that the erosion of Indigenous sovereignty by settler colonialism and the pervasiveness of sexual violence against Indigenous women cannot be read in isolation from one another. Moreover, the annexation of Indigenous lands was predicated on gender violence (2005; see also Winona Stevenson, 1999 for historical analysis). Smith links processes of genocide, colonization, and Indigenous dispossession to systematic state projects of sexual violence and the introduction of European patriarchal gender relationships on Indigenous communities that continue to pattern gendered violence enacted on and within Indigenous communities. As others have argued elsewhere, the erosion of Indigenous

women's political, spiritual, and military status and power coincided with the erosion of Indigenous sovereignty (Stevenson, 1999). Further state projects like the residential school system continue to pattern violence within communities and to cycles of violence and intergenerational trauma. Therefore, Smith argues that sexual violence, a central tool of colonialism, enacts and reinforces Indigenous peoples' dehumanized status.

To successfully decolonize, Smith posits that strategies need to directly address how gender violence within Indigenous communities continues to operate, how it continues to dispossess, and how it is intrinsically connected to state/colonial power. Smith frames interpersonal gender violence as a continuing effect of colonial legacies and how "women of color have too long been presented with the choices of either prioritizing racial justice or gender justice. This dualistic analysis fails to recognize that it is precisely through sexism and gender violence that colonialism and white supremacy have been successful" (127). Women's wellbeing is connected to Indigenous self-determination: "we must understand that attacks on Native women's status are themselves attacks on Native sovereignty" (123). Smith highlights Indigenous women's organizations that connect the well-being of women to territorial (spatial) sovereignty—"the right and responsibility to advocate for ourselves and our relatives in supporting our right to power and control over our tribal life way and land"—and personal (embodied) sovereignty—"our right and responsibility to be advocates supporting every woman's right to power and control over her body and life"—as a strategy for decolonization and pursuing gender justice (125).

Sherene Razack (2018) undertakes a similar analysis to understand how the reproduction of settler colonialism continues to enact violence that takes place at the scale of the body. A foundational theme within her work interrogates how the "making of white/colonial masculine

self" is predicated on violence against Indigenous women. For example, she links two questions—"how does violence make the man" and "how does violence make the settler colonial state"—to uncover violence against Indigenous women that is routinely naturalized and made invisible. Colonial state violence is imprinted on the spaces of the body, which Razack argues is an expression of colonial white power and entitlement to the land, its resources, and over colonized bodies devalued by the capitalist settler state. In this sense, white/settler society is able to "understand and, importantly, to secure its own legitimacy" (Razack, 2018). For Razack,

> Colonialism is a racial project of accumulation and its economic processes require and produce subjects who understand their own racial superiority in gendered ways through violence against the racial or Indigenous Other. We more easily focus on the macro aspects of the colonial project, resource extraction, ongoing land theft, and so on, and we pay less attention to the more everyday extractive relationships, the ways, that is, in which Indigenous bodies (violated, neglected, annihilated) become the raw material for the making of the settler state. (Razack, 2018)

In this sense, Razack interrogates colonial violence and the reproduction of the colonial state at the micro scale of the body. The "everyday extractive relationships" that reproduce the colonial state and the re-making of settler subject identities is particularly important. Women living in North Point Douglas confront multiple forms of violence against women that take place at the site of the body and are often over looked, naturalized, and make legitimate because of this. I believe this is due to the fact that colonial violence and state violence is naturalized and made invisible as something that is *not violence*. Making apparent how violence is embodied de-naturalizes violence, names it as colonial violence, and calls attention to how colonial and state violence routinely takes place across the intimate body spaces of women.

Colonialism, violence, and the city

Over the past decade, scholars have employed a spatial analysis of racial and gendered processes

within cities, asking questions about how race and gender can be better understood through the lens of space and its relationship to violence (Razack 2000; Anderson 1995; Delaney 2001). Sherene Razack (2000) and Anne O'Connell (2010), in particular, have explored how race, articulations of whiteness, and racialized violence are spatially organized. The emerging field of racial and spatial studies makes it clear that racial meanings attached to space vary over time and location, are influenced by political and social contestations over racial meaning attached to space, and derive from the relationship "between materiality and culture" (Neely and Samura 2011, 1934). Racial and spatial processes can be seen as "co-constitutive and dialectical in nature" (1934). In other words, racial processes depend on how society, through social and political contestations over time, make and remake the spaces we live in (see Anderson, 1991). This also includes how the (re)making of space produces and reproduces meanings attached to race that materially construct bodies within these spaces.

For example, critical spatial scholarship (Hunt 2016, Razack, 2002; Smith, 2015) has asked: how certain bodies are marked for violence and how this violence becomes naturalized, while others are not? This can be seen in representations of missing and murdered Indigenous women where the photographs of women maintain their racialized and marginal status, while perpetrators of violence are not marked in the same way. Andrea Smith (2005) asserts that, "the extent to which Native peoples are not seen as 'real' people in the larger colonial discourse indicates the success of sexual violence, among other racist and colonialist forces, in destroying the perceived humanity of Native peoples" (12). Moving between urban, reserve, and rural spaces, Indigenous people are marked by this relationship to violence, as their bodies remain sites for expected and accepted violence (Hunt, 2012).

Sarah Hunt (Kwakwaka'wakw) understands this relationship to violence as fixed in categories of 'Indians' and 'Indian space' or 'Indian reserves' that have been consecrated within Canadian legal discourse, society, and governmental relations with Indigenous people (Hunt, 2012). These categories of difference serve to legitimize state intervention into perceived zones of degeneracy, "Indian reserves" and the people demarcated by these spaces, as Indigenous people are not often seen able to govern themselves or have ownership over social reproduction in their own communities. Hunt explains: "This framing helps to reinforce the claim of the Canadian state all over of Canada, where any 'Indian spaces' (i.e reserves, households, impoverished urban neighbourhoods) are under federal jurisdiction, as 'Indians' and their spaces are in the 'care' of the government as framed in the foundational *Indian Act*" (550). This spatial-legal rationale extends to the North Point Douglas neighbourhood where structural violence is made invisible through the naturalization of it being an "Indian" space and therefore marked as degenerate. As Hunt contends, this would be a space that is constructed as a zone where violence is "expected," what Giorgio Agamben called "states of exception" (Razack, 2002), where violence is doubly concealed and legitimized, and those that are marked for violence operate simultaneously inside and outside of the law and the body politic. This rationality also justifies spatialized practices of surveillance, containment, city neglect, and erasure in addition to the normalization of expected violence.

The North Point Douglas neighbourhood is a strong example of how spatial boundaries within cities are mobilized and structured on colonialist narratives that imbue space with meaning, constructing zones of inclusion and exclusion that separate and differentiate between respectable and degenerate subjects. In Racist Culture, David Theo Goldberg (1993) refers to these spaces as "periphractic space," space that is rendered peripheral and marginal to the body

politic. It is in the city, but not *of* the city, "banished within" (Razack 166, 2015). Goldberg (1993) offers the example of social housing projects to chart how "racisms become institutionally normalized in and through spatial configuration" (186). Periphractic space does not require physical demarcations of containment like checkpoints or border crossings. Rather, like social housing projects, these spaces limit the access of subjects who exist in them to services and corridors of power. For example, project housing physically isolates marginalized and racialized subjects within the city space in towers often bordered by highways or railways, with little access to infrastructures that support well-being and health of its inhabitants. The population is marked and "sticks out" and is easily surveilled and policed. Goldberg's periphractic space is a strong relational concept that carefully captures some of the effects of racialized spatial power. Goldberg uses the metaphor of a "fence" to suggest that boundaries that contain spaces of degeneracy can be material or symbolic. As Goldberg elaborates:

> Periphractic space is relational: It does not require the absolute displacement of persons to or outside city limits, to the literal margins of urban space. It merely entails their circumscription in terms of location. The process(es) of spatial circumscription may be intentional or structural: They may be imposed by planners upon urban design at a specific time and place, or they may be insinuated into the forms of spatial production inherent in the terms of social rationalization. Further the circumscribing fences may be physical or imagined. In short, periphractic space implies dislocation, displacement, and division. It has become the primary mode by which the space of racial marginality has been articulated and reproduced (1993).

It is through periphractic space that racialized "others" are constructed as degenerate and made invisible in relation to the rest of city. Violence taking place within these spaces and enacted on Indigenous bodies is seen as operating apart from or separate to the body politic, outside the frame of reference for most city residents. Positioning colonial violence as "states of exception" or as operating apart from the city produces a settler narrative that functions to assert their/our rightful place of owners of the land and serves as a material and spatial tactic of white

supremacy. It is imperative to maintain that this form of spatial injustice and banishment from material and geographic space and access to power is a colonial act of violence (Jiwani, 2006; Monture-Angus, 1995; Razack 2002; Thobani, 2007).

The symbolic and material borders that cut Winnipeg into zones of respectability and degeneracy, the colonial processes that have built these urban landscapes, and the regulatory mechanisms that maintain them serve to protect and reproduce white settler subjectivity. Building on the work of Michel Foucault, Razack demonstrates how the white bourgeois (or settler) subject is formed:

> The racialized, at once a condition marked on the body (skin, wounds) and an invisibility (non-persons), cannot occupy the same space as Europeans and the Europeanized. The city belongs to rational men and women, individuals who are owners of themselves. In liberalism, to become an individual, Radhika Mohanram reminds us, is to progress out of body and into mind. How else to mark the line between owner and owned, person and non-person, belonging and non-belonging, if not spatially. Importantly, fences or borders are enactments rather than permanent lines; settlers lay siege to the city, inscribing their claims on the ground and on bodies in the language of rationality and order, thereby marking the lines of force of the colonial project. (Razack, 2015, 167)

If we follow this argument, then we begin to understand how white settler subjectivity and the indifference held by settlers to circumstances in the North End involve both claiming space while also separating it from spaces of "respectability." To understand how these spaces are constructed historically, materially, and spatially, we must deconstruct and confront meanings attached to geographies of violence, make links between colonial histories and colonial present, and examine interlocking politics of belonging and exclusion that shift between various scales of the body, home, community, city, and nation. Further we must understand that dispossession is ongoing and dynamic, even if it is continuously contested.

Grounded normativity, spatial justice, and Indigenous resurgence and resistance

Here, I re-visit the idea of spatial justice and how it aligns itself with Indigenous resurgence and resistance in response to ongoing dispossession within the settler state. Resistance and agency can play a crucial part in the analysis of violence within the context of settler colonialism. Soja (????) sees spatial justice as a framework that can benefit any analysis of unjust space and uneven urban development and its generative power to build justice coalitions across differences and micro specificities. I suggest that it can be an aligned framework with Indigenous claims and struggles that employ tactics to protect and maintain Indigenous territories, bodies, practices, and situated knowledges, which is inherently spatialized in its pursuit.

Glen Coulthard and Leanne Simpson (2016) caution that Indigenous struggles in Canada have "historically resulted in not only in a very shallow solidarity with respect to Indigenous claims and struggles … but more often than not a call on Indigenous peoples to forcefully align their interests and identities in ways that contribute to our own dispossession and erasure" (252). Coulthard explains that many scholars see a fundamental problem with Indigenous peoples' claims to self-determination and sovereignty as they (Coulthard referencing Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard), "encourage the native population to identify in terms of ethnicity instead of socioeconomic class" and that it is only by "eliminating this fundamental difference [namely class difference] that we can become a global tribe and the world can live as one" (252). These views echo long-held liberal and Marxist/left hesitations toward Indigenous sovereignty claims to be the "inherently parochial and particularistic orientation of 'identity politics' that is serving to undermine more egalitarian and universal aspirations, like those focused on class…" (253).

Coulthard and Simpson explain that this problematic view both adheres to a "modernist view of history and historical progress informed by Eurocentric developmentalist ontology" as

well as "treats the locatedness of land, culture and place as material and ideational impediments to the formation of broader coalitions and, in turn, posits them as factors that need to be abandoned for the sake of our own emancipation" (253). Instead, they note that Indigenous peoples have resisted dispossession through "fierce and loving mobilization," employing an Indigenous political practice and ethics that are intimately connected to land, sovereignty, place and associated forms of knowledge that have been directly targeted by the Canadian settler state.

Based on this practice, Coulthard and Simpson (2016) call for a holistic activism rooted in Indigenous epistemologies called "grounded normativity," a term that

> … refers to the ethical frameworks provided by these Indigenous place-based practices and associated forms of knowledge. Grounded normativity houses and reproduces the practices and procedures, based on deep reciprocity, that are inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place. Grounded normativity teaches us how to live our lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitive manner. Grounded normativity teaches us how to be in respectful diplomatic relationships with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous nations with whom we might share territorial responsibilities or common political or economic interests. Our relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which *we practice solidarity*. To willfully abandon them would amount to a form of auto-genocide. (Coulthard and Simpson, 254)

Grounded normativity allows for place-based practices that connect Indigenous bodies to Indigenous lands as these bodies generate knowledge and material culture to rebuild Indigenous political orders and nationhood without replicating heteropatriarchy or, for instance, anti-Blackness normalized within the colonial settler state. Following Coulthard and Simpson, when other justice movements erase Indigenous activism, intellectual pursuits, and scholarship, we (settlers) not only exclude a powerful form of oppositional consciousness, activism, and potential for building solidarity and coalition movements, but also maintain and perpetuate the project of settler colonialism.

Spatial justice complements grounded normativity, and I suggest that this convergence helps to correct the abstraction of some left-leaning theorists that Indigenous resurgence and resistance is too particularistic. Philosopher Vine Deloria Jr. (Lakota) (1972) argues that one of the most significant differences between Western and Indigenous metaphysics centres on the importance of space (land) to Indigenous life-ways, ethics, and thought in contrast to Western societies that "tend to derive meaning from the world in historical/developmental terms, thereby placing time as the narrative of central importance" (Coulthard, 2014, 60). Deloria is not simply making the point that Indigenous societies have a strong connection to their land base but rather that land provides an "ontological framework for understanding *relationships*" (60). As Coulthard explains, "[p]lace is a way of knowing, of experiencing and relating to the world and with others; and sometimes these relational practices and forms of knowledge guide forms of resistance against other rationalizations of the works that threaten to destroy our sense of place" (61).

Spatial justice is not a substitute for other forms of justice, "but rather a way of looking at justice from a critical spatial perspective" (Soja, 2009, 2). A critical spatial perspective recognizes that the geographies we live in can have negative and positive consequences; it follows Foucault (1980) in that the intersection of space, knowledge, and power can be both oppressive and empowering. In this sense, there is always a significant spatial dimension to justice and, simultaneously, "all geographies have expressions of justice and injustice build into them" (2). It recognizes that the political organization of space "is a powerful source of spatial injustice" from "territorial apartheid, institutionalized residential segregation, the imprint of colonial and/or military geographies of social control, and the creation of other core-periphery structures of privilege from the local to the global scales" (3).

I posit that spatial justice as a concept is a strong accompaniment to grounded normativity as it seeks to uncover the underlying processes producing unjust geographies. I seek to understand their how their relationship to space is a powerful starting point to denaturalize colonial spatial arrangements while providing potentially inclusive, noncolonial, and nonhegemonic ways of thinking that challenge and reshape unjust spatial realities. Grounded normativity, as a place-based and relational frame, seeks to maintain ethical and mutually beneficial relationships between people, relationships between humans and their environment, and relationships between individuals and institutions of power (political and economic). Like grounded normativity, spatial justice attends to the multiscalar geographies of our lives, the multiple scales that crisscross between the terrain of the body to larger scales such as the colonial state and global scales such as the global political economy.

However, any framework must take seriously how spatial processes produce unjust geographies that affect women on-the-ground. As I have demonstrated above, the microscale of the body and the macro scale of the state are interdependent and interlock with consequences for individual bodies marked as non-white. According to Sarah Hunt (2016, and taken from an Indigenous perspective, "the macro-micro divide is, in fact, something that emerges from colonial epistemologies and is not in line with decolonial Indigenous praxis.…Thus, it becomes clear that the teachings that guide defense of land and territory must be interrelated with those used to defend Indigenous peoples' homes, kinship networks, and individual wellbeing" (113-114). Hunt calls in a fluid and intersectional (or "interrelated") understanding of grounded normativity, what she calls a "gendered politics of resurgence and resistance": "Imagine if we had not lost the capacity to determine and enforce jurisdictional power over our homelands and our bodies … the macro-micro political division necessarily dissolves, as our consciousness as legal and political

actors must be formed both by looking inward toward the intimate spaces of our homes and communities and outward toward our engagement with systems of settler colonial power" (114).

Taking Hunt's argument into consideration, the realities of gendered colonial violence require grounding any analysis of spatial injustice in the material realities of where we work and live. It calls for working "in both directions, scaling resurgent actions down to the intimate level of our everyday relations" while also resisting state violence across multiple sites (114). Hunt calls for the creation of new knowledges and the rebuilding of ancient Indigenous knowledges that will in turn enable "the activation of Indigenous agency" through "struggles of collective self-determination" that "extends to all our relations" to ensure that "internalized colonial categories are challenged" (559).

Conclusion

All of these different analytical encounters are important components to an intersectional approach but a consideration of spatial dimensions of power can also make valuable contributions to peace and conflict studies. Jean-Paul Lederach (2005) has written about the web of connections that must be considered when rebuilding communities after conflict. In this sense, Lederach gestures to the possibilities of thinking spatially in peace and conflict studies. More recently, scholars at Center for Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg, Germany are interested in thinking about conflict spatially. For example, they have planned a conference in late 2018 around the notion that "understanding peace and conflict studies requires incorporating a spatial perspective" and the need to "overcome the conception of space as a container or a static background and to move towards an understanding of space as shaped by ideas, experiences,

practices, and power relations. From this view, space is dynamic, relational, and has agency." (Centre for Conflict Studies, 2018).

Applying a spatial perspective can be a critical analytical tool for peace and conflict scholars as it provides new and important insights into the power dynamics of conflict and processes of peace and how these are influenced by material structures across multiple geographic scales. In this sense, the relational is at the core of a spatial analysis. For instance, it has been suggested that space can be a useful lens to reconsider the interplay between conflict zones, islands of peace within these zones, and the ever changing dynamic of international geopolitics (Bjorkdahl and Zistel, 2016). This calls for a stronger consideration of the interconnectedness between space, peace, and conflict, how they are situated, and how they encounter one another.

Applying an *intersectional*-spatial framework takes the analysis of conflict one step further. It opens up new horizons in our ability to understand how different forms of gendered colonial violence interlock and are produced in and through space. An intersectional-spatial analysis contributes to a stronger understanding of colonial violence and resistance to this violence by exploring how the production of space across multiple scales such as the body, community, and state are connected to the naturalization of certain types of violence enacted upon certain bodies. Embodied dispossessions as forms of violence that take place at the site of the body are intimately connected to colonial state violence. The microscale of the body is an important site for analysis and a powerful site of activism.

As I have demonstrated, the concept of spatial justice as a critical spatial framework has the ability to align itself well with other place-based and spatial theorizations of resistance, such as Coulthard and Simpson's grounded normativity, as both are situated spatially and relationally.

Both offer a critical and intersectional approach to analyze the underlying processes that produce unjust realities for women in North Point Douglas. Further, both present a powerful politics of resistance that contest settler colonialism and embodied dispossessions.

CHAPTER 4: PUTTING METHODOLOGIES TO WORK: PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH, PHOTOVOICE, AND SPATIAL JUSTICE

The core of this research relies on critical, Indigenous, and anti-oppressive approaches/ methodologies in which research is tied to an analysis of power relations and systemic oppressions and contributes to social justice. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngati A wa and Ngati Porou) (2013) views doing research as an emancipatory commitment to creating positions of resistance as well as critical scholarship. These methodologies aim to reflect the experiential knowledge, concerns, and perspectives of those who are most affected and who are often excluded from meaningful engagement with research projects. This thesis project puts Indigenous methodologies and participatory action research in conversation with one another. Although Indigenous methodologies and participatory action research vary in their epistemological underpinnings, there exists overlapping principles that allow space for reflexivity, building relationships, collaboration and collectivity, social and political action, and ownership over knowledge production and dissemination. These shared principles are attuned to power relationships and/or imbalances between participants and researcher.

This chapter first discusses the need for critical methodologies when engaging in research with Indigenous peoples within a settler state like Canada. I introduce both Indigenous methodologies and participatory action research and the main methods used in the production of knowledge for the project; namely, photovoice, the sharing circle, and participant interviews. I then describe the research process and photovoice project, and end with an ethical discussion on reflexivity through relational accountability.

Decolonizing research and Indigenous methodologies

Commitments to critically engaged and participatory research with Indigenous peoples have become important in recent years, yet there are still far too many stories of "extractive" research projects whereby researchers collect data and exit communities swiftly with little regard for productive community engagement and co-ownership. Extractive research practices, or what geographer Heather Castleden and her colleagues (2012) call "parachute researchers," disregard Indigenous peoples' intellectual property rights and potential for meaningful community participation, thereby reproducing colonial relationships (161).

As a starting point, this research project is guided by Tuhiwai Smith's (2013) germinal work, *Decolonizing Methodologies.* Employing poststructuralist theory, Tuhiwai Smith exposes the colonialist ideologies embedded in the Western Academy and the centrality of positivism in knowledge production. Tuhiwai Smith states that the "ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for the world's colonized peoples" (1). A fundamental conflict exists within positivist research and more generally within research settings that produces, "significant site[s] of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of knowing of the Other" (2). She attests to the importance of Indigenous leadership and participation within research and of "other researchers committed to producing research knowledge that documents social injustice, that recovers subjugated knowledges, that helps create spaces for the voices of the silenced to be expressed and listened to, and to challenge racism, colonialism, and oppression…" (198).

Following Tuhiwai Smith, Indigenous control and ownership of the research process play a crucial part in processes of decolonization and self-determination. As Tony Hoare, Chris Levy,

and Michael Robinson (1993) state, "if knowledge is fundamental to understanding, interpreting, and establishing values within a society, then control over its production becomes an integral component of cultural survival" (46). To confront the ethical concerns produced by conventional academic research, some scholars have turned to participatory action research (PAR) as an alternative guiding methodology based in partnership, resulting in research being done *with* Indigenous peoples in Canada (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2007). PAR is both a philosophy and a methodology that sees participants as equal research partners in defining research questions, data collection and analysis, and dissemination (Fisher & Ball, 2003). PAR aims to complement Indigenous methodologies by involving participants in all levels of the research process and requiring that the research benefits communities in productive ways. It also speaks to the importance of building and honouring relationships throughout the research process in order to produce research outcomes that align themselves with and reflect community priorities (Rutman et al. 2005).

Indigenous methodologies extend from Indigenous theoretical perspectives and ways of knowing, and uses aligned methods where both the research process and product of research is relational as much as it is political (Kovach, 2005, 26). As mentioned above, gaining control over research is pivotal for Indigenous peoples and processes of decolonization, thus foregrounding Indigenous methodologies becomes a political act for many Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and researchers. From an Indigenous perspective, knowledge is subjectively situated (Louis 2007) and produced collaboratively through culturally appropriate ways of sharing and relationship (Cruikshank 1990). I follow Indigenous scholars Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) and Margaret Kovack's (Sakewew p'sim iskwew, Plains Cree and

Saulteaux) understanding of Indigenous methodologies and how they relate to ideas of relationality, collectivity, and aligned methods.

The Relational speaks to the importance of relationships (between all living things). The importance of relationships stems from an Indigenous philosophy of reciprocity and thankfulness, respect for all life forms human or otherwise, and the ethos of "giving back" to your community (Kovach, 2005, 31). Kovach describes this as "a relationship-based model of research" that "honors the cultural value of relationship, it emphasizes people's ability to shape and change their own destiny, and it is respectful" (30). Relationship is understood as "sincere, authentic investment in the community; the ability to take time to visit with people from the community; the ability to be humble about the goals; and conversations about who owns the research, its use and purpose" (30). As Wilson (2001) point out, Indigenous systems of knowledge are formed through relationships to not only living things but also the "relationship with the ideas and concepts that we are explaining," which means that "ideas or knowledge cannot be owned or discovered" (177). Wilson reminds us that non-relationship-based research programs often result in some form of appropriation as knowledge and peoples are objectified rather than viewing knowledge as shared and mutual (177).

Wilson highlights the idea at the heart of his understanding of an Indigenous methodology, that of "relational accountability," a professed commitment to "answering to all your relations" when doing research (177). Research is less about "answering questions of validity or reliability or making judgments" but rather, "fulfilling your relationship to the world around you" and asking, "how am I fulfilling my role in this relationship?" (177). Wilson's relational accountability is similar to Kovach's understanding of "The Collective," the notion that "woven with the philosophical premise of relationship is the collective underpinning of

Indigenous research" (2005, 30). Kovach explains that many Indigenous cultures practice the intrinsic understanding of "reciprocity and accountability to each other, the community, clans, and nations" (30). Like Wilson's relational accountability, research becomes less about finding empirical truth held within the work of the individual researcher, but rather, ensuring that responsibility and accountability to the people and wider community you are working with is front and center.

Participatory action research

Participatory action research (PAR) utilizes a wide variety of research practices that are in tune with Indigenous methodologies. Kovach (2005) claims that "one methodology from the margins—participatory research—has been an ally" (23) as it is an approach to research that centers on community participation and social and political action. PAR "seeks to understand and improve the world by changing it" (Brum, MacDougall, and Smith, 2006, 1). It involves critical, collaborative, and self-reflective research that both researchers and participants commit to within a given community (McIntyre, 2008, 3). The reflective process within PAR is directly related to action and influenced by the local contemporary and historical context and by social processes influencing participants (McIntyre, 2007). The process of PAR is considered to be one of empowerment for the people involved in order to regain a sense of control and agency over their own lives and the research process itself.

As outlined by Alice McIntyre (2007, 1), most PAR projects follow the following principles:

1) a collective commitment to investigate an issue or problem,
2) a desire to engage in self- and collective reflection to gain clarity about the issue under investigation,

3) a joint decision to engage in individual and/or collective action that leads to a useful solution that benefits the people involved, and
4) the building of alliances between researchers and participants in the planning, implementation, and dissemination of the research project.

These tenets of PAR are reached through a "cyclical process of exploration, knowledge construction, and action" throughout the research project (1). It is hoped that through participation, those involved in the research will be able to tackle fundamental facets of the research process itself, directing the question of who benefits from the research and how data will be interpreted, used, and disseminated. Therefore, PAR questions the production of knowledge and how it can be better used to reflect the lived realities of marginalized groups often excluded from academic research. It is centered on the understanding that people's lived experience is a valid foundation for knowledge formation that must inform research practice. PAR is particularly important when entering into research relationships with marginalized groups for two reasons: 1) the purpose of research is to enable positive action on a community's own terms; and 2) special attention is paid to power relationships where researcher and participant co-produce information. Participants are partners rather than research subjects and are able to guide the research process and learn valuable research skills. PAR is a collaborative and non-hierarchical approach to doing research and should be considered a departure from more orthodox, positivist social science research.

Photovoice method

As described by Jeff Masuda and his colleagues (2004), photovoice is a "grass-roots-led methodology grounded in PAR that combines visual and narrative data to convey participants' sociocultural experiences" and spur positive community responses to participant-identified issues (1245). Caroline Wang introduced the term "photovoice" to popularize a process that had

previously been identified as reflexive photography (Douglas, 2008), auto-driving (Heisley and Levy, 1991), and photo novella (Wang and Burris, 1994). Stemming from documentary photography research, photovoice uses participants' photographs as a method to engage participants (seen as having less-power) and policy- makers (power-holders) in dialogue for social change (Wang, 2005). Wang presents three goals of photovoice that closely reflect a PAR approach: 1) work with participants to identify and record community issues; 2) encourage critical dialogue on community issues; and 3) reach policy-influencers.

Wang and her colleagues (1996) identify three major theoretical influences underpinning photovoice. The first is documentary photography, in which power is gained by community members by participating in recording community issues through photography. The second is Paulo Freire's (1970) "theory of critical consciousness," which encourages individuals to question their socio-historical realities. Finally, a set of ideas stemming from feminist theory stresses the empowerment of marginalized peoples, the importance of experiential knowledges and local expertise, the deconstruction of gendered power systems, and the promotion of grass-roots approaches to social justice (Hesse-Biber and Yaiser, 2004).

The photovoice method has been used in a wide range of PAR projects; for instance: McIntyre (2003) combined photography with women's accounts of the everyday realities of living in Northern Ireland; Masuda et al. (2012) used a photography-based qualitative approach to better understand urban health inequities in Vancouver, Toronto, and Winnipeg; and Wang, Cash, and Powers (2000) utilized photovoice with homeless men and women in Michigan to promote community action and reach policy influencers around issues of placelessness. Photovoice has been used in participatory needs assessments (Wang, Burris, and Ping, 1996), health equity studies (Radley and Taylor, 2003), urban studies (McCracken et. al., State of the

Inner City Report, 2013), and has been proven to inform people in positions of power (Carlson, Engebretson, and Chamberlain, 2006).

One tangible advantage of the photovoice method is that it pulls together abstract ideas through a visual medium and can be used with groups that might have varying literacy levels, language and cultural backgrounds, and educational levels (Jurkowski and Paul-Ward, 2007). Photovoice is a research instrument for articulating experiential knowledge of those who are often excluded from academic research projects. In my own thesis research, the use of photovoice enabled women to talk about their experiences of safety, insecurity, and resistance, and to map unsafe space in NPD.

The participants, most of whom are Indigenous, followed Shawn Wilson's (2001) precept of "relational accountability," mentioned above. This attention to relational thinking allowed us to develop a sharing circle as our primary meeting methodology—discussions, photos, and photo captions were centered in a research program that was focused on process, storytelling, and building relationships rather than "outcomes of research results" (177). The sharing circle was a safe space to share photos and talk about what safety meant to each person in the physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional realms of understanding. We aimed to create a safe space within sharing circles and participants decided to open and close each session in ceremony to honour Indigenous traditions.

The photovoice method aligns itself with Indigenous methodologies as it provides space for participants to talk about their photographs within a sharing circle where storytelling and personal narrative become an integral part of the research process. Wilson explains that "talking circles" (often in the form of focus groups) are an aligned method that "coincides with the Indigenous epistemological importance of relationships" (178). The simple act of one person

listening to another's narrative builds relationships between and amongst people in a sharing circle (178). Most of the participants were familiar with one another before the project took shape, which fortified the group's confidence and comfort level to allow them to share intimate personal stories. Often, women used the photograph as a "launch-pad" to discuss their relationship to one another, their families, their community, and larger structural forces like institutional racism, colonialism, and the settler state. Using photography to relay visual and narrative information in regards to safety, security, and mobility issues participants encountered in NPD represented a unique, participatory, and creative medium for women discuss what life was really like in NPD; why they loved the neighbourhood, and what it would be like "if things were different" (Transcripts).

Photovoice and spatial justice

The photovoice method, grounded in PAR, is particularly useful when conducting research that explores the spatiality of injustice and violence within the urban landscape. First, participatory research methods like photovoice provide opportunities to create visual maps alongside the emotional geographies of participants that reveal the spatial and temporal dimensions of issues. Second, working with visual data (photographs) alongside participants' narratives (discussion in sharing circles, interviews) reveal participants' interpretations of space, place, and social environment. As feminist geographer Rachel Pain (2004) mentions, PAR "is designed to be context-specific, fore fronting local conditions and local knowledge, and producing situated, rich, and layered accounts. It often results in thick descriptions of place" (653).

Within this project, participants discussed the actual locations of unsafe space and mapped out where violence is more prevalent in North Point Douglas, while also identifying their relationship to these places. Often women stated that their concerns for the neighbourhood were important because they *represent* the neighbourhood itself. Finally, the photovoice research process encouraged participants to make multiple connections between their lived realities, spaces of (un)safety, and violence and the connection between these issues and the social and political processes at varying geographical scales.

Locating myself in this research

Born and raised in the Downtown Eastside in Vancouver, B.C., I moved to Winnipeg in 2013. I noticed almost immediately that there was a stark racial and geographic divide in the city. When out and about I would hear talk about downtown Winnipeg as "dangerous" and "dirty," coded words for the downtown being a space of Indigeneity. This double speak was a form of subtle racism as much as it was a grotesque type of social currency passed back and forth between, predominantly, middle-class, white people, especially those who lived in neighbourhoods outside the downtown core. Living in the Exchange District, in the heart of downtown Winnipeg, I witnessed acts of overt racial violence, and these acts were always perpetrated by young white men. It reminded me of growing up around Main and Hastings in Vancouver, where young white men would drive down the strip to experience the "gauntlet," throwing pennies at street-level sex workers. I've learned that no matter where you are colonialism is ongoing, violent, and inherently spatial, just as it is marked by differentiations of class, race, and gender.

I have a particular social world that has framed my world view. I come from an interracial, single-parent family. We were raised in East Vancouver and spent some of that time

in social housing, what everyone called the Raycam Projects. I learned quickly about how white supremacy operates in a settler state and how my little sisters, women of colour, that are at the center of everything that I hope to do and accomplish in the world, would have markedly different life experiences and opportunities because of this perceived difference. This teaching more than anything has shaped my ethics and politics.

In my earlier years, I was a youth leader for a community organization called Leave Out Violence Everywhere (LOVE) that sought to reduce violence and trauma in the lives of youth and in high needs, inner-city communities across Canada. I was provided with media-arts, leadership, and facilitation training during this time. In my early twenties I worked for the Carter Center in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during their 2006 elections. During my time there, I became aware of the use of rape as a strategic weapon of war in DRC's eastern provinces. There, extreme gender-based sexual violence is used to cut and clear geographically advantageous swaths of land to secure mining territories and is intimately connected to the maintenance and reproduction of the war economy and to the global political economy. Grappling with what I had learned and witnessed in the DRC prompted me to pursue my undergraduate degree in political science and gender studies. My academic focus during my undergraduate studies was on intersectional and critical feminisms, Black feminist thought, and critical race theory. It was during this time that I studied the ongoing femicide in Northern Mexico, where export processing zones, drug violence, and gentrification projects intersect; where a feminized, disembodied labour force is made active in the dislocation of both women's own bodies and their homes. I began to make connections between the femicide of women in Northern Mexico and the ongoing femicide of mainly Indigenous women in Canada. It was here that my focus shifted to critical geography and the importance of applying an intersectional, spatial framework to making connections

between women's body spaces, colonization, global economic processes, territorial dispossession, and state impunity.

My work in the community is informed by feminist and critical race scholar-activism that continues to deepen our collective understanding of violence and settler colonialism. When I work in the community, I pay attention to how a community is resisting violence while also maintaining agency. I believe that any community development work or collective action should start at the intersection of resistance and agency and be led by people that are actually affected by the issues they want to change. Further, understanding how violence operates in communities requires critical learning from the community and within sites of resistance.

I strive for allyship within my work, which means practicing constant accountability, reciprocity, and reflexivity. I believe there are rich sites in which collaborative knowledge production and collective action take place between white allies and Indigenous activists working towards social change. However, Harsha Walia (2012) reminds us that white allyship is messy, problematic, and rests on shifting power relationships. For example, Walia describes the difference between "claiming" and "striving for" allyship. Claiming is a performance of power over, whereas striving for is a process and ongoing acknowledgement that white privilege is not erased simply because one is simply working toward social justice.

I strived for allyship in this project, although I also carried privileges with me like my white skin, education, and income. As a non-Indigenous woman working on a research project in an Indigenous community, my role had to be questioned by my co-facilitators and co-researchers. While there was trust between myself and the group, that was built over time, and it was important for people to question my outsider role in this project. I cannot erase my privileges or the power dynamics that come with them. However, I have also seen the ways in which my

privileges, for example, being a university-based researcher, were mobilized to support the work and goals of the women in this project. For example, funding was acquired to support the women financially throughout the project; the women were trained in research methods and photography, and were able to list their title as community researcher for the University of Manitoba on their resumes.

I believe that women who speak their truths in the face of violence must be provided safe space and platforms to do so. We need to create more avenues for marginalized voices to be heard. Women's story-telling and truth-speaking brings individual and collective healing. My deepest hope for this project was to be able to provide the materials, resources, and space for the women to tell their stories in whatever way was best for them. As a white settler I am responsible to challenge and dismantle colonialist thought and behaviour in the communities in which I participate.

Finally, I believe that white settler allies who are engaged in violence prevention and safety initiatives within movements to create more just realities for women must continually ask if our resistance efforts deepen or disrupt white settler, bourgeois, heteropatriarchal agendas. This approach calls for a commitment by white settlers to address processes of decolonization and accountability with Indigenous people that are resisting the white settler state. It requires one to examine how we continue to occupy Indigenous lands and how we are complicit in these spatial arrangements, and to challenge the dominant belief that colonialism is a thing of the past. It requires one to understand that colonialism is ongoing and continues to shape the socio-spatial geographies of our lives.

Project development

I currently sit on the NPDWC executive board as co-chair and volunteer with the Centre. Because of my proximity to NPDWC, I had already established relationships with staff members, the executive director, and community members prior to the development and implementation of the project. The NPDWC pays special attention to the social and racial inequalities women face in Winnipeg, women's unique needs, and the crucial role women have in planning at the community level to enhance social, economic, and environmental conditions for themselves and their families. NPDWC brings women together to identify community issues, develop solutions, and devise action plans to address poverty and violence in the community. The participatory nature of a photovoice project fit well with the Centre's community-led approaches to tackling complex poverty, violence, and decolonizing practices in the community.

I met with Bianca Ramos (Safety Coordinator), Ashlyn Stevenson (Basic Needs Coordinator), and Tara Zajac (Executive Director), about the possibility of a participatory research project and to ask what kind of project was needed at that point in the community. Ashlyn and I met several times to discuss violence in the community and hold general discussions about the possibility of co-facilitating the project. Examples of photovoice method materials were shared along with an example of a photovoice project that took place in the North End of Winnipeg run by the North End Women's Centre. All parties agreed that a photovoice project was timely, as many women had participated in domestic violence awareness campaigns to combat intimate partner violence in the community or had participated in The Red Road to Healing Program founded by Indigenous anti-violence activist Shanon Buck, which assists women to name, confront, and heal from multiple forms of violence in the community. Both the campaign and healing programs had opened up opportunities for women to discuss violence in

their lives and begin their healing journeys. Because of anti-violence work there existed a strong interest from community women to further participate in an action-oriented, participatory research project.

Project funding was obtained through the Manitoba Research Alliance to ensure participants received honourariums, were compensated for public transit costs, and provided with healthy, home-made meals throughout the project sessions. It was agreed that I would compile all materials needed for the project, including digital cameras, produce a photovoice facilitator's guide and participant workbook (see Appendix A and B), and secure and administer project-funding dollars.

Participants were reached through informational posters that were displayed within the Centre and circulated on the Centre's Facebook page (see Appendix E). Additionally, staff members circulated the poster throughout the Centre's programs. A sign-up sheet was left at the Centre's front desk and it filled up quickly. A total of 14 women signed up and were contacted for private meetings with me. The project was open to women living in the North Point Douglas neighbourhood, and who frequented the North Point Douglas Women's Centre. The photovoice method, project goals, and compensation were discussed at each meeting. Ample time was left for women to ask questions and gain clarification about the project, time commitment, confidentiality, and informed consent. A consent form was signed after the question and answer period (see Appendix F). Women understood that they had the power to withdraw from the project at any time and the authority to annul their consent. Each participant was given a copy of the signed consent form along with take-away information on photovoice and our first photovoice session date.

Research process

This project undertook a multi-method qualitative study based on a participatory action research photovoice project, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and the analysis of legal documents and grey literature. In order to articulate the gendered spatial injustices embedded in urban space and ignite positive changes at a community and/or policy level, I used the photovoice method alongside one-on-one interviews: 1) to support the women in articulating community concerns and assets in regards to safety, security, and wellbeing as well as the linkages between their lived realities and the production of unjust urban space; and 2) to translate experiential knowledge into community responses to influence city planning and policy in the form of a written report for the Manitoba Research Alliance as well as engagement in action-based initiatives, such as a media awareness campaign and photography exhibits.

All photovoice sessions were held at the North Point Douglas Women's Centre and were facilitated by myself alongside either Bianca or Ashlyn. Sessions were scheduled for three hours and food and drinks were provided. Participants received bus tickets and a $25 honourarium at each session. All sessions were recorded and transcribed. All sessions began and ended in a ceremonial smudge. Sessions ran from March to May, 2016. Nine participants consistently attended meetings and participated in both photovoice exhibits towards the end of the project.

What follows is a narrative account of the three-month-long photovoice research project with community women from the North Point Douglas neighbourhood in Winnipeg, Canada. I have condensed the research process into a fluid narrative for readability and clarity as each session—a total of 10 meetings—is flush with detail and too large to include in one chapter. We must remember that participatory research projects are often tailored to the desires of the participants themselves. Because of this, an additional five sessions were added to the original

number of planned sessions. These were requested and organized by participants to accommodate for additional photography discussion and organization, caption writing, a community walk, a gallery visit, and facilitator-participant meetings. I capture some of this complexity in the photovoice narrative below. Additionally, an immense amount of work was invested in adjusting and recreating conventional photovoice materials so to be culturally appropriate for the group of mainly Indigenous women that we were working with. Project materials, a facilitator's guide, a participant handbook, and a full description of all the photovoice sessions are included as appendices as a reference guide for graduate students and other scholars that may find them useful in planning for future participatory research projects (Appendix A and B). However, it should be noted that the photovoice co-facilitators and myself often strayed from the photovoice guide to suit the needs of participants during meeting sessions. The materials should be viewed as a loose, but helpful guide to organizing and facilitating photovoice sessions.

Photovoice sessions

Our first meeting session provided participants with space to meet one another through discussion and icebreaker activities, provide more information and examples on the photovoice method, and hold a general discussion about safety in the neighbourhood through a visual exercise using photography. Open source Getty Images were chosen from the internet by myself and co-facilitators. Themes represented in the photos included family, nature, love, hope, and community. This meeting raised discussions around general photovoice guidelines and goals of the project. The meeting was an opportunity to strengthen understanding of photovoice and its potential to represent participants' perspectives towards safety, security, violence, and wellbeing

in their communities. It was important to set clear, measurable goals for the photovoice project.

For this project, we outlined the following goals:

- Record and reflect your community's safety strengths and concerns
- Share personal and community safety issues through group discussions of photographs
- Share photographs and stories about violence and safety with others
- Inform the development of strategies for improving the safety of women in your community

We also developed a series of guiding questions that would come to be at the heart of the project. In Session One these questions were framed as: *What are some questions that our project would like to look at?*

- What does a safe neighbourhood look like for women? What are our dreams for women in NPD?
- What makes us feel safe or unsafe? What makes us angry?
- Women experience more forms of street harassment and gender violence within the inner-city, how does this affect:
    - Our sense of safety?
    - Our sense of empowerment?
    - How we move through our neighbourhood?
    - Our relationships?
    -

Session Two was organized as a photography workshop as many participants had never used a digital camera before. The photography session was run by Brandi Friesen-Thorpe, a local photographer and fellow Peace and Conflict Studies graduate student who volunteered her time and expertise to assist in the training of participants. The session covered how to operate cameras and the basic "tricks" of photography, and outlined geographical areas of the North Point Douglas neighbourhood. A discussion of safety protocols took place with the understanding that taking photos of "unsafe" space did not mean putting one's self into dangerous scenarios. Unsafe space could represent places that women already frequent in their day-to-day lives. These are the everyday spaces and places that participants encounter within their neighbourhoods individually or with their families, friends, and partners.

Sessions Three to Six saw participants meet to select and discuss participant photographs in a sharing circle. During these sessions, participants discussed why they captured each photograph, what the photo meant to them in regards to their safety, and how their photo connects to or reflects issues and strengths in their community. The narrative below captures the sharing circle process, participant-led action work, and group dynamics that manifested throughout Sessions Three to Six.

Session Seven introduced a thematic mapping exercise to formalize sharing circle knowledge into themes and an asset mapping exercise to document neighbourhood needs and strengths. Both exercises were implemented to produce concise documents based on the collective knowledge generated throughout the sharing. It was also thought that the documents could be used in my report to the Manitoba Research Alliance.

Sessions Eight and Nine saw participants discuss and plan the action-related projects that resulted in two photo exhibits. These sessions also provided space for participants to begin and finalize their photo exhibit selections and write corresponding photo captions for the photo exhibit.

Session Ten, the last session, took place before both photo exhibits. This session was dedicated to reviewing the collective body of work in order to make any adjustments or edits before the exhibit opening and created space for the women to talk about what the project meant to them. During this session I asked the participants if I could facilitate a special bead ceremony. Each participant was asked to choose a unique glass bead from a pouch. Once everyone had their bead, each person spoke of one thing they were grateful for in relation to working together and the project. Once this was spoken, the bead was strung on to a strand of leather. At the end of the ceremony each person's well wishes were represented in an unbroken beaded circle. The

participants then decided that this "circle of relationship" should be hung at the exhibit as a symbol of women's strength and togetherness. The following sections discuss particular facets of the photovoice project; namely, the sharing circle relationship and dynamics, photovoice caption writing processes, and thematic and asset mapping exercises.

Sharing circles

A sense of safety existed within the sharing circles that allowed the women to express themselves freely without judgment. Many of the women had known one another before joining the project, which allowed a sense of comfort and familiarity within the group, but also came with a host of previously established affiliations and potential conflicts. As one of the co-facilitators pointed out, "those pre-established relationships I think benefitted people's ability to be able to share those personal experiences." Safety and a sense of belonging was also created through honouring Indigenous tradition through ceremony within the sharing circles. Participants themselves created space for ceremony and had discussions with non-Indigenous women in the group to see if everyone was comfortable participating in this manner. One participant spoke about the power of ceremony within the women's circle, "And the way it's [photovoice project] setup as a women's group in a woman's circle. And the way it's, the way we keep ourselves grounded in ceremony throughout the process I think is very important and empowering, not only individually to myself and each of the women but as a circle, as a women's circle it's very empowering."

It is important to note that each person who participated in the project holds unique personal narratives borne from their individual lived experience. For example, participants' lived experiences and circumstances vary due to the multidimensionality and interlocking nature of

race, class, sexuality, ability, age, and gender. The group was mainly Indigenous (six of nine participants self-identified as Indigenous) with three white women. There were differences between women in terms of able-bodiness, age (the youngest participant was 19, the eldest, 75), sexuality, income levels, and experiences with homelessness. All of the women lived well below the poverty line and spent the majority of their time within the North Point Douglas neighbourhood. (I chose not to describe participants' personal narratives individually to maintain anonymity due to the sensitive information shared within one-on-on interviews and within the photovoice sharing circle.) [6]

However, despite these differences, overarching themes arose within the sharing circles that revealed a common thread running through each woman's personal geographies. As one participant observed, "Yes, I do feel that a lot of the shared experiences were similar simply because we all have these experiences as women and there's something sacred about when women come together and share and gifts are exchanged and knowledge is learned." These common experiences expressed within the group act as ligature to talk about multiple forms of violence and dispossessions that women face within the North End. There were multiple discussions about breaking the silence and the power of telling one's story in a safe space. The women discussed the power behind having the courage to break the silence around multiple forms of violence, including sexual violence, as one of the first steps to building stronger, equitable, safer, and more cohesive communities. This is in part due to the nature of previous programming provided by the NPDWC that has been foundational in providing women with a

[6] Many participants were survivors of sexual violence. To present narratives individually would result in descriptions of participant's accounts of sexual violence. This was decided against as it raised ethical questions surrounding privacy, ownership, and breach of trust between myself and participants.

platform to not only discuss violence but walk alongside women as they enter on their healing journey and action work within the community.

Each week participants were asked to take a series of photographs to share with the group during three of the weekly sessions. It was understood that photos could include physical locations of unsafe and safe space but also could represent the spiritual, mental, emotional, physical, or structural dimensions of neighbourhood concerns or strengths. The beginning of these sessions saw participants download, organize, and select photos to bring to the sharing circle. The sharing circle became a sacred space for the women to show their photographs, speak their personal stories, and identify spaces of (un)safety in their community. The participants' photographs prompted further discussion about the theme of the study.

Community walk

During the three-week period when the group met in sharing circles it was discussed that a community walk was needed to capture photos of places that people felt uncomfortable visiting alone. Organized by the participants, the community walk took the group throughout NPD and along the Red River that borders the neighbourhood. It became apparent that some participants had experienced physical assaults in several locations close to the river; this explains why they wanted to document these locations in the safety of the group. The community walk and the locations shown to me and then photographed by participants have been included in the collective body of work produced by the women. The analysis chapters elaborate on this work and the importance of participant-generated actions in the research project.

Photo Selection and caption writing

Several sessions were set up for participants to choose photographs for their exhibits and to write text to accompany participant photographs. Participants decided that they wanted to have two principal, large-format photographs with eight small photographs displayed in the exhibits. The selection of the photographs came fairly easily, as the women had been working with and talking about their own body of work over the course of three weeks. The photographs represented "the community through our eyes" and were chosen because of personal significance rather than aesthetic value.

Although a photo can "speak a thousand words," each passing viewer can interpret its visual meaning differently. Participants produced specific messages through photograph captions and titles to ensure meaning-making lay with the photographer herself. Many discussions ensued in the sharing circles centered on the ownership of meaning making; viewers should not be allowed to interpret the photos. The NPD neighbourhood withstands severe stigmatization from outsiders, so the participants wanted to interrupt outsider bias by way of documenting honest and descriptive stories alongside photographs. Facilitating this process proved to be more challenging than anticipated. Often, this process required one-on-one attention of the facilitator with each participant as well as individual meetings outside of scheduled sessions. We developed a process in which a participant would verbally explain what she was thinking about while I transcribed her ideas. We would then read over the transcription and add or take away various elements. Then participants would circle important words or sentences that they wanted to keep. The "circle" words were written on a fresh page. From there I worked with participants to flesh out the text. Sometimes participants re-ordered words and sentences for better flow or asked me to correct

minor grammatical errors. Despite the collaborative process, the captions, poems, and stories emerged through participants' voices alone.

Thematic analysis and asset mapping

In keeping with a participatory action research approach, the group agreed to undertake a thematic analysis of the issues and concerns raised in the sharing circles. A thematic analysis was conducted by a free-listing and sorting exercise, which resulted in a rich thematic account of community strengths and challenges. Participants were given two sheets of paper. On each paper, participants were asked to record words, ideas, or phrases that captured the main strengths and challenges in regards to our sharing circle conversations. In smaller groups, participants shared what they had written with one another. Each group took time reciting and explaining what they had written while I wrote everyone's contributions on a marker board. We then grouped various challenges and strengths together under thematic banners. I asked permission to take the marker sheets home to create a document for the group. Once created, the document was given back to the group for review to ensure that nothing was missed and all themes were being represented properly (see Appendix C for final document).

The group also completed an asset mapping exercise to further identify community strengths and challenges in regards to women's safety and wellbeing in NPD. The exercise asked four questions:

1. What do want to PRESERVE in the neighbourhood?
2. What do you want to ADD to the neighbouhood?
3. What do you want to REMOVE from the neighbouhood?
4. What do you want to KEEP OUT of the neighbourhood?

The group helped to organize themes within each quadrant, which resulted in a secondary document outlining community needs in regards to women's safety in NPD (Appendix D). Both documents act as "lighthouses" to guide further/secondary data analysis on the part of the researcher.

Participant interviews

Interviews were conducted towards the end of the photovoice sessions which established a platform for communication, relationship and trust. Because of this, interviews were informal and semi-structured. They were conducted wherever participants felt comfortable. Some took place in local parks and establishments. They were conducted during centre working hours and always near the centre in case participants sought counseling services due to the sensitive nature of participants' stories. The interviews were framed around four broad questions, each open-ended and built to allow for the participants to talk about the issues more important to them – What are neighbourhood strengths? What would you like to see changed? Do you feel safe in North Point Douglas? What gives you hope? There was an organic process to the interviews. It was much like talking to a friend about their experiences growing up in North Point Douglas, talking about how the community has changed, what changes were still needed, and how these improvements could be achieved. I also asked participants about what gives them strength in the neighbourhood? The process happened as a matter of course – it was a conversation between co-authors on a project, or co-researchers in a community development project.

Exhibit planning and celebration

Throughout the sessions, discussions were held with participants about what they wanted to do with their photographs. The photovoice concept and method is designed to enable participants to create and discuss photographs with the hope that the project will catalyze community change. Participants were eager to share the powerful body of work they had produced to communicate life experiences and expertise of community issues and strengths. It was decided that we would hold two exhibits, one at Urban Shaman Contemporary Art Gallery, a nationally acclaimed gallery in the heart of the Exchange District with a focus on showcasing Indigenous artists, and a second exhibit to be held at Neechi Neech Gallery at Neechi Commons in North Point Douglas. The exhibit was a way for participants to showcase and celebrate their artwork as well as engage within community stakeholders, raise awareness around issues women face in NPD, and reach policy makers on issues affecting their community. Chapter 4 further discusses the exhibits as an action-project.

Data analysis process

This project generated an immense amount of data that include semi-structured, open-ended interviews with participants and co-facilitators, transcripts from sharing circles, participant photographs and captions, asset mapping and thematic analysis documents, and news media coverage and footage. I refrain from attaching myself to any particular theory to analyze data. Instead, I am guided by the participants' themselves. The women themselves have already completed the majority of the data analysis by ways of the thematic analysis and asset mapping documents. Both documents create a roadmap that I use to analyze interview and sharing circle transcripts. For example, themes generated by participants become the blueprint with which to thematically code transcript data. I am confident that this is an effective, valid, and representative

approach to interpreting and writing about embodied, situated knowledges. My aim is to seriously take Indigenous methodologies into account by creating theoretical, analytical, and emotional space for the living, documented stories of participants, *their lives,* and our research together. My aim is to create space for these stories to speak for themselves. The thesis should be viewed as a living document, bound in relationship, in which people's life stories, neighbourhood expertise, and creative materials ("data") are epistemologically situated, relational, and embodied. I urge the reader to keep in mind the relational aspects that underlie the project as it is building relationships and honouring those relationships that buttress the research process itself.

Conclusion

How do I put these methodological approaches into practice? I work with all data materials regarding multiple forms of violence that exist in women's lives in the larger context of colonialism as experienced by the women in Winnipeg. Integrating participants' interpretations of their research-related experiences and work is linked with academic scholarship and becomes a relationship-based, collaborative data analysis process. I pay close attention to the women's photographs and text chosen for the two exhibits and the participant interviews that discuss the importance of the photos and text. I integrate women's personal narratives, creative work, and reflections into my analysis and link them to the issues and themes displayed within the participant thematic and asset mapping documents contextualizing them within the arena of spatial (in)justice. Additionally, I integrate women's stories from sharing circle transcripts and one-on-one interviews into the overall analysis to illustrate how women made meaning of and linked issues to wider structural processes that shape realities on the ground.

CHAPTER 5: PHOTOVOICE EXHIBIT: THE VOICE FROM POINT DOOUGLAS

This chapter outlines the process of our action project that emerged from photovoice and showcases the major body of participant photography. The chapter begins with the photography exhibit itself. I have tried to present the work as curated by participants. As such, the photographs are presented in the exact sequence they appeared in both exhibits, starting with Shelley's *Walking Path*—intentionally chosen by participants as the first photograph that represents a visual invitation to viewers to "walk with" the women through the exhibit, from photo to photo—and closes with Claudette's *A Beautiful Night in Winnipeg*—a meditation on safety and wellbeing.

The following section opens with the exhibit poster created by local Métis artist, Kenneth Lavallee and follows with a curatorial statement co-written by participants and myself. The first exhibit took place at Urban Shaman Contemporary Art Gallery in the heart of Winnipeg's Exchange District, also known as the arts and culture district. The second exhibit was presented at Neechi Neech Gallery in Winnipeg's North End. The photographers wanted to showcase their work outside of the community first in order to reach a variety of people, and end with an exhibit in their own neighbourhood, completing a full-circle. Urban Shaman Gallery is a nationally recognized leader in contemporary Aboriginal arts and "one of the foremost venues and voice for Aboriginal art in Canada" (Urban Shaman website). Urban Shaman has also created a platform for numerous community-based arts initiatives since the gallery started twenty years ago, including *Walking With Our Sisters – Winnipeg* and K.C. Adams' *Perception Series*. Daina Warren, Executive Director of the gallery mentions the impact that these types of community-based art initiatives have and says that they, "are life changing for both the artists and

participants involved in the projects as well as the social impact on the public audience of Winnipeg." What follows is the exhibit, *The Voice from Point Douglas*:

Artist: Kenneth Lavallee

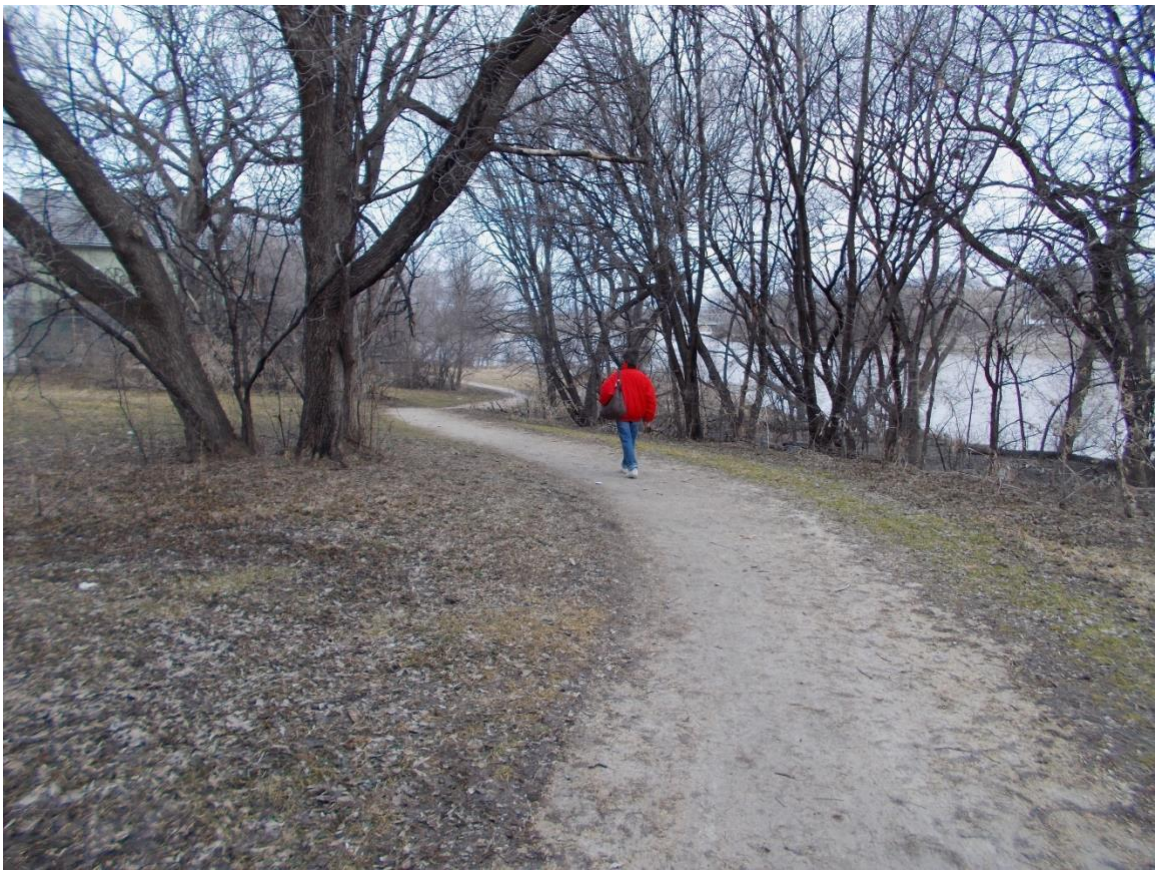
URBAN SHAMAN
CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL ART

THE VOICE FROM POINT DOUGLAS: A COMMUNITY-LED PHOTO VOICE PROJECT, 2016.

ALEESHA F. WINTER THUNDERBIRD WOMAN, ANNA MARIE V., BONITA JARROW, CLAUDETTE NAULT, CORINNE BAXTER, DONNA RUSNAK, ERIKA DILKA, PAULA DUCHARME, SHELLEY STEVENSON RED BUFFALO WOMAN

The exhibit presents photographs produced through a participatory research project exploring spaces of safety through the lens of nine community women. Developed in partnership with North Point Douglas Women's Centre and with support from the Manitoba Research Alliance, the project creates a platform for women to discuss and create visual narratives around questions of safety, security, and wellbeing in the North End. The artists hope to bring awareness to the challenges that women face in the community while highlighting the potential for positive change. The project takes a strengths-based approach to community development to build on community assets in order to create meaningful change for women. The artists and researchers involved in the project built an inclusive, empowering process that aimed to capture the diversity of experience, expertise, and wisdom that each member brings to her community. The photographs and the accompanying narratives encapsulate the personal landscapes of Point Douglas. Here you can see women's perspectives that take you from spaces of the body to dreamscapes and cityscapes, from recollections of the past to hopes for the future.

The artists invite you to see the community through their eyes. Each artist tells a story with their photographs and with the text that appears alongside. This exhibit presents the emergence of multiple voices uniting for positive change in the community—these are the voices that make up *The Voice From Point Douglas*.



Life's Winding Path, 2016

This picture represents life's winding path. Like life's obstacles, we're walking through the dark into the light.

SHELLEY STEVENSON RED BUFFALO WOMAN

Seeing Hope, 2016

As a young child I remember walking along the railway tracks in this photo. There used to be a sidewalk that went all the way from Higgins Street at the bridge to Sutherland Street at the overpass.

For 45 years there has been no lighting along this path. Years back a girl was taken from Sutherland Street and dragged back there and raped and abused and thrown out of a car.

After this picture was developed there was a rainbow present.

This is my rainbow.

The rainbow gives me a lot of hope that someday this particular space is going to be a safe space again.

North Point Douglas is like a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I think that's really symbolic because it's like saying the pot of gold at the end of this rainbow is our safety

Lost In Addictions, Finally Finding Myself, 2016

#THE NEGATIVE

#Careless teen #No support #No help #No caring family #Addictions #Feeling "good" #Being high #No sense of belonging #Suicidal thoughts #Depression #Close to death #An eye opener

#THE POSITIVE

#My mom finally supporting me #Realizing my life is important #Wanting to better myself #Trying to get back in school #Getting involved with programs #Finding my culture #Feeling at peace #Smudging #Learning #Observing #Becoming sober from the pills #Staying strong #Having temptations #Feeling Proud #Age 16 #Feeling hopeful #Actually having life goals #looking forward to my future #getting my education #loving life

Loss of Hopefulness, Fighting for a Positive Change, 2016

#THE NEGATIVE

#Scared #witnessing murder at the age of 12 #court #too much violence #hopelessness #unsafe #MMIW #vulnerable #Safety concerns

#THE POSITIVE

#life #community #growing up #North Point Douglas #fighting for positive change #powerful #wanting to bring back my community #2016 #never give up #love your community #get together as one #no more violence, deaths, hatred #love + peace (heart symbol)

DONNA RUSNAK

Family, 2016

These branches are my life, my family. They all grow their own way but the roots will always stay firmly grounded together.

DONNA RUSNAK

Generations, 2016

Amazing how you can look back into your history. These photos capture time, the only thing that stops time is photographs.

This collage of photos is of our roots. I'm glad that my dad kept the roots alive and taught us about our family. It kept us grounded.

CORINNE BAXTER

Main Street Strip, 2016

This is a representation of old-school Main Street bars that are no longer able to be photographed.

The spirit of them live on in many ways.

I've been going in and out of these places since I was a child, hiding under tables, looking for my mom that went missing for days on end.

No matter how hard I work in life, I can't escape the Main Street Strip.

CORINNE BAXTER

House of Prayer, 2016

A totally non-judgmental, beautiful place of prayer. I go there at times I need a spiritual boost and I'm in the area. A place to think and be with my spiritual family.

ERIKA DILKA

Reaching Out, 2016

The photo is of a stone monument in Joe Zuken Park off Euclid Avenue of an angel with wings.

Her right arm stretched up to the endless sky, depicting to me an attempt to feel free to reach out when help is needed. In North Point Douglas we are part of a free and open society of people who are starting to recognize that the sky is the limit.

The stone wings and body represent the solid strength to embrace our needs and caress our deepest desires. To honor ourselves and stand up and reach out.

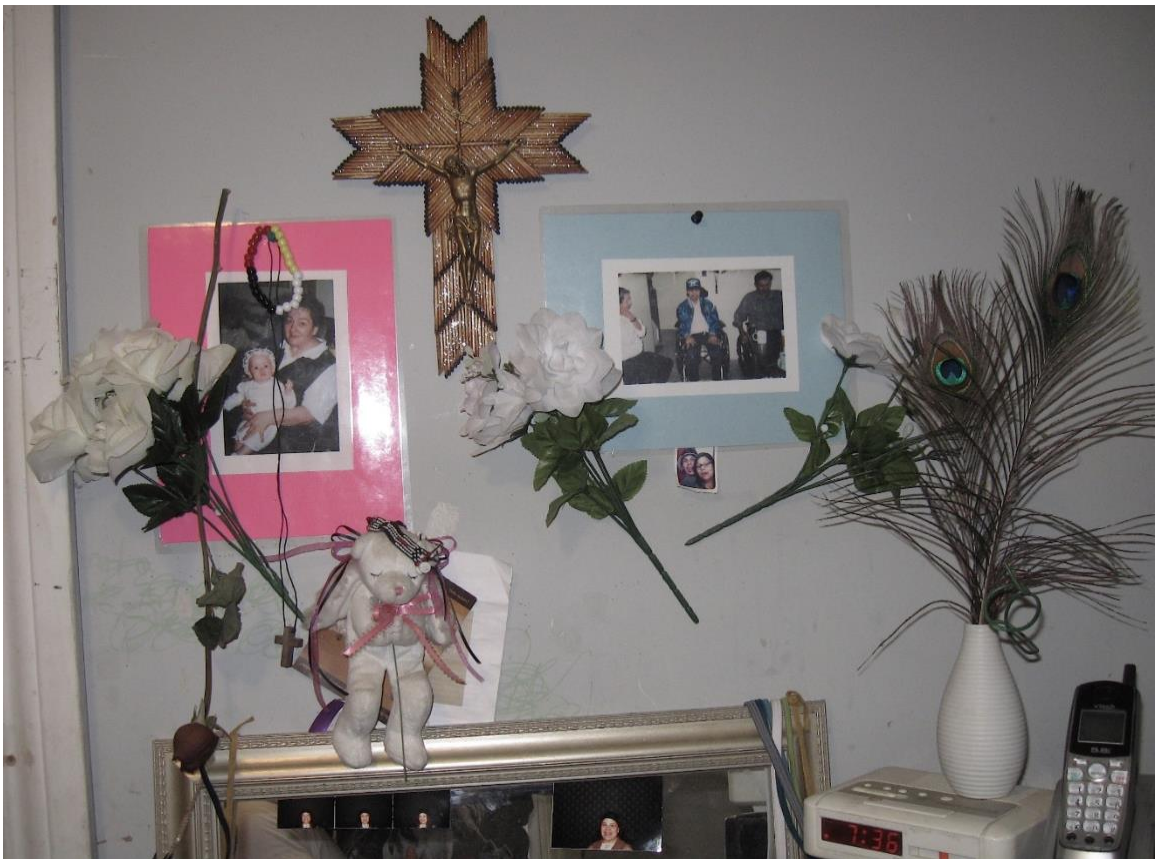
ERIKA DILKA

The Crow, 2016

Myth has it that being full of intelligence, cunning, and playfulness, the crow was seen as a guardian of the sacred among First Nations. A creature whose far-seeing eye saw past, present, and future all at once.

North Point Douglas has many crows. This proud crow posed for me off of Euclid Avenue.

BONITA JARROW



Mother and Father Collage, 2016

A collage of my mother and father's pictures. They both have passed.

They are surrounded by flowers and people that love them.

I had a ceremony for them. The Drummer buried the medicine and tobacco for them. My mom's ashes are in the city. My dad is buried in Broken Head.

They make me feel strong when the photos are up like that.

I miss them.

BONITA JARROW

My Walking Path in the Sky, 2016

I call this *My Walking Path in the Sky*. That's where I'm going to be walking when I pass. It was taken behind my house and made me feel good about life and myself.

My path in the sky makes me want to show people that there is happiness somewhere.

ANNA MARIE V.

Beauty of Life, 2016

When I was a child I would climb trees to get to the ‘stairway of heaven’ and to see how far I could climb.

I took this photo because it was beautiful to see the snow on the branches.

The journey I walk everyday of my life.

The roots of life.

The branches of life.

Trees have kept me safe when I was without a place to call home.

Windows to my soul.

ANNA MARIE V.

Lost Soul, 2016

Dumped without regard of the person and the soul.

Tragic loss for such a beautiful soul that will never know life.

She has a right to live.

Why did he murder her? Why didn't he leave her be.

Devastated. Uncaring.

The terror.

Shocking.

Never forgotten.

PAULA DUCHARME

Powerful Ikwe (Woman), 2016

Red clad and crowned female drummer.

PAULA DUCHARME

Powerful Ikwe (Woman), 2016

Female artist, Jackie Traverse, talking on the left with her artwork on the right. She is grounded in ceremony and represents strength and resilience.

CLAUDETTE NAULT

Before, After, 2016

The photo on top is of the Sutherland which is an older bar on Main Street and right behind it is a new Manitoba Housing Development. Boris is a great bar owner at the Sutherland. He helps people in need and won't leave anyone stranded on the street.

Sutherland is a family bar.

The photo on the bottom is the new Manitoba Housing Development I can see from my window. Sometimes housing is so bad in North Point Douglas that a whole family needs to move into rooming housing.

This is an unacceptable situation.

Our neighbourhood is growing. There are a lot of young families in North Point Douglas.

Families need more family housing.

CLAUDETTE NAULT

A Beautiful Night in Winnipeg, 2016

I just adore the moon, it's so big and bright. I feel safe looking at this bright moon from my window.

Photo exhibit as action-work

As previously discussed, PAR projects, like photovoice, are tailored to the desires of the research participants as well as participant-generated actions. Action work can range from changing public policy to more informal changes in the community, to organizing a local event, or simply increasing awareness about participant-identified issues (McIntyre, 2008). McIntyre (2008) describes action-work generated by PAR as a "braided process of exploration, reflection, and action" (5). Actions that participants decide to implement are the result of discussions and questions they examine and address within the collaborative research process. The photovoice project initially began as a discussion around safety issues for women in North Point Douglas. As the participants continued to capture and discuss their photographs, the focus expanded to include community concerns, issues, assets, and the interrelationship between issues raised. Thus, new ways of thinking about the issues raised resulted in new ideas that would attend to issues warranting participants' attention.

Media awareness as action

The more participants worked on formalizing their own bodies of work, the more it became apparent that their photographs and writing, taken together, encapsulated the *diversity* of women's experiences and community knowledge. The group agreed early on that their action project would take the form of photography exhibits; what was still to be determined was the overall message they wanted to send to the public. Once participants and I co-wrote the exhibit statement, it became clear that the group wanted to "bring awareness to the challenges that women face in the community while highlighting the potential for positive change" (curatorial

statement). As such, participants took a strengths-based approach to documenting and reporting on neighbourhood issues to media outlets.[7]

Such an approach allowed participants to showcase their photographs and talk about the issues that affected them in the neighbourhood without fear of furthering neighbourhood stigmatization. Paula describes this approach:

> I really tried to approach it from a strength-based approach. I didn't like the bad negative things and stigmas around all the violence and stuff. So I chose to focus on strong women and doing things that empower and move society forward in a good way.

The approach was strategic as it allowed participants to discuss issues that negatively impact women in the community, like gender-based violence, while also taking a positive stance toward their community to resist and confront outside prejudice. Participants hoped the strengths-based approach would also motivate Winnipeggers to get involved and take action alongside participants in the future. Paula explains why the strength-based approach is important:

> I see it as an opportunity to hopefully, people walk away with a new perspective and can take action in a good way on something they perceive as negative…. Well, actually a lot of people have a bad view of Point Douglas and it's not actually a bad area. I wanted to bring awareness that the community actually isn't that bad if you actually put in work into it to make it a better place.

This approach guided the participant-led media campaign that aimed to bring awareness to the issues women faced in North Point Douglas. Aleesha explains:

> I wanted to bring awareness to what goes on in the community. The good and the bad.

Donna further elaborates:

> Maybe step back and take a look at your own picture … maybe we should be together like this instead of, you know, ridiculing

[7] Paula, a photovoice participant, introduced the concept "strengths-based approach" to the photo voice group.

> everybody and painting them with the same brush. How about get to know them? Just because that kid is a gangster or whoever doesn't matter. You don't know what happened in their life, how they end up the way they are. Maybe if you treat them with a little respect, they'll respect you back.

Media uptake and coverage

Local and national media coverage of the exhibit was extensive, with multiple news agencies, news and community radio, and popular publications covering the exhibit. Major news agencies included CBC, Global News, and APTN. Online new articles included interviews with CBC National Arts, *Winnipeg Free Press*, and *Metro Winnipeg*. Radio interviews and coverage included, CBC Radio 1, NCI-Spirit of Manitoba with David McLeod, CKUW 95.9 FM-Eat your Arts and Vegetables with Derek Brueckner, and 680 CJOB. Art and lifestyle magazines, *ION Magazine* and *Canadian Art Magazine*, promoted the exhibit, with *Canadian Art* listing the exhibit as a "must see" (*Canadian Art Magazine* website).

An initial press release was sent out a week prior to the exhibit opening. It was agreed by the group that I would be the main media contact and would then contact participants with interview opportunities as they came in. Participant involvement varied from participating in solo interviews (Aleesha's CBC Radio 1 interview), to multi-participant interviews (CBC National Arts, *Winnipeg Free Press*). When a participant was unable to attend an interview, it was agreed that I would represent the group. I gave several radio interviews and one televised interview with Global News. And so, *The Voice From Point Douglas* has been amplified by the collective power of participant voices, and by public interest in the project.

Photo exhibit process and gallery curation

Several sessions were set up for participants to choose photographs for their exhibits and to write text to accompany participant photographs. Participants decided that they wanted to have two principal, large-format photographs with eight small photographs displayed in the exhibits. The selection of the photographs came fairly easily, as women had been working with and talking about their own body of work over the course of three weeks. The photographs represented "the community through their eyes" (curatorial statement) and were chosen because of personal significance rather than aesthetic value.

There were many unrecorded discussions that took place with the group about how much or how little participants wanted to share with the general public. As Kovach (2005) has pointed out, "how much do we share? We need to ask how much knowledge do we share for the common good, and what knowledge needs to be kept sacred" (31). The purpose, benefit, and protection of women's knowledges that arose within sharing circles were discussed among participants. Women asked: how do we express our voices while still fostering care for our protection and wellbeing?

As participants and I worked together on the selection and articulation of photographs for the exhibit, some women discussed how they felt nervous about exhibiting in a gallery space. Despite the fact that it was the participants themselves who urged me to contact Urban Shaman to set up a show there, the women began to express their feelings of nervousness and apprehension about exhibiting in what was considered to be a prestigious art gallery. Some participants had never stepped foot in a gallery before, while others were more familiar with local galleries but had never participated in an art exhibit.

I contacted Daina Warren, the gallery's executive director, to see if we could arrange a gallery visit so participants could get a feel for the space and meet Daina. Better yet, Daina explained that the current exhibit on display was a community-based art show by Indigenous youth from the Ndinawe Youth Resource Centre in the North End. The exhibit was called *The Mapping Identity: A Decolonizing Arts Practices Project* led by Colombian Mestiza interdisciplinary artist Praba Pilar. I contacted Praba Pilar to see if she would be willing to meet with the photovoice group at the gallery and show us around. Praba was thrilled and we organized a gallery visit for the group. During our visit, Praba talked about *Mapping Identity* and the importance of "de-stigmatizing gallery spaces."

Participants enjoyed seeing art produced by community members from their own community and were surprised to know many of the artists personally. Participants posed many questions about presenting art work in a gallery space for the very first time. Praba, experienced in coordinating similar community-based art projects in South America, was the perfect coach and talked about how galleries are safe and creative spaces in which to discuss important issues that matter to communities. She encouraged the group to "make the gallery space feel like your own" in whatever way was best for the group. The gallery opened up new possibilities for the group to think creatively about reclaiming a previously perceived foreign space into one that felt safe and supportive for participants.

Ceremony as safe space

Before the exhibit, participants asked about how they could extend the safe space created within the sharing circle to the gallery. The gallery visit helped to create a more welcoming space and ease participant nerves. However, participants decided that making space for Indigenous ceremony was needed to further create a feeling of safety and belonging, cleanse the

gallery, honour relations, and call on grandmothers or Elders for safety and protection. It was decided that women would collect and hang traditional medicines representing the four directions and work with a local Elder, Velma, to guide ceremony and to provide support to participants. It was also decided that the Red River Women's Drum Circle would open and close with women's songs to honour the grandmothers and grandfathers. I attended a drum meeting to practice with the women's drum group both at a community centre and the gallery space itself.

Participants also wanted to curate the exhibit themselves and decided on the sequence of photographs. Mentioned previously, the presentation and sequence of photographs was intended to visually create a sense of safety and well-being for guests and the participants themselves. Photos were hung starting from the left of the room, moving around to the right, to honour the medicine wheel and cycle of life. Women also created photo books that showcased eight photographs to complement the larger photographs displayed on the wall. The *Series of Eight* photo books were bounded in red ribbon and presented on individual shelves that guests could flip through. Participants came up with the idea for white gloves to be provided on each shelf so viewers could handle the photo books without touching the works. This was intended to create a feeling of sacredness when guests handled the photographs. Before the exhibit opening, Elder Velma led the group in a tobacco ceremony and blessing. The group burned medicines and smudged. The women decided to hang the circle of beads above their portraits to represent the strength, wisdom, and unity of the group.

The exhibit opened and closed with a song by the Red River Women's Drum group. The public was invited to join for the opening song. The exhibit saw over 200 people in attendance. Multiple news media crews were on site and interviewing participants. Guests also engaged with

participants to ask questions about the project and their work. The feeling of excitement and accomplishment of the women was palatable.

Participants speak on their photographs and the project

The following quotes are from an interview with David McLeod and used with permission from the author/broadcaster. I include these quotes as they were taken during the exhibit opening and encapsulate both photographers' descriptions of their photos and why they are important in the context of the project. It seems fitting to let the participants have the final word in this chapter.

Photographer, Aleesha Fiddler:

> As you can see I am in the reflection, taking the picture. In the background, I lived in that building and witnessed a murder there. That is Delaine Copenace, she was reported missing and two days later was found dead. I'm really aware of the murdered and missing Aboriginal woman and I thought this should be my main photo. The fighting fist in the picture with the DVAM, stands for domestic violence awareness month. I thought it was a really powerful picture with all of this being together at once. It speaks a lot.

Photographer, Shelley Stevenson:

> Myself, speaking for Point Douglas, I've seen it going through the goods and the bads and I know what it's capable of being. I look forward to being a part of it when it gets better. Every picture here is like a page in a book. It's something you can learn about.

Photographer, Claudette Nault:

> It's not as ugly as it looked before. There's a lot of inner beauty in this part of the city. There are people like me, old school, that have been there 40 or 50 years. There's the Austin Street fair, the woman's centre, the churches, everybody gets together and does a little bit and that's what makes it so lovable. I look at Point Douglas different now and I believe if we break it down, it can be helped. Neighbours should start getting back together and loving each other. Loving themselves first and then their neighbour. Everybody can do their part. It can be fixed, it's not that broken.

Photographer, Corinne Baxter

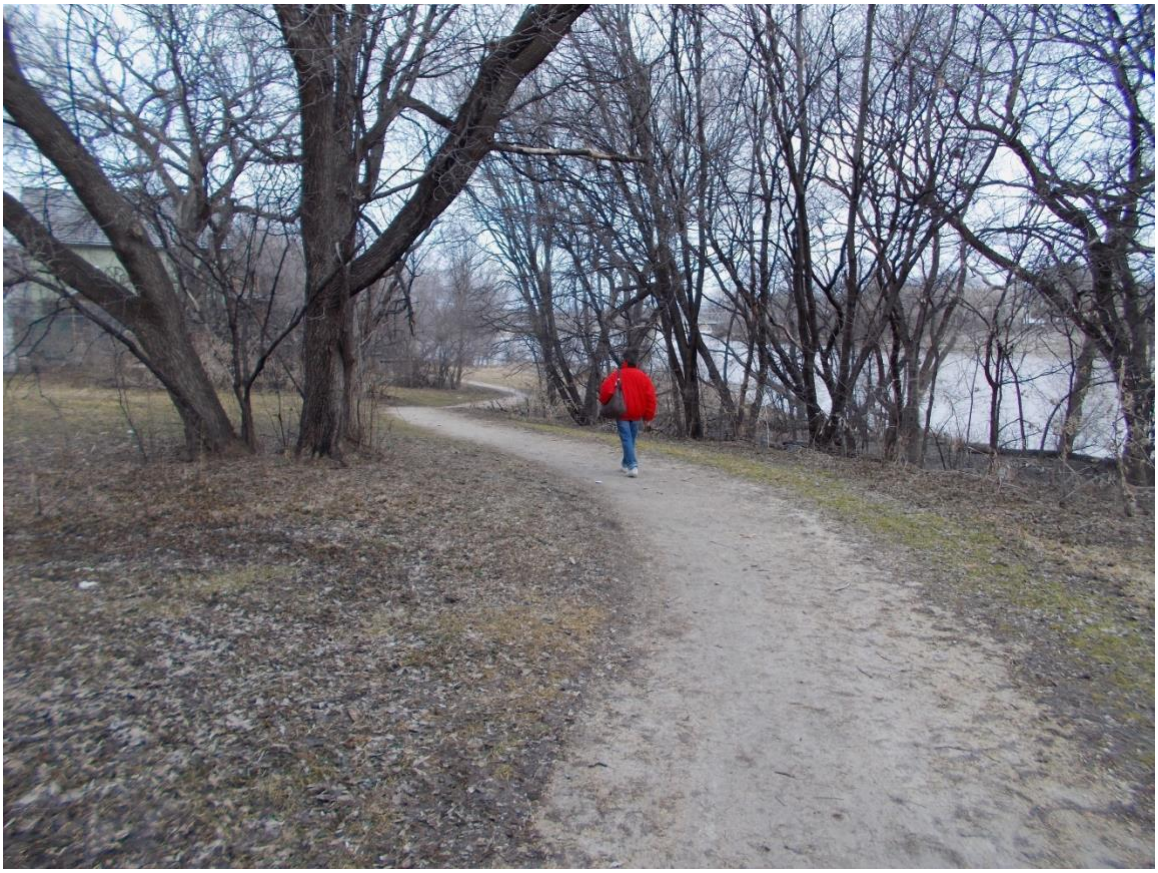
> It's been very enlightening, very hopeful. You figure that if someone's going to help they need to know what areas to look at. The community centres are helping but we

need more work places out there. Active and helpful for the woman, there are woman selling their bodies when they shouldn't have to. We need work places that have an honest day's wage for an honest day's work and such - would make a woman feel better about herself. It's hard to do that when you get stuck in a man's world. You can't get that part on camera.

Photographer, Bonita Jarrow

I think this will help women know where there are good things and bad things. My pictures are about my parents and the others about my path. I grew up in Point Douglas, more people need to get together and work on things. The people, the churches and the trees are beautiful.

CHAPTER 6: CULTURE OF VIOLENCE AND EMBODIED DISPOSSESION



Shelley Stevenson, "*Life's Winding Path*"

The Red River story

The photograph above illustrates the complex interplay of what participants describe as the "Culture of Violence"—gendered-colonial violence that women face within North Point Douglas, and "Culture of Hope"—an outlook that guides women's approach and work towards resisting and combatting violence in their lives and community. In the photograph we see Anna, also a participant in the project, walking along "Life's Winding Path." This path may have obstacles but Shelley is hopeful: "we're walking through the dark into the light." Captured in the

background is the Red River that flows through the neighbourhood of North Point Douglas, a location mentioned numerous times by the women as a site of refuge and strength and also a space of despair, loss, anger, and death.

The Red River represents a set of spatial tensions that emerge in connection to colonial gendered violence in the city. The Red flows south to north, twisting through suburbs, major neighbouhoods, through the city itself. It meets the Assiniboine River at the center of the city, a confluence now called The Forks, an ancient meeting place of the Nakoda (Assiniboins), Cree and Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) and Dakota. The Red pushes north past the CN railway yard—the physical border dividing the downtown core and North Point Douglas. The river demarcates Winnipeg urban location; it moves freely, uninterrupted by city space—a free agent. The Red also reveals the city's most harrowing truth—it is a watery graveyard where Indigenous women have been cast from the city—the most violent demonstration of colonial violence.

The Red River is where the body of Tina Fontaine was found in August, 2014. She was fifteen. The group frequently discussed the river being a site of pain, violence, and death. It is here that women have survived violent physical assaults; where women's bodies have washed up on its banks; and where their spirits walk upon its waters in the dark of night. As one participant mentioned, "this area is filled with a bunch of spirits I guess from over the years, they're just abandoned, it's the graveyard of the city, it's just sad." It is also a space of refuge where women find peace from the city and see it as a source of strength, representing Indigenous women's power as warrior women, water carriers and life givers. In this sense, the Red River presents itself as a leitmotif, flowing throughout this chapter, a visual reminder of the ability to transgress the material and symbolic spatial barriers that circumscribe the lives of women in this project.

Like the Red River, public space in Winnipeg is simultaneously dangerous and place of sanctuary, a source of potential violence and a vital space of hope.

Embodied dispossessions and spatialized resistance

This chapter explores themes that participants articulated within the sharing circles along with themes that arose from participant interviews. I continue to ask, "why is it important to think spatially about the multiple form of violence women face on-the-ground and within the colonial city alongside their resistance to such violence?" Gendered-colonial violence is sanctioned structurally by state neglect and perpetrated through actions of the judiciary and police services, yet it often operates at the microlevel of the body, which masks the political character of this violence. Indigenous critical geographer Sarah Hunt (2016) makes clear the beneficial corollaries of collapsing the macro-micro level of decolonial politics: "Imagine if we had not lost the capacity to determine and enforce … jurisdictional power over our homelands and our bodies," there would "be no macro-micro political division … our consciousness as legal and political actors [would] be formed both by looking inward toward the intimate spaces of our homes and communities as well as outward toward our engagement with systems of settler colonial power" (116). In this sense, employing a critical spatial perspective must include "rescaling to the intimate level of everyday relations" (113). We must explore how women are affected in their everyday lives by these dispossessions, but also how these dispossessions are intimately connected to and produced by ongoing colonial structures. If there is power in naming this violence, there is equal power in naming the multiple ways women resist this violence and in recognizing their solutions for a more equitable and just community. The multiple forms of violence that women face, presented thematically in this chapter, are understood as *embodied*

dispossessions. Everyday acts of resistance and tactics to combat the culture of violence are understood as *spatialized resistance.*

Colonial dispossessions are often described as land dispossession. I am making the point that dispossessions can take place at the microlevel of the body. They are *embodied*. Women are routinely denied safety and security within the intimate spaces of the household, family, and community. Gendered-colonial violence is a form of *dispossession*. It denies women's physical, emotional, mental, spiritual, and spatial right to live without fear or perpetration of violence. Violence and unsafe space that women experience on the ground should be seen as *embodied dispossessions* that are socially, politically, and spatially produced by the colonial city and by gendered violence operating within communities. My main intent here is to destabilize standard ways of understanding gendered violence at the individual scale, a frame that often removes the context of colonial violence from view. From this standpoint, embodied dispossessions—borne from colonial legacies—can be traced spatially across women's body spaces and through their emotional, mental, spiritual, and physical geographies.

Faced with this culture of violence, women in this project have developed dynamic and powerful ways to resist and combat embodied dispossessions in their community and on the part of the colonial state. Smith (2005) reminds us that the state is often a perpetrator of violence that affects Indigenous peoples of all genders and ages—Two Spirit people, Elders, children, infants, teens—in the form of ongoing Indigenous child apprehension, the residential school system, deaths in custody, and indifferent, delayed, or violent police interactions. Many women in the project cannot turn to the state for safety and protection because it is often a source of insecurity and violence. Many women do not equate police services with safety but, rather, as a safety issue in itself. Women have had to devise creative ways to keep themselves and their families safe by

utilizing uniquely *spatialized* safety tactics. Women's approach to maintaining their own sense of wellbeing and the health and safety of loved ones reveals a convergence of safety tactics, spiritual faith, and grounded community activism, a creative, localized approach that I call *spatialized resistance*.

Embodied dispossessions discussed as themes below fall under an overarching discussion of what participants described as a "culture of violence." This violence is ubiquitous and pervasive; it can be intimate or societal/structural. The many dispossessions women face contribute to a culture of violence and produce the heightened insecurity and unsafe space experienced by neighbourhood women. This includes: interpersonal violence or direct violence like muggings, physical fights, and assaults; gendered violence, including intimate partner violence, street harassment, and rape; state violence, characterized by police brutality and surveillance, racism, and navigating governmental systems like Child Family Services and the criminal justice system; intergenerational trauma, violence, and addictions; and the psycho-affective aspects of settler colonialism that include emotional and psychic trauma brought on by the constant threat of racism, prejudice, and fear of violence. This culture of violence—a cyclical and patterned process borne from colonial structures—has been heightened by uneven urban development and access to resources, and the spatial pauperization of its residents.

For the purposes of this thesis we can identify six key insights derived from discussions with participants both in the sharing circle and individually. It is important to remember when considering these six insights that conversations with participants always identified the intersectionality of gender violence, colonialism, and unsafe space. In this sense, the following six insights must be understood intersectionally, as overlapping and iterative.

The first key insight is centered on how participants negotiate the ongoing trauma of missing and murdered Indigenous women and the threat of gendered colonial violence that creates an environment in which women fear for their own safety and for loved ones. Second, participants discussed how gendered colonial violence affects women's mental, emotional, and spiritual geographies as much as it imprints itself in the physical landscape of North Point Douglas. Women in this project assert that the city, police, and the non-Indigenous citizens are not doing enough to bring awareness to this issue. Many participants see this as a double-bind: Indigenous women must deal with the treat of gendered colonial violence while also shouldering the work to combat it. Third, participants view gender violence on a continuum that includes street harassment, sexual or physical assaults, family violence, and the psychological effects of trauma. This violence is mostly perpetrated by men in the community. This violence is understood by the women as patterned by ongoing processes of colonialism, like intergenerational trauma, and the lasting effects of patriarchal norms, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour inherent in settler colonialism. Fourth, participants recognize that racialized violence continues to be an issue in North Point Douglas and is understood as "outsider violence" that contributes to the culture of violence. Women discussed how people, mostly white men from outside the community, engage in racial violence against community members. Fifth, due to the threat of gendered colonial violence, women have developed spatialized safety tactics in order to keep safe and are hyper-vigilant when they navigate public space.

The final insight suffuses the entire chapter. Spatial injustice is engrained in the North Point Douglas's physical landscape and produced by historical processes of uneven urban development and the racialization of space. Women explain that the neighbourhood has seen a loss of infrastructure that coincides with a large demographic shift during the 60s and 70s. The

current landscape, consisting of mostly bars, pharmacies, and pawn shops, contributes to cycles of addiction and violence. However, despite the built environment having a negative effect on the community, women believe that that the environment is somewhat safer for women for two reasons: the women's centre exists as a safe space and a hub of social, cultural, and political action that was not available previously; and it is more socially acceptable to discuss gender violence than it was in the recent past.

It is important when reading through the participant-generated themes to understand that the culture of violence they speak of is also foundationally rooted in everyday acts of resistance. While the discourse of "culture of violence" has been created by the women to draw attention to gendered-colonial violence and murdered and missing Indigenous women, it does not negate the resilience, agency, and power of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women in this project. However, a tension does exist when naming violence that is taking place within communities that are affected by marginalization as it often reproduces and frames these communities as "spaces saturated in the fantasies of outsiders" (Tuck, 2009, 412). One participant called this "poverty porn" as it often reproduces colonial stereotypes, justifying the experienced violence. Representing Indigenous and non-Indigenous women purely as "victims" and/or "vulnerable" in need of government "saving" does little to deconstruct colonial relations and narratives of normalized victimization. I urge the reader to recognize that the act of naming violence by the women in this project is itself an act of resistance that takes incredible courage and strength. I follow Sarah Hunt's (2015) interrelated approach to anti-violence activism: "How can this strength be made visible alongside the violence that continues to be perpetrated against Indigenous girls and women?" (558).

Overall, themes were generated by the participants through a thematic sorting exercise and community asset mapping exercise and then formulized into two documents that were approved by the group (see Methodology section for more complete discussion). In keeping with the participatory nature of the research project, I present themes as generated by participants themselves. Many of the themes are visually represented in both the Community Strengths and Issues document (see Appendix C) and the Community Asset Mapping document (Appendix D). Both documents illustrate the interlocking nature of gendered colonial violence, the layering of safe/unsafe space, community safety challenges, and community safety assets, and how they intersect and implicate women's body spaces. An *intersectional- spatial framework* (see Theory Chapter for further discussion) is used to interpret embodied dispossessions and spatialized resistance within North Point Douglas.

It is important to understand themes in connection to women's personal geographies and not strictly as 'data.' These are women's stories, their hopes, dreams, fears, pain, outrage, and pragmatic and dynamic approaches and tactics to resisting and combating violence in their community. These stories were shared by emboldened women who decided to trust one another and myself enough to break the silence and name violence in their lives. In this respect, the themes presented are situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988) and considered to be sacred gifts, and should be read with respect and an open heart. As one participant taught me, "women's knowledge is sacred." Above all, it is important to let the words of the women stand on their own. I offer minimal analytical and contextual commentary beyond what is required to situate the narrative and provide a sense of both continuity and thematic overlap. My goal with this chapter is to provide space for the women speak for themselves. As you are reading the following words of the participants it is important to remember that these themes are not

bounded by categories. They overlap and are interrelated in complex ways. My role here as author/narrator is to organize their words into the themes generated by participants themselves and to provide a narrative guide to these themes for the reader.

Culture of Violence

Corinne Baxter, *"How Much Does This Cost?"*

Anna-Marie V., *"Lost Soul"*

Murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls

Anna- Marie's photo above is of a vigil for Simone Sanderson, mother to son Nigel Jr. Simone was 23 and grew up on O-Chi-Chak Ko Sipi First Nation (Crane River) and had dreams of becoming a pilot. Corinne's photo is of the where Simone's body was found. In the left hand corner of *How Much Does This Cost* photo you can see the same community vigil depicted in Anna Marie's *Lost Soul*. Simone was found dead on September 2, 2012, her body left in an abandoned lot on Burrows Avenue and Main Street in North Point Douglas (photographed above). When she was found, the only thing covering her body was a piece of cardboard. Before her death, Simone was living in the North End and was known by some participants in the

project. The lot where her body was found, and the missing posters of her in the neighbourhood, were photographed extensively by the photovoice group. As one participant remarked, "I thought it was interesting that like a couple of the photos, it's that, that lot on Burrows and Main and they just found, they just arrested the guy for that murder that happened a few years ago and like I think it's interesting that so many people decided to take a picture of that."

The last photovoice sharing circle was held in April, 2016 and coincided with the arrest and conviction of Sanderson's murderer, a white man named Kyllan James Ellis, 28, of Lorette, Manitoba. The women spent the majority of the sharing circle discussing the effect that missing and murdered loved ones and gender violence has on the community. The conversation also included the murders of Caroline Sinclair, Delaine Copenance, and April Hornbrook.[8] The conversation touched on how the city and Winnipeg Police Service respond to such violence; how some bodies are valued more than others; and the negative emotional and psychological affects borne from living in a city where violence is eminent.

Comment 1:

> What really bothers me about the whole situation is this again, lack of our police service because it's like in Vancouver with the Pickton case, if it wasn't for a middle-class girl going missing that her family got a private detective they would have never caught him, and he killed eighties or hundreds of women over a decade.
>
> Now what bugs me here is how many women have just gone missing just in the last couple of months. And again, Simone Sanderson, if it wasn't for her grandmother paying a private investigator to do this they would have never caught that guy.
>
> So what does that tell you about our police services? Because she was native and was, whether she was a street worker or not, she's still somebody's mother, she's still somebody's sister or daughter.
>
> It just irks me that they can just blow it under the rug. They're probably thinking, "Ah she's just a street walker, who cares." She's still a human being and you need to treat people as equal. It doesn't matter who they are.

[8] Caroline Sinclair was found murdered in West Broadway neighbourhood in 2002. Delaine Copenance was found dead in Kenora, Ontario in 2016. April Hornbrook was found murdered in 2011 in North Point Douglas.

Comment 2:

> Somebody posted that picture of Delaine on a Facebook page. And one of the first things commented on there, I don't know what race he was, he says, "Oh just another fricken' Indian woman fricken' dead and gone, who cares, get over it already." And obviously there was a lot of angry responses after that.
>
> It goes to show that there is a lot of racism still out there and it's scary for the people you care about. But, I feel, I don't know, I don't have all the answers. It's just sad.

Comment 3:

> Sometimes I wonder if I'm going to be the one who ends up dead. But I always feel so safe, for some reason I just feel safe and protected. And I feel it's my faith that makes me feel that way. But when I am in danger I like to give people that I love and care about a warning, saying that if something happens to me I feel it's because of this person or that person.
>
> I just want to give them an idea of who it might have been that kills me or hurts me badly just so that the person doesn't get away with it. I feel more people should be more open about feeling in danger or not instead of feeling scared to say whether or not they're in danger.

Comment 4:

> Well, let's say when something tragic happens to either Indigenous women or any other women or even a guy, the community, not just this community but other communities gather up to do—what do you call [it]?—that candlelight vigil? Yeah, and they come together. You never know, what if that killer's being a part of that type of event and no one even knows about it? That's what I'm concerned about.

Comment 5:

> What was being mentioned earlier about the killers showing up at vigils and stuff and historically it has happened. Shawn Lamb was at Caroline Sinclair's vigil. And it makes me wonder that picture [describing a photo of a man in a red jacket walking down Main St.], and I don't even know if it is a man, but the man in the red jacket in the reflection, is he a predator? That's what it makes me think…. We're conditioned to think that … it sucks to be a brown woman in Canada.

We are sitting in a circle together at the Centre. Behind us is a red wooden cut out of a women's body with missing posters attached to it. Anytime a loved one in the community goes missing, family members or Centre staff post information on missing persons there. At the time

of the conversation there were five posters of missing women attached to it. As the women discussed the politics of indifference that the media and police have in regards to the murders, the red woman's wooden body stood tall behind us. Participants continued to discuss how women that are found murdered or missing are labelled as "party girls" and "street walkers" rather than "somebody's mother … somebody's sister or daughter." The group discusses being affected by colonial violence, as everyone has a story of a lost loved one in their family. It is as if the red wooden woman grows taller as the women speak truth to the heart of the matter. Some bodies are valued more than others, the women explain, some stories are told and others are made invisible. I see the red wooden woman more clearly now. She is a sentry, holding missing women as close as she can, holding their life stories even closer. The conversation is slowing, women are pensive and visibly saddened. One participant speaks, "it just goes to show that, like, there is a lot of racism still out there and stuff and it's scary for the people you care about."

Women discussed the heightened sense of insecurity that exists within the community when a loved one goes missing or is found murdered and how gendered-colonial violence breeds mistrust within the community. Many attest that Shawn Lamb, who was convicted of murdering Carolyn Sinclair in 2012, was present at Sinclair's vigil. Women discussed their outrage at this and that fact that Lamb, who was charged with three counts of second-degree murder in connection with the deaths of Sinclair, 25, Lorna Blacksmith, 18, and Tanya Jane Nepinak, 31, is eligible for parole after he serves nine years. As one participant said, "our justice system too… [t]hey kill women or children and they're walking out in a three years. They may be sentenced to ten but they're out in a year with good behaviour. Good behavior? What happened to your good behaviour before, you know?"

Women spoke of being on "high alert" when another sister goes missing, becoming wary of men they do not recognize in the community. Women fear for their own lives: "Am I next?" or "Sometimes I wonder if I'm going to be the one who ends up dead" were comments repeated throughout the project. Colonial violence not only imprints itself in the emotional and psychic spaces of women but also on the physical landscape of NPD and within the community. Everyday women walk by the lot where Simone Sanderson's body was found. This site is linked to the women's memory of lost sisters but also imbues space with a "constant reminder of lives lost." The Red River flows back into the group conversation, as it is also a site of remembering. One participant speaks about working with *Drag The Red*, a community-driven effort to find remains of missing loved ones in the Red River, founded and led by Bernadette Smith, local Indigenous activist and NDP MLA to Point Douglas. Smith started *Drag the Red* after her sister Claudette Osborne disappeared in 2008. Claudette Osborne is still missing.

This participant speaks about how the responsibility of land and river searches for missing family members falls heavily on the Indigenous community without city recognition or financial support. Missing loved ones then becomes the problem of the affected rather than a city issue concerning civilian safety and security. She highlights the politics of indifference that exist in Winnipeg towards murdered and missing Indigenous women (MMIW):

> It's pretty sad…when you're supposedly living in a non-racist city with a Métis mayor and community collectives have to come together voluntarily to do work for their relatives. That had they been white you know, [they would have been] land search rescued [by the city].
>
> Well, I mean, it says a lot in the way of hope 'cause you got these people coming together.
>
> Sadly, it's apparently up to individual people depending on the shade of their skin to organize their own stuff.

The discussion of MMIW relates powerfully to the overarching theme of gendered violence. Throughout the project women discussed experiences of gendered violence they survived and instances of racialized violence when navigating public spaces. One group discussion about gender violence stood out for me in particular. A participant asked the group to raise their hands if they had experienced gender violence in their lives. Everyone in the group raised their hands, including myself. It was a powerful yet silent act that we shared as a group. It allowed women to feel comfortable enough to discuss their own experiences with gendered violence in a safe setting while also allowing the group to make connections between their own stories of survival and the culture of violence that exists due to the ongoing process of colonialism, intergenerational trauma, and patriarchal structures.

Gender violence

Presenting such accounts of gender violence are incredibly difficult to document as I do not want to re-victimize the people I worked so closely with. Because of this, I broadly discuss examples of gendered violence women face before turning to the women themselves who discuss the emotional effects of this violence and pragmatic approaches to keeping safe. The group sees gendered violence as taking place across a continuum that includes verbal and street harassment, sexual and physical assaults, witnessing or encountering gendered and racialized violence, and the psychological effects of living with the fear of violence or death.

Many spoke of street harassment by men as a constant "assault on my person" within the neighbourhood. Women discussed routinely being harassed for money and cigarettes by men within the neighbourhood. Others spoke of sexual assaults taking place at various neighbourhood sites. These assaults took place at sites that were identified by women as "unsafe space" and include the Red River, taxis cabs, and unlit corridors within the neighbourhood (i.e.

the Higgins Street underpass and along Higgins Street). Although, sexual assaults were discussed openly with the group towards the end of the photovoice project, they remain confidential. What is important to note here is that women within the group have experienced the full spectrum of gender violence in their community, either directly or indirectly (helping a loved one through an assault or to heal from family violence). What is important to take away from this discussion is that gendered violence continues to affect the community and is seen by the women as stemming from intergenerational trauma and processes of colonialism; namely, the lasting effects of patriarchal behaviours inherent in settler colonialism.

Racialized violence

Racialized violence was discussed and recognized as a form of violence that contributes to the culture of violence that women must confront every day in their lives. Racialized violence was described as "outsider violence": "So there's two kinds of people coming from outside our community and stirring shit up. There's 'paybackers' and then there's those ones that just like to do shitty things." Those that like to "do shitty things" were often described as white men perpetrating racialized violence towards women and people close to them in public spaces. Participants speak of this violence below:

Comment 1:

> We were walking from the Women's Centre and then there was this guy and he started yelling at my grandparents, calling them down, saying a bunch of mean stuff, which I didn't quite understand when I was younger. I was probably like ten, nine. And then they were like, "Just don't listen to him." And then I was thinking in my head, "Oh my gosh, this guy's really crazy." And he's calling them "squaws" and "drunken Indians" and being really rude towards them. And yet that guy was drunk himself. And he was a white man. Because racism is a big thing nowadays. And I know why that guy was like that towards my grandma. 'Cause now I learned about colonialism all that stuff about our people. So now I know, I have a better understanding on why people are so racist. But, I don't know, I don't let it bug me.

Comment 2:

> Every day [participant describes dealing with racism], and I'm so used to it. Racism is like sexism, "Oh that's just a part of the society we live in and we're forced to endure this every day."
>
> And then people look at me weird when I'm fuckin' standing in the street screaming. All you got to do to find the racism is go downtown or go to the North End or go to North Point Douglas where you'll have no trouble finding children, humans, women, boys, being trafficked through the black market sex industry. And that is completely socially acceptable because they're subhuman. Not only do we live in a racist city, we live in a sexist city, it's not limited to Winnipeg, either.

Comment 3:

> There's so many times I could have died in my life so easy. And some of the people that I know, the stories that they tell me are just so horrible and sad and it just pisses me off. And I even see it walking down the street and then a couple of white guys or three to four white guys in a car and they're yelling something about fricken' "drunken Indian" or something and they'll throw a can or a bottle and it's a beer or something like that. And I'm thinking, you know, you're the one drinking and driving!

Comment 4:

> He was standing at the bus stop, one of these bus stops over here. And these people just pulled over and he doesn't even know who they are, he doesn't know who they are, they're a bunch of white guys and they grabbed him and they tossed him in the trunk and then they took him out of the city somewhere and nearly beat him to death and left him there for dead. And somehow, someone found him and took him to the hospital and he told them what happened to him.
>
> They actually found the characters I guess from the guy's description of the vehicle and the people. I guess because he remembers a lot of it. When they took off on him they thought he was going to die. So for him to survive, he was actually able to identify those people.
>
> One of those people were so well-off, well-off family, you know, their family just spoils him rotten. They moved out of the country because he was going to be charged for attempted murder and stuff. So like I said racism, it's harsh, it's harsh.

Police

Throughout our sessions together the women discussed their frustrations with Winnipeg police in relation to gender violence in the neighbourhood. Many discussed that police responses

were often delayed or problematic when reporting assaults. This pattern contributes to a culture of violence because it undermines women's authority when violence is reported to police and diminishes the likelihood of women calling police when they are in danger or have been assaulted. Participants voice their concerns below:

Comment 1:

> [The police] just don't want to be bothered. I was driving down Main last week, it was cheque day and I was at Jarvis and Main and where the Northern Hotel is, you know, the corner of Jarvis and Main there. This guy had this woman on the ground and he was stomping her head, and you know what people were doing? Driving by. I don't have a cell phone so I couldn't call 911, but you know what I did and I don't give a hoot and hanny if he seen me or not, I opened the door and I said, "You think maybe she had enough now, like leave her the "F" alone!" At least if he comes chasing me I've got the truck, you know, like honestly. She was just tiny. There is no need for that. And she was screaming and crying and he's yanking her hair out and stomping her. And nobody would stop. I couldn't believe that and it was 6:00PM.

Comment 2:

> You know and it's the police when you talk to them: "I've been raped" and it's like, "Well, what were you wearing?"… It doesn't matter if I was wearing nothing, you have no right to touch me.

Comment 3:

> I went to Neechi's [grocery store] and I was going home and there was this bike beside somebody's yard and there was this lady passed out and there was this guy beside her. And he was awake but she wasn't awake. And I was like, "Excuse me, do you even know that lady?" And he's like, "Oh yeah, it's okay." And then I said, "Well no it doesn't look okay to me."
>
> And especially like the bike's there. So it made me feel like he just rolled up and was like, "Oh, she's passed out."
>
> So I called the police and they didn't seem really concerned. I was like, "Well, the thing is, she's passed out and there's this guy there and she's not moving and he's trying to hold her, I think you need to go there!" And he's [police officer] like, "Well what's wrong?" I'm like, "Well what if he's going to rape her?!"
>
> And I didn't understand why I had to put so many dots together for them [the police]. Like, "This lady's passed out on the ground and this guy is there and I don't feel right about it and you should go check that out." If a lady's passed out and, you should just go. I don't get all the questions, like, there's the address, go!

Comment 4:

> Next time report a dead body. They'll show up in 4.2 days. Or say someone has a gun and they'll be right there.

Living in a culture of violence has emotional and psycho-affective consequences. Despair and anger flowed frequently through group conversations. Women discussed having issues with depression, anxiety, and extreme emotional distress. Women made the connection between self-medicating with drugs and alcohol, struggles with past addictions, or seeing close loved ones with addition issues as directly related to living in a culture of violence. For some women, the simple act of the leaving the house, seen as a safe space, was difficult. Women connected having low self-esteem to being "beat down" by multiple forms of violence, whether that was intimate partner violence, racism, or structural violence. For some women, the pervasiveness of colonial violence was connected to past struggles with addiction. The women discussed how this culture of violence affects their sense of safety and their mental health and well-being:

Comment 1:

> I'm not unfamiliar with missing or/and missing and murdered women in my life. It takes a toll on the whole family. It makes you do and think things that are so outrageous. That are unbelievable to a normal person.

Comment 2:

> I question my own mental health, why I'm neither suicidal nor homicidal. All I can do is decolonize myself, I can't decolonize someone else. And no it doesn't soften the blow, even if I do decolonize myself it doesn't soften the blows to say, "Oh well, he's colonized so, you know, he had every right to call me fuckin' cunt."

Comment 3:

> [I deal with violence] [t]he best way I can. I mean, let's face it, women got the shitty end of the deal. We did. And there's no fuckin' denying it. And we're dealing the best we can. Some of us live to tell about it, some of us don't, many more of us won't. It sucks to be considered a second-class citizen if you're lucky or less than a human.

Comment 4:

> It sucks that we live in a society where women have to have a safety plan or where it's imposed on women, "Well, what were you doing out late at night? Well, what were you wearing?" Does it fuckin' matter?

Comment 5:

> So that's why I sometimes have bad anxiety attacks where I feel I'm going to have a heart attack. So even on the bus, I hate being on the bus…. I meltdown. It's just too much. And, you know, someone rubbing against me or something. It bothers me.

Comment 6:

> But one thing I noticed with everybody is, I don't want to cry, everyone's also got really tough skin. There's a lot of looking forward and moving forward… like some of the things people are going through and they are still, "I'm going to make it." So that's really nice that there's a lot of powerful women.

Comment 7:

> It depends on the situation. It doesn't bug me too much but other than that, I just go with the flow (chuckle). There's not really a way to cope with it when it happens so much. Violence could be almost anything. And it's around a lot. So I'm used to it.

Comment 8:

> That would be my biggest fear is to be raped. And I would never would want to have a daughter for that reason because I wouldn't trust her to go anywhere with anybody…So I don't want to have a daughter at all and that's really, I don't know, I think that's fucked up not to want to have a daughter because you are so concerned that there's so many perverts out there.

Safety tactics as spatialized resistance

In order to keep safe, women employ various safety tactics when navigating through city space. The group discussed how they spatially express their mental maps by devising certain paths they choose to take in the North End. Women may avoid certain streets, parks, or areas that are thought of as unsafe, or re-route their paths to and from destinations based on perceived risks.

They may also equip themselves with security tools like planned routes under brightly lit streets and taking main streets, buddy systems, keeping keys or bear spray in hand to use in case of a stranger attack, talking on their cellphones with someone they trust while on route at night, and asking the bus driver to let them off at a unmarked spot that is in closer proximity to their destination. Perceived safety of spaces may depend on whether it is night or day and whether a person is alone or not. These places are often dark, abandoned, or un-populated areas, or areas that are perceived to be high risk areas such as Higgins Street. Women make routine decisions every day to ensure their safety from actual or perceived forms of violence.

The threat of male violence in public space is pervasive for anyone who identifies as being a woman. However, as previously discussed in the Theory Chapter, some bodies are marked for violence due to their spatial-racial and social location. Women discussed how the threat of violence can feel more imminent within certain spaces due to being Indigenous women occupying space on the street. A women alone walking within public space at night was seen as risky. It was also perceived to be a potentially dangerous situation if one encountered a police cruiser while walking alone at night. Many women described a similar safety tactic to combat the potential stranger or police violence. This tactic included letting someone know when you were leaving the house, who you were with, where you were going, for how long, and when you would return home. As one participant describes: "Always make sure somebody knows where you're leaving, you have scheduled, like, what time you're expected back and such. Stay in lighted areas."

Women identified a network of "safe houses"—residential houses in North Point Douglas, those of neighbours, friends, or family members, that women could flee to and take refuge in, if they were escaping from danger: As one woman recalled: "adults used to bang on

my dad's door in the middle of the night if they need help, you know. My dad, everybody knew my dad … so it was nothing for somebody, a stranger, to knock on the door and my dad would phone them a cab or, you know." Another participant responded: "It did happen to me. I had gone to the store with my son and it was kind of later, the store was closing and when I came back [a man] started to take my bags and I had my son, and I ended up throwing my bags at him and ran to your dad's place … and they like literally opened the gate for me and my son and we went in."

Spatial injustice and the production of unsafe space

Many of the sharing circles included conversations about how the North Point Douglas area had changed since the 1970s-80s to the point where spatial injustce is now ingrained into the built social and economic landscape of North Point Douglas. Many of the women connected city neglect of the neighbourhood to the assumption that residents are less-deserving of safety, security, and good health. For example, one participant remarked: "You know, there was a market where the Welfare office was. They had that farmer's market, every day they had it and we used to go take a quarter and buy a big bag of sunflower seeds like this and then my mom would roast them for us. But anyway there was clothing stores here, there were shoe stores, there was everything. Now what's here? Pharmacies." These discussions are particularly relevant when tracing the historical development of the NPD neighbourhood. As outlined in the Context Chapter, after World War II, and the development of the urban sprawl, a wave of mainly white, immigrant settlers left North Point Douglas and moved to newly developed suburbs, while Indigenous peoples left overly crowded reserves in search of work and housing in the city. Indigenous people took residence in North Point Douglas, completing a large demographic shift

in the area. Many photovoice participants are in their 50s and 60s and talked about this shift and the parallel loss of infrastructure and public social funding that resulted in a drastically different neighbourhood, one characterized by city neglect and lack of infratructure.

Pariticpants discussed the sense of safety the previous landscape engendered in comparision to the sense of dislocation with present-day NPD. Participants discussed the proliferation of food stores, local businesses, and amenities along Main Street, their familial realtionships with shop keepers, the availability of affordable, wholesome food stuffs, and a sense of safety while walking on Main Street. This landscape was compared to the present day landscape where pharmacies, pawnshops, and bars have replaced previous infrastructure. The following is an excerpt of this conversation:

Paula: Hey, does anybody remember if California Fruits was affordable to shop at? 'Cause I remember they had a butcher and everything.

Donna: Yeah even before when Joe and Sam owned it.

Shelley: Yeah, oh Joe, California Joe. Man, he had the best prices everywhere. And even we used to have Mall Foods down Main Street. You remember Mall Foods? Now it's a pawn shop and a parking lot, right. Before it was an affordable grocery store. I grew up in poverty, I grew up in Elmwood, but we used to come down here to California Fruit and to Mall Foods and do our shopping because it was, being on Welfare with five kids, couldn't afford anything else, but you schmooze the butcher and get free hamburger or whatever.

Donna: I know your mom did that.

Anna-Marie: But Balkans Foods was better than California Fruit.

Paula: Oh yeah, oh for sure. And that's, and even before that the Red Barn.

Anna-Marie: They tore it down and built a pharmacy and doctor's office.

Donna: And how many from Selkirk Avenue to Sutherland and Main, how many friggen' pharmacies and clinics do you need?

Paula: There's more than ten.

Donna: But we can't eat.

Anna-Marie: That's how it seems that this area was planned, very poorly.

Donna: Years ago there was a toy store, there was everything here. Now we have wall-to-wall legalized drug dealers [speaking of pharmacies].

As the women demonstate in this exchange, the production of uneven urban space is realized within North Point Douglas where locational discrimination on a certain population has created lasting spatial structures of inequality and disadvantage. The women described how the pervasiveness of pharmaries and bars contributes to unsafe urban space. For example, the group dicussed how Main Street is a site of violence where women are harassed, physical assaults occur frequently inside and outside of bars, and women are often accosted by those attempting to sell drugs, much of which comes from those adjacent Main Street pharmacies. One participant explains: "Even just like walking on Main Street you have these people asking you if you want to buy pills or stuff like that. It really bugs me because I don't do pills myself and I have people ask me practically every day when I'm on Main Street. But then it's like kind of normal though, it's been happening for years." As I have argued, geographically uneven development, racist "representational strategies" of marginalized and racialized inner-city communities and the assumptions about the capacity of Indigenous peoples in urban environments justify particular urban economic development strategies that shape spatial and locational discrimination and determine how city resources are allocated and invested. The women have demonstrated that geographically uneven development or underdevelopment has spatially produced the Main Street Strip over time and continues to affect women in particular ways.

For one participant in particular, the Main Street Strip, with its concentration of bars, pharmacies, and pawn shops, creates a sense of powerlessness in her community. This

participant voiced her concerns about how North Point Douglas's current built environment, one that has over four bars and seven pharmacies within 11 city blocks (Needs Assessment Report, North Point Douglas Women's Centre), is connected to the pervasiveness of drugs in her community and to youth disempowerment and addiction. She recalled that "a lot of people around in the community are selling pills to like young people and it's like really bad because, for me, when I used to take pills I used to be really depressed and I actually used to be really suicidal." After experiencing an overdose at a young age and ending up in the hospital, one participant describes making a mental, emotional, and spiritual shift away from a place of addiction where she was able to find herself "culturally": "I went to Eagles Nest and I started smudging and that's where my sober life off pills started. Three years ago, I was only 16 and a half." The women in the group, visibly moved, responded with "you're a warrior already."

In addition to discussing how the Main Street Strip has significantly changed, is seen as unsafe space, and contributes to cyclical patterns of violence in the community, the women discussed how it is more acceptable for women to talk about gender violence in their lives now than it was before:

Shelley: Yeah, we had a good variety of businesses and just everyday normal people from all different walks of life. But let's just be realistic. The world in itself back 20 years ago was so different than it is today, you know. We can sit here and openly talk about sexual abuse whereas 20 years ago they would say that, you know, ...

Donna: You had the plague.

Paula: Forced to silently endure [gender violence].

It may be easier to speak about gendered violence and the culture of violence that exist within the community; however, the structural reasons for such violence continue to pattern women's lives in North Point Douglas. When discussing the Main Street Strip, the women connected a lack of viable resources and amenities to city planning and institutional neglect of

the neighbourhood. While the following chapter will discuss women's ideas to transform unjust and uneven urban development in North Point Douglas by means of an asset mapping exercise that we created, I turn now to women's reasons that cyclical patterns of violence continue to pattern their lives. The group discussed how this culture of violence, including spatial injustice, is directly related to intergenerational trauma and processes of colonialism:

Comment 1:

> [Speaking of North Point Douglas] The bars, the food desert, the payday loans, the debt slavery, the sexual slavery, like, women make up 52 percent of the population and we live in a society and have for numerous hundreds and hundreds of years, in a colonized society, where this is taught to be okay, this is taught to be normal and that's why we live in a fucked up society 'cause that's not normal.

Comment 2:

> I think when you look at the photograph collectives collectively that it spotlights a bigger lens on basically violence against women, whether that's the murdered and missing women, or housing issues, or city neglect. We're constantly living in a society that tells us we're less than.

Comment 3:

> Well, you know, and I was going to say that a lot reverts back to colonization. And that is it. My mother's issues, my mother had issues too, you know, my granny was raised in a convent [residential school] and my mother was passed back and forth from my grandmother to my grandfather. I remember what kind of man he was, you know, and the things my mom lived through. She wanted to break those cycles, right. And that's with this community, like, it's trying…. We're all wanting to go in the same direction and to meet that target [decolonization] but they [community members] need to know more, right. They need to know and understand why [intergenerational trauma exists].

Comment 4:

> I just feel that I'm following a pattern as to what my life was as a child. Now I'm going to that life where I feel like I'm following my mom's footsteps and I really don't want to. I just feel like I'm being pushed into a cycle of life that I don't want to be in.

Conclusion

It became clear that the many themes the women presented could be understood not only as multiple forms of violence faced daily, but as deeply rooted and patterned by past and ongoing colonial dispossessions. The themes presented in this chapter make clear the scalar nature of gendered-colonial violence and how ongoing colonial dispossessions manifest at the microlevel of bodies, interpersonal relationships, and across communities. Despite this, women's resolve and commitment to community activism in North Point Douglas is remarkable. The following chapter discusses what participants call "Culture of Hope" and the community activism of the women.

CHAPTER 7: CULTURE OF HOPE AND SPATIALIZED RESISTANCE

Paula Ducharme, *"Untitled"*

Aleesha Fiddler, "Title"[9]

The two photos above encapsulate the fierce and loving resistance of the women in this project. Paula's photo was taken at a community march that was calling for a 24-hour safe space for women. Aleesha's photo is of a little girl dancing at a community pow-wow. When asked about her photo Aleesha remarked on the importance of passing down traditional knowledge to the younger generation as a source of strength, resistance, and pride. She explains: "Teach the younger ones, always, our traditional ways. Our people are strong and it is important that we teach one another the traditional teachings in any way." The connection to her culture and the continuation of it gives her hope and acts as a form of resistance to ongoing colonialism in Winnipeg.

The following section discusses themes connected to what participants describe as a "Culture of Hope." Culture of Hope is an outlook and ethos that guides women's approach and work towards resisting and combatting violence in their lives, in their community, and in their

[9] "*Teach the Younger ones, always, out traditional ways. Out people are strong and it is important that we teach one another the traditional teachings in any way."*

city. Culture of Hope includes the many things that give women hope and strength while combatting marginalization and multiple forms of oppression within the colonial state. It also highlights women's suggestions for positive community development within NPD. The themes discussed below are interpreted as active, embodied, and grounded forms of resistance to the multiple dispossessions that women face in their community. The section explores the geographies of "indigenous resistance and resurgence" (Simpson and Coulthard, 2016) in the intimate, daily relations of women in the North Point Douglas community. As one participant said, "The women are the living givers.… Women are very powerful. Women are the number one strength of the community."

The Women's centre story: Safe space and hub for community activism

> This is our Women's Centre, that's where we're sitting right now. I'm proud of this picture only because it's so bright and colourful and cheery. It wasn't always that way. It used to be an ugly old store that used to sell sniff to the community. There was a phone booth outside, a crack phone, whatever. We've come full circle. We're no longer that ugly old store. This is a place of safety now and we still have our ups and downs with women in this community. Now anybody who's in trouble has a safe place to come to.

As one participant mentioned, the North Point Douglas Women's Centre is now a place of safety for women and their families in the community. It is a place where women can take refuge, seek counsel, heal from violence, and foster a sense of empowerment that leads to participatory community activism in city. The establishment of the Centre and the story it represents is reflective of a particular type of activism, one that is grounded, place-based, and led by the community women themselves.

The Centre was not always a safe place for women. As mentioned above, the building the Centre now occupies was used to sell drugs to people in the community. It was marked as an

unsafe space by the community. It was especially dangerous for children who would have to walk by the building to get to Norquay School. A convenience store also occupied the space of the building. During this time, it was known by community members that the shop keeper was physically abusing his wife. Participants told me that the building was also marked by this violence. Community women banded together to successfully provide safe passage for the woman to travel to a safe house in Vancouver. Around the same time, in early 2000, community women spearheaded the North Point Douglas Project for Women, sponsored by Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, to discuss prevalent community issues affecting themselves and their families in the neighbourhood. Community women held meetings in the basement of Norquay Elementary School to identify and address interlocking issues of poverty, violence, and lack of resources and services in the area. The need for a women's centre in the area was also identified by community women.

The North Point Douglas Women's Centre grew from this participatory and community-led project. The building that was once a "crack house" and a space of violence was transformed by a collective of women intent on cultivating positive change for the community. This building is now home to the North Point Douglas Women's Centre. The women discuss this spatial transformation:

Donna: Can I interrupt? It's kind of funny and ironic how this ended up being the Women's Centre. 'Cause me and "SA" came to purchase this building 'cause we started the Women's Centre actually in the family room of Norquay School, there was three of us. So what's so ironic is the woman that was here with her husband running this store, he used to abuse her very badly. All the time the woman had black eyes. "SA" took this woman and shipped her to Vancouver for safety reasons and she's now in a care home because he beat her so much that she lost it. So it's kind of ironic that this ended up being a place of safety.

Paula: Taking back the space.

Donna: Isn't that something, full circle, right. Isn't that something. The woman, he beat her so bad all the time…

Erika: She had black eyes all the time.

Donna: …all that time. She could barely walk sometimes.

Erika: And he acted like he was just so innocent.

Donna: And it's so ironic that it ended up being a woman's safety place.

Emma: How does that make people feel?

Paula: Well, that's what I mean. We came full circle with this, hey.

The transformation of this neighbourhood space, envisioned by community women, speaks to a particular grounded form of community activism. Described by participants as a "strengths-based approach" to community development, community members identify key issues affecting their community and design and implement solutions based on community assets, expertise, and strengths. In the case of the Centre, women identified themselves as a community asset. They also identified the need for a safe space where women could continue to access key resources for themselves and their families and to gather to discuss community issues, develop solutions, and address poverty and violence-related issues in the neighbourhood. One participant explained why the Centre is important to her:

> It's always been my support system since I was a little girl. And the women there and the staff. Go talk to anyone there. Even when I'm going to the Women's Centre they'll be like, "How are you doing? How are you feeling?" Just to check up on each other. That's where I'll go if I'm feeling down.

I begin this discussion with the story of the Centre as it encapsulates the strengths-based approach that women in this project embodied. The photovoice project was a vehicle in which women identified both community issues and strengths in order to spur positive community

change. In this chapter, I work from two documents that the women produced (see Appendix C and D). The first document identifies what gives women strength and fosters a sense of safety for themselves and their families within the community. These are identified as "assets" that make up what participants call a "Culture of Hope." The women identified being part of a web of "solid relationships" to one another, family, and community. These relationships give women strength to "collectively work towards community change for the next generation." These relationships and the grounded activism and embodied resistance to marginalization and oppression are only possible due to the "generations of [Indigenous] tradition and love" that have been passed down from "ancestors that we carry with us" and "our Nations that are with us." Resoundingly, the women agreed that "community members are capable of making change happen" as they are the "peers" of the community who have devised strategic and holistic strategies to bring about positive community change. Many participants told me that "women in the community know best"; they have the experiential knowledge of community issues and concerns, can identify gaps in resources and services for the neighbourhood, and have cultivated a strong peer support network that women rely on for emotional well-being.

The passion with which women are dedicated to everyday acts of resistance and grounded community change is an important characteristic of North Point Douglas. For many, this sense of activism and community involvement stems from the understanding that community action projects like *The Voice from Point Douglas* allow women to "build on action and awareness work to help keep loved ones safe." The women discussed the need to have more participatory community development projects like photovoice, as it fostered a sense of "empowerment," "togetherness," "pride," and the development of new skills for those who were involved. The women explained the strong need for more volunteer and paid-work opportunities

for community "revival" and development programs involving the training and hiring of community women, youth, and men in the community.

Culture of Hope

At the core of the "Culture of Hope" is an intricate web of relationships. The women spoke of the responsibility they have to one another, to the next generation, and to their community. There are four key insights that must be highlighted in this chapter. First, women's relationship to fierce and active forms of resistance, Indigenous resurgence, and grounded activism in North Point Douglas in the face of ongoing colonial violence is central to their everyday lives. The motivation behind this resistance is to create positive change for the next generation as much as it is led by an Indigenous world view and cultural practices. Second, I discuss what gives women strength in the face of colonial violence and uneven urban development in North Point Douglas. Third, I flesh out the group's community asset mapping document that includes women's suggestions for positive community development in North Point Douglas. The women's suggestion for positive community change takes a "360 degree" or full circle approach to community development that is strengths-based, community-led, place-based, and culturally grounded. Finally, I bring the photovoice project into focus to discuss why women found it important and what it meant to participate in participatory community-based research.

Resistance/activism

The women in this project occupy many roles and maintain numerous relationships in their community. They are mothers, care-providers, researchers, artists, writers, pow wow dancers, volunteers, knowledge keepers, teachers, students, peers, community ambassadors, and "warrior women." This section outlines the grounded, every-day, place-based activism of

participants. This activism is wide ranging. We often think of activism in the purely civic sense or attached to policy advocacy. I understand the activism of participants to be rooted in everyday resistance in the colonial state and complicated by poverty and multiple forms of violence that women face. This activism takes many forms and looks different for each individual. However, at the heart of this form of grounded community activism is the desire to build and maintain meaningful relationships between individuals, family, community, and nation. To survive and thrive as an Indigenous woman despite the ongoing forms of dispossession within the colonial city *is* an act of resistance in itself—as is reclaiming, preserving, and celebrating Indigenous traditional culture worldviews, and spirituality. The women in this project who engage in everyday acts of resistance and activism communicate their message on their own terms, based on their own lived experience, within their own culture. This activism is dynamic, relational, and place-based.

The motivation behind women's embodied resistance and grounded activism with North Point Douglas derives from the need to "collectively work towards community change for the next generation." As one participant said, "Well, I kind of have to have faith that there's improvement with each generation, but if you only got seven, even if you got eight generations, that's it. All you can do is focus on the here and now and do what you can and that's pretty much it." Many participants care for children and seek to make positive, meaningful change for their loved ones and the next generation. This was reflected in a group conversation about participants' motivation to work for collective community change and the importance of engaging young women in community activism. I provide the full transcript to maintain the voices of participants:

Comment 1:

There's also a picture of myself with a baby that is very important to me and one of the reasons that I took that picture is because that's our future and we need to keep our future safe.

Comment 2:

So this is a picture of my son "D" who is going to save the world. He wears his batman costume every single day. He's going to fight bad guys and he's going to protect all the women around. This is the next generation and he's very headstrong and he's very tough and he's very rough. But this is going to be our saviour one day.

Comment 3:

I can share this one, I guess [showing a photograph of Girls' Group]. So this is our girls' group and we went to that meeting at the Bell Tower. And so me being at the Bell Tower, and the community being involved and taking initiative and saying, [we're] not putting up with people and letting things happen.

So I guess these people decided they were going to meet at the Bell Tower and come together and be like, we're not cool with this. And here we are together and we're not doing it by ourselves. And so I thought it was cool. And they were talking about how it's great to have the youth involved and all ten of us girls, our ten girls group, came.

And I thought it was cool 'cause the kids got to see people doing stuff positive in the community. Being involved in politics was something I didn't really hear about growing up. And I don't know how interesting it was for them but they had questions. So there was some learning being done. And they actually had fun. They got to ring the bell. I think it was just cool 'cause the girls were interested in their community and they wanted to know, like, who Cooper[10] was. 'Cause somebody was selling wristbands for that. So they just had questions and it's just like the kids cared and they wanted to know more.

And I thought that was a really good positive image. Like, sometimes you see a lot of negatives, especially down on Selkirk. And then it was just like people were driving by and honking and stuff. So it was like giving a different image too.

Comment 4:

I think that's really great 'cause it's teaching them and us, you know, how to be a community together and how to make it safer together for that next generation for when they get older.

[10] Cooper Nemeth was a teenager who was shot and killed outside a house party in Winnipeg in February, 2016. Despite Nemeth not being a resident of the North End, Bear Clan Patrol conducted an extensive search operation for him. Nemeth's family members sold memorial bracelets in his name to raise money for Bear Clan to honour the help they received. The above participant is describing the pride she believes the girls' group experienced seeing Bear Clan, and by extension their community, being honoured by Nemeth's family.

Comment 5:

> I notice communities and people are more and more getting involved and standing up and speaking up for themselves. And there's more and more people back before that wouldn't say anything. And it seems like every generation's trying to get better.
>
> I think that's really cool that we're at this stage where people are like, "There's that rally today for the sexually exploited people to have a place for them to sleep." People are standing up. And that's really cool to see a community like this.

Comment 6:

> …yeah, all these communities people are just getting fed up with being put down by systems and stuff. They're just fed up with it…they're just like, "No, it's not going to happen anymore."

What struck me about the women's activism is that a strengths-based approach to community activism and community building, more recently adopted by public health organizations and other governmental institutions, comes very naturally to many participants in their approach to engaging with community members and loved ones. What follows is a composite narrative of the collective work of the women. I weave together participant statements, personal conversations, and group transcripts into a narrative to highlight the emboldened work of the women.

There exists a strong commitment by women towards volunteerism for the community and women's centre. Women occupy often multiple volunteering roles that contribute to the safety and well-being of their families, community members, and the community as a whole. Many participants volunteer in NPDWC Drop-in Centre. The Drop-In Centre is a welcoming and safe space for women and children to enjoy refreshments, launder clothing for free, and talk with friends and get to know new ones. There are crafts, monthly birthday parties, and participant-led community outings. It is here that women who are new to the Centre can "drop-in" to rest and enjoy the space, seek information about available programming, seek advice, book free

counselling appointments, and talk with peer volunteers about any pertinent issues that are affecting them. Almost every woman in this project has dedicated their time to peer-volunteerism in the Drop-In Centre. Many women spoke of the benefits of this work and why they do it: it helps people, it makes them feel safe, and it strengthens relationships.

There are numerous volunteer roles the women occupy; however, I would like to mention a few that contribute to the safety of the community and are specifically spatial in their organization and purpose. These include the Walking School Bus and Mama Bear Clan (see Context Chapter for program descriptions). One participant volunteers every day for the Walking School Bus as it ensures that children make it safely to and from Norquay Elementary School. It also enables this participant to "keep up" with the kids in the neighbourhood and to build relationships with their parents. In this sense, volunteerism is connected to community ambassadorship and strengthens community relations between residents. Shelley explains:

> If I don't know somebody I will go up to them and I will introduce myself and I will tell them what we have to offer in our community. And I'll say, "Oh well, I hope to see you here in the park, you know, tomorrow." Because it will be the first time I've seen them with their kids or something, but I know their kids, you know. So encouragement, encourage them to come out and get to know the rest of the community.

Many participants volunteer for Mama Bear Clan, which contributes to safety and positive community relations with residents, and promotes positive communication between Mama Bear Clan volunteers and community members. The women told me that community walks not only contribute to a safe community, but also provide a sort of mobile safety "comments box" for community members. People often stop to discuss issues in the neighbourhood, their concerns, and seek advice and assistance. Women spoke of how proud it makes them when they connect with someone on the street, talk to them about how the Centre

can help, and then see them during the Centre's Drop-In hours. Again, women's participation in Mama Bear Clan fosters community pride, promotes safety and well-being for community members, and connects women, men, and their families to much needed resources and services provided by the Centre.

Women in this project are dedicated to grounded community activism and organizing within the community. Participants dedication to community activism is directly linked to the Centre's decolonial and community-led approach to programming (see Context Chapter for further discussion). The Centre has provided an environment where participants have the space and support to heal from past trauma and multiple forms of violence. Healing is an ongoing process and is guided by the holistic Circle of Courage model. As mentioned by Centre staff, community members' healing process leads to participants' desire for deeper involvement in community activism. As such, many women in this project participate in various forms of activism, such as organizing and participating in community marches and vigils. These marches often call attention to gendered-colonial violence and seek to advocate for further services, resources, and safe space for community members. Marches in the past have organized around the need for a 24- hour safe space for women, bringing awareness and visibility to the issue of murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls and domestic violence in the community. Community vigils are often organized by community women to remember lost loved ones due to police violence, gang violence, gendered violence, or as the result of housing fires.

Indigenous traditional culture

Many participants spoke about the importance of learning and maintaining Indigenous traditional knowledge, practices, and culture as a form of safety and well-being. The women in this project are committed to learning about their Indigenous culture and invite others to learn

alongside them in a non-judgmental way. The women told me that it fosters a sense of pride, connectivity with Indigenous communities, and cultivates feelings of self-worth, empowerment, and emotional and spiritual well-being. Some women are pow-wow dancers and traditional drummers and singers. Others hold meaningful relationships with traditional knowledge keepers or Elders to ensure traditional knowledge is passed on to younger generations or community members. Many women maintain traditional practices such as smudging, sweats, and moon ceremonies. The Centre has provided a space in which traditional knowledge and practices are honoured by providing smudges at any time, organizing community sweats for women and men, undertaking medicine picking fieldtrips outside of the city, and holding knowledge circles with Elders. Aleesha explains why these activities are important:

> Lately they've [the Centre] been going on community sweats and they [Centre staff] realize that it's bringing the community together. And there's a lot of Native people living in the community too that never actually got to learn their culture and experience sweats and stuff like that. So I think it's awesome that they do that for free.

Aleesha also explains how the Centre helped her connect to her culture and why this is important to her:

> I started smudging and learning about traditional teachings and everything. And it's just so awesome. And since then I've been learning so much. Every single day I learn something new. I just started learning and I'm still learning a lot.
>
> It makes me feel awesome because all that would have been taken away from us but it's just like improving so much. And I feel the need to dance because I have no reason not to be a powwow dancer. And I really want to be a powwow dancer so bad because I heard that the jingle dress brings healing.
>
> And I feel that's what I need is some healing in order to help everyone else in my community.

> But I feel like I am helping people, like the girls in the Girls' Group are just so awesome. Like just recently I did, we had traditional teachings and I brought my drum to them and I showed them and they're like, "Wow, how did you make that?" And they're like, "Can we make drums?" I was like, "Well, we can but we have to fundraise." And they're like, "Yeah."

> And then I talked to them, 'cause some of them I notice they don't, we would smudge and they didn't know why we were smudging. So then that's why I said, "We should teach them why we smudge." I teach them about why we smudge and I show them my drum and stuff. Now they, like, most of them smudge a lot, I noticed.

Paula, who is particularly dedicated to community activism and decolonial politics, reflects on the importance of nurturing relationships and learning with Elders:

> I like to spend time around people who I feel are good for me. Like "V" [an Elder), for instance, I think I can learn a lot from her. So I try to spend, you know, an afternoon or two a week with her. I do feel that she represents and emanates love.
>
> It's the first of our teachings [love] and I think the most, one of the most valuable teachings that we have. And if it wasn't such a powerful, if love wasn't such a powerful teaching—wait, how can I say this—if it wasn't for love I don't think Point Douglas, North Point Douglas would be the thriving community it is today.
>
> A good way to grow and navigate your way through this human experience is to sit and listen and hear what the grandmothers have to say about different teachings, especially those of love. And there's just so many important life lessons that you just can't get from textbooks or other colonial educational institutions. That you can if you just sit and listen with an open heart to what it is that our grandmothers and Elders have to teach us.

Economy of care

Women also participate in what I call the community economy of care. This economy of care includes individual acts of benevolence, the provision of emotional support to loved ones and community members, offering safe space or shelter to those in need, ensuring that community members or neighbours have enough to eat, and sharing resources and information about opportunities in the community (such as where to secure the most affordable food stuffs and community organizations' programming opportunities). Unique to this economy of care is how participants help loved ones or neighbours navigate governmental institutions, what women call "systems." For example, participants told me about accompanying women to Manitoba

Housing Authority to apply for low-income housing or to Manitoba Employment and Income Assistance. These systems are often alienating, bureaucratic, and difficult to navigate if an individual has no prior experience accessing them.

I turn to Claudette to illustrate the economy of care. Claudette is a community advocate for her friends and neighbours in the community. She tries to help where she can: making extra food for elderly people in her building or taking a friend down to the Employment and Income Assistance office. If someone from her building approaches her with an issue she cannot help them with, she often directs them to the Centre. Claudette explains her participation in the economy of care:

> One thing is, I would never make fun of a person or hurt that person, I'd rather feed that person and clothe that person. Sometimes, if I have extra food I'll take them [neighbours] some food. Yeah, I love people.
>
> My door was an open door for all the kids. I let them know that I was their friend; I wasn't just my kid's mom. I was somebody that you could come and talk to. And it made it good and easy for me because I knew what was going on because they weren't afraid to say things in front of me. That's how I found things [issues that kids were going through] out, right. The most important thing, and for the most part, I did help a few families over the years and I still keep in contact with them, you know.
>
> I'm the granny of the whole community. I talk to all the kids and I'm part of the safety part of the community. I do my own walks in the evening and in the mornings down by the rivers, down around the parks and such, and contribute when and whatever I can.

Community asset mapping

Women in North Point Douglas are well aware of what kinds of valuable resources, programming, and services exist in the community as well as what is needed to continue to foster positive community development. The Centre has excelled in providing culturally appropriate and aligned programming to suit its community's needs. The organization is community-led,

takes a strengths-based approach to community development, and seeks to create an environment in which participants can empower themselves to heal from multiple forms of violence as a pathway to community activism and engagement. All of the women are intimately connected to the Centre through its programming, community events, volunteerism, mentorship, community marches, and relationships held with Centre staff and to one another. The women described that "change starts here," within the community, and by community members themselves. The Centre was identified as an organization well suited for future types of action-oriented and community-led programs and projects to thrive: "NPDWC has come a long way from its start and is ready to help support these types of programs."

The asset-mapping exercise asked the photovoice participants to use four different categories to talk about and describe their neighbourhood and community: Preserve: what is great about the neighbourhood that we want to keep and maintain; Add: what should we bring to the neighbourhood to make it even better; Remove: the neighbourhood would be improved if we could get rid of these things; Keep Out; these harm the community and should never be allowed in. I would like to flesh out women's suggestions for positive community development that correspond to what the women would like to "add" to North Point Douglas to make it even better for women and their safety.

Women's suggestions for positive community development in North Point Douglas are grouped into five overarching categories that were meticulously chosen by the group. The group took an intersectional and holistic approach—what they called a "360 approach"—to thinking creatively about how these categories are interlocking and exist in connection to one another. For example, jobs for women in the area can only take place by "building knowledge and learning new skills" and require "children and youth services" such as a "daycare" and "youth care centres" to ensure

women have access to supportive services once entering the job market. I describe each category for ease of readability; however, the full document can be read in Appendix F. The five categories are: Employment and educational opportunities; Safe, affordable housing; Health and supportive services for women, men, and youth; Culture, female empowerment, and healthy relationships; Neighbourhood infrastructure, community development, and safety. With each category I provide a background narrative based on field notes taken during the exercise to provide further clarification and women's additional thoughts in relation to each category.

Employment and educational opportunities

This category includes both job and educational opportunities as the women understand both to be in conversation with one another. Many women have been out of the job market for some time and seek to build new skills required to secure a job opportunity. As one participant remarked:

> I think they [government] should give people more incentive to go to school, to finish upgrading 'cause there's no money out there for upgrading. I've tried to get some from my reserve and I did a little, but then they said they'll only do it if you were in college or university. Some reserves do it if you are in high school. The Welfare system only gives you $25 extra a month and a bus pass. You're starving, pretty much starving all the time. So I think there should be more encouragement as far as education is concerned. 'Cause it's like, sure these people should be proud of themselves for going to school, but if they're not getting paid how is there going to be motivation?

This participant mentions the need for more supports for mature women to assist in "upgrading" a high school diploma, a requirement for most employment. Other suggestions included supports for mature women to develop their resumes:

> But I really feel there should be more resources. Because a lot of us don't have good resumes. Big gaps in our resumes, maybe, you know, not working at certain places for long enough times. But I know when I'm taught to do something and I'm sure a lot of people are like that, once you're taught to do something, it's like

> [sees a bike roll by]—A bike comes in my sight—I was just about to say it's like riding a bike.

Other suggestions included blending educational workshops for women to build on pre-existing skills and knowledge of women. Examples here include community-led workshops and certificate programs in landscaping, childcare, cooking, and the trades. The women remarked that there are organizations like Help All and Perfect Placement that assist in helping people find work; however, they often require women to have prior job experience that many do not possess. Others commented that day-labour placements are hard for women to secure as the temporary work placements are biased towards men:

> Because a lot of these places [day-labour establishments], like, you go there, you could sit there all morning but they won't send you out. They mostly send out the guys. Or if you're a woman and *if* they know you, then you'll get sent out. There should be places a woman could go and work for a day or two or even get hired, you know.

The women also discussed the possibility of a social enterprise for women in North Point Douglas. Ideas for a social enterprise included a café with a day care in the building and a women-run landscaping enterprise. The women believed that this resource would enable women to simultaneously develop new skills while also securing a paid work position. One participant remarked how this could benefit women:

> And, if you're making these women feel good about themselves with work, you know, they start to feel that natural high; "I just worked really hard for this, let's see what else I could do." And be proud of themselves and stuff like that. I would love there to be something like that in this area.

For all the women, the lack of jobs in the area creates a barrier to safety for women. However, they believe that if proper funding is secured, the Centre would be a great organization to begin making strides towards work-related programming for women:

> There is a barrier in that way for the job stuff for sure, I see that too, something that I'm trying to get the Centre to start to move towards is creating work, like, work programs and stuff.

Safe, affordable housing

All of the women in this project have had difficulties securing affordable, safe housing in Winnipeg. Many have withstood periods of homelessness or talked about the fear of becoming homeless due to precarious housing, the lack of affordable housing units, and living below the poverty line. Often, the most affordable housing units available to people in North Point Douglas are rooming houses or single occupancy rooms in hotels. Although I do not have any direct quotes, I recorded women's expressions of anger and frustrations with this particular type of housing. The women overwhelmingly told me that these units are unsafe and often have "shady" slumlords. One participant lived in a unit that had black mould. Management ignored her requests for removal and with no other affordable housing options she had to remain living there. She got increasingly ill and was hospitalized for a collapsed lung due to extreme black mould poisoning. Her lung was removed soon after, which contributes to ongoing health complications that she must deal with for the rest of her life.

Overwhelmingly, the women discussed the need for more social housing projects for low-income families. This was reflected in Claudette's photographs and captions that focused on safety and the home:

> The photo on the bottom is the new Manitoba Housing Development I can see from my window. Sometimes housing is so bad in North Point Douglas that a whole family needs to move into rooming housing. This is an unacceptable situation. Our neighbourhood is growing. There are a lot of young families in North Point Douglas. Families need more family housing.

Participants remarked that it is up to the government to invest more tax dollars into affordable and low-income housing developments in Winnipeg. The women also discussed how precarious housing or the lack of affordable multi-roomed housing units poses a significant risk to mothers caring for their children. The women remarked that it becomes nearly impossible for women to get their children back from Child and Family Services as they cannot afford to find housing that meets the institution's requirements. The women's solutions to this issue are simple: more family housing developments, co-operative housing, and a willingness of government to understand the interlocking cycle of ongoing child apprehension, colonialism, precarious housing, and poverty.

Health and supportive services for women, men, and youth

The women mainly connected improving the health of community members by strengthening food security in the area. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a lack of affordable food stores and food banks in the neighbourhood. The women discussed the need for more fresh food and came up with a valuable solution: community gardens. They were keen to jump-start a community garden project and thought that the Centre would be a good starting place to discuss the possibility of such a project. One participant pointed out that this would be an excellent and fun way for children and youth to become involved in a community-led health initiative. This led the group to discuss an additional category that included the need for a youth centre, one that was culturally grounded and could provide such projects as a community garden.

The discussion quickly moved to the need for additional safe space for women, men, youth, and children that people could go to at any time of day or night. The need for such a space had been raised previously by community members. In fact, most participants had gathered for a community march, led and organized by Ka Ni Kanichihk, for such an establishment to be

funded by the government. In March 2018, it was announced that the federal government will spend almost $350,000 to expand Ndinawe Youth Centre for a 24-hours-a-day drop-in youth centre in honour of Tina Fontaine. Ndinawe is located in the heart of North Point Douglas off of Selkirk Avenue. This is one step in providing quality safe space to youth in the neighbourhood. As per the women's discussion, however, an additional 24-hour safe space is needed for women and men to ensure safety in the neighbourhood.

Additionally, the women discussed needing more facilities for childcare in the neighbourhood. Again, this was linked to their "360 approach" to community development. If children have a safe place to play and learn while women and care-givers are able to secure work, then children will remain safe and well-cared for during working hours and before they reach school-age.

Culture, female empowerment, and healthy relationships

As discussed previously, women are deeply involved in learning, maintaining, and celebrating traditional Indigenous cultural practices and ways of being. Highlighted in this category is the resurgence and continuation of Indigenous community engagement with traditional culture. This includes maintaining relationships with elders, organizing pow-wow dances in the community and danced by community members; participation in traditional ceremonies as a way for community members and youth to access positive role models; and the need for more gatherings about cultural teachings. This was linked to the positive development of the community, women's sense of safety, well-being, female empowerment, and building and maintaining healthy relationships.

Neighbourhood infrastructure, community development, and safety.

It is the position of the women that positive community development is only possible with the input and leadership of those that live and possess experiential knowledge of the community. This requires a commitment to working with community members to build on existing community strengths, skills, and experience. It also requires financial support for community organizations, "support for all community centres" and "core funding" from government. Safety must be understood in a "360 approach." If women have safe places to live, fulfilling work to do, supportive services for themselves and their families, and community centres that are well supported, safety becomes a possibility.

Notes on the photovoice project

As a way of concluding this exploration of the Culture of Hope I draw upon the participants' narratives about safety and hope that emerged during the photovoice project. Photovoice allowed the women to approach community issues both critically and from a place of optimism and love for their community. Photovoice as a research exercise and creative endeavour allowed the women to imagine their community's potential and, by extension, they're own potential as community photographers and valid partners in research, including the recognition of their own expertise at the heart of the research process. Photovoice galvanized a sense of agency and ownership over community space and knowledge. The project created space for participants to collectively work towards a common goal of generating awareness of the issues that affect their community while also celebrating community strengths. During the research process, participants were given a chance to discuss what photovoice meant to them, why it was important, and their hopes for the project. The following are a collection of quotes from this discussion:

What did photovoice mean to you, what did you like about it?

Corinne:

> Hmm, I really liked it because the girls that were in there, we all didn't really know each other but we all seen each other around. And I think if it wasn't for something like that we'd probably still be lost. We all have potential to be better people or be better friends or to help each other out, but I don't think we would know that unless we were actually put together in a group like that. And able to talk about things, especially in the community, without thinking, "Oh, you got to be hush, hush, hush, hush." I think a thing like photovoice is very good for the community and it was very good for the women involved big time.

Shelley:

> It's a learning experience for all of us that are involved in this because to me it was a lifetime opportunity to finally set forth something that I wanted to do for the past all these years that I've been living in this community. Good stuff came out of it, valuable information, and seeing things through different point of views and different eyes and that, right. It wasn't all bad when it came down to that, it's just why? You know?

Aleesha:

> I am pretty proud of myself. And I feel that there should be another photovoice with younger women in the community. But at the same time not just younger women but maybe a few young men too. It meant a lot for me actually. It was amazing. I wish it could happen again. I've never actually been in a program like this before. It made me look differently at art and thought it was just really interesting.

Paula:

> Well, number one it's reignited my love of photography. And the way it's setup as a women's group in a women's circle and the way we keep ourselves grounded in ceremony throughout the process I think is very important and empowering, not only individually to myself and each of the women but as a circle, as a women's circle, it's very empowering. Also, I would like to add, to be able to bring out all these hidden gifts and talents of all these different women from several, spanning several generations and bringing all these gifts and talents out through one common goal. That's such an important aspect of what we're doing that I seem to be at a loss for words to describe it. That's unusual.
>
> I really appreciate the women in this group. This stuff is sacred and, I mean, the fact that we're grounded in ceremony and open up with a smudge, it's beautiful and it's sacred. I'm new at this, expressing genuine emotion and gratitude

[participant emotional] and appreciation. And these particular tears are tears of joy.

I'm very honoured to be a part of this photovoice project and women's circle and it really put an emphasis on the art of photography and basically the voice of the women of North Point Douglas. And one of the reasons I feel so honoured [is] to sit in ceremony with these women. We make an extra effort to get together a lot surrounding the project, but beyond the set limitations of the project we just like, blew it [out of the water].

Do you think photovoice was important for the community?

Shelley:

It's a part of Point Douglas history. It's where it began and where this is the first step of letting the whole world see and know what we're about and what we can do. And what we want. You know, to get that [photovoice] in every bad corner of every place, that would be something, man.

Paula:

Actually that's a very interesting question and I'm glad you asked that because I totally think that the whole process is a very important step in decolonization. I mean, 'cause we're even looking at it from a decolonized aspects where we're coming from a strength-based approach as opposed to a negative-based approach, or what I sometimes like to call it, reality-based approach. 'Cause, I mean, and there's no denying reality can be very negative. I really tried to approach it from a strength-based approach. I didn't like the bad negative things and stigmas around all the violence and stuff. So I chose to focus on strong women and doing things that empower and move society forward in a good way.

Donna:

I can't believe my pictures are going to be up there [Urban Shaman Gallery]…. You know, some people look, "Well, it's only a picture." Maybe to them it's only a picture, but it's your picture, right.

What are you hopes for the photovoice project and the photo exhibit?

Aleesha:

I wanted to bring awareness to what goes on in the community, the good and the bad…. Well, actually a lot of people have a bad view of Point Douglas and it's not

actually a bad area. I wanted to bring awareness that the community actually isn't that bad if you actually put in work into it to make it a better place. My dream is to make it a better place and a safer place for not only the older people and the youth and the younger generation and the next generation coming.

Donna:

Maybe step back and take a look at look at your own picture, you know, and see is this, maybe we should be together like this instead of ridiculing everybody and painting them with the same brush. How about get to know them? Just because that kid is a gangster, or whoever, doesn't matter. You don't know what happened in their life, how they end up the way they are. Maybe if you treat them with a little respect, they'll respect you back. I wish people would just care more about each other and their communities.

Paula:

I see it as an opportunity to hopefully people walk away with a new perspective and can take action in a good way on something they perceive as negative.

Claudette:

Everybody should get involved [in the community]. But, I mean, you got to be convincing. I don't know, that's what I thought. You got to make sure that you know what you're doing. Like, it's not only you you're talking about, you're talking about your fellow people, right. You know, I don't want anything done right for me. I want all these other people around me that need help too, so. Yeah, so I just, I speak for a lot of people out here. I'm sure they don't all like living this way. Someone's got to be, someone's got to help them sooner or later, you know.

Anna-Marie:

Broaden the government's horizon.

Donna:

You know what would be nice is if to find out what people that are going to see this get from this. Do they see the housing issues, do they see the sexual assault, do they see the murdered and missing women, do they see the prescription addictions, right?

Corinne:

Hmm, I really hope it comes out really successful. Successful in terms of motivation for the girls to let their loved ones get an idea of what they're doing

> and why they want to do it and what would their families do to want to improve the area. And motivation to want to improve the area actually help the situation.

Conclusion

As we can see from the activism of women in North Point Douglas, as well as daily acts of resistance and advocacy in the community, women are standing up and speaking out in the face of normalized violence. These "warrior women" are cultural knowledge keepers, aspiring traditional dancers, drummers, singers, mothers, activists, students, and vital members of their communities. I have witnessed the incredible ways that women are combating and continuing to thrive in the face of colonial violence.

CHAPTER 8: FINAL THOUGHTS

I close the thesis with a story. I am sitting with several women from the project in the North Point Douglas Women's Centre courtyard. It's a hot summer's day and we sit at a picnic table under the shade provided by an oak tree. The women are being interviewed by various news media outlets about the *The Voice from Point Douglas*. One participant and now dear friend of mine, Claudette, is describing her photographic works and what the project means to her. We sit and listen to her speak firmly, eloquently, and passionately about her work with the project and about her community. As Claudette gives her interview, I reflect on the power and persuasiveness of her words. I think back to working with Claudette at the beginning of the project and the change in her disposition. Claudette mostly kept to herself and listened quietly to others in the group. Hearing her speak so freely and with such confidence is moving. Claudette's life story is one of struggle, survival, strength, healing, and triumph.

As we got to know one another, Claudette opened up about the obstacles and barriers she has had to overcome in order for her to take part in a project such as this. Claudette has survived two near-death experiences in her lifetime. About 10 years ago, Claudette lived in house with black mould. The land lord ignored her requests to remove the mould and, with no other affordable housing options available, she had to remain in the house for some time. Claudette developed extreme respiratory problems and was hospitalized for acute respiratory failure. Her right lung was removed to ensure her chance of survival. Claudette continued to live, take care of loved ones, and continue volunteering in the neighbourhood despite this health challenge.

Claudette has also survived a near-fatal physical assault outside her home in North Point Douglas. She told me the doctors were surprised she survived. Claudette was house bound due to

physical and psychological trauma she withstood from the attack. What gave her hope and eventually the push to re-connect with community was the women's centre. Despite memory loss and her injuries, Claudette would wake up every morning, walk two to three blocks towards the women's center and turn back. She repeated this ritual everyday knowing that one day, she would have the strength and courage to make it to the centre. It took Claudette over a month to finally walk through the centre's door. On the other side of that door was love, family, and her support system. Here was a safe space, bound in relationship, where she could emotionally and spiritually heal from violence. It was also where we connected and decided to work together on this project.

Claudette's story holds power. It speaks to the power of relationships and grounded community activism that can emerge simply through the creation of safe space for women and platforms for women's voices to be heard. I believe this project created a safe space in which the women felt empowered to tell their stories and ideas towards positive change in their community. Stories hold power. Women who speak their truth in the face of violence, such as the women in this project, have power. Spaces that are safe for women to name, heal, and combat violence in their lives also have power.

At the heart of this thesis lies an intersectional-spatial framework. This framework provides a critical lens with which to understand women's life stories in connection to settler colonialism. In this thesis, I have argued that space matters: employing an intersectional-spatial framework, informed by participatory action research with women for the North Point Douglas Women's Centre, revealed the connections between colonial violence, ongoing colonial dispossession, and uneven urban geographies in Winnipeg. It also provided a framework to

understand women's grounded community activism or spatialized resistance to settler colonialism and colonial violence.

Broadly, taking up themes of violence, colonialism, and resistance enables a critical examination of the material relations through which certain types of violence that the women combat in their lives are made invisible in the context of colonialism in white settler societies. Applying an intersectional-spatial framework showcased how spaces and subjects are created/produced relationally through social, material, historical, and spatial processes of gendered colonial violence and the built environment. Further, it allowed us to further understand colonial violence and resistance by centering Indigenous ontologies and forms of resistance that disrupt settler colonialisms project and continued dispossession, and by creating platforms for women to discuss their own lived realities and ideas for positive change that are not accounted for in dominant discourses of violence and colonialism. This is why projects such as this are important. Talking about space is important because it helps us to understand how social relationships, the dynamics of ongoing colonialism, spatial arrangements of urban environments, and multiple forms of violence are embodied and how they are being contested.

Yet the project still had limitations. Women discussed the fact that this project was too short, even though it tripled its original length. We were just getting started and then the project ended when we held our last exhibit. Women felt that the project would have benefited the group more if it had a secondary action project. This project was also very difficult to carry by myself. I had co-facilitators but they were also hugely busy with their own jobs at the centre, and most of the time I was tasked with facilitation, maintaining positive group relationships, and providing support for participants when they needed it. In order for project like this to work, it must be built on trust and relationships. When you become close to your co-researchers, they rely on you

and you rely on them. With that comes emotional labour that sometimes felt debilitating, as you become involved in the everyday lives of participants. Yet it was worth it – friendship developed, partnerships were strengthened, challenges identified and successes celebrated together.

Space is not a static formation. It is relational, ever-changing, and dynamic. Uneven urban development in Winnipeg, the ghettoization of certain city spaces, and the resulting embodied violence women face in North Point Douglas have been made visible in this project. However, if space is socially and historically produced, it can be socially changed by various actors, like the women in this project.

In closing, there exists within this project a collective body of experiential and visual knowledge that celebrates, contests, and connects the artist's emotional, spiritual, mental, and physical spaces of being to the wider community. The research and artwork, exhibit, and awareness campaign were all led by the participants themselves and brought about a sense of solidarity that increased the scope of awareness about the challenges women face in NPD that reverberated beyond the sharing circles.

The collective knowledge generated within the project is a direct challenge to intense white supremacy and heteropatriarchy within Winnipeg and Canada. In this sense, this project and the work of participants contributes to the decolonization of urban space in NPD and to the de-stigmatization of this neighbourhood. The project was about empowerment through the artwork, storytelling, and action work as much as it was about highlighting the embodied, structural oppressions that women in NPD face. I'll let one of the participants, Paula Ducharme, have the last word about the project: "I feel honoured to have sat in ceremony with these women.

The strength-based approach wasn't focused on stigmas, but was focused on empowering strong women to move society forward in a good way."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PHOTOVOICE FACILITATORS GUIDEBOOK

Session 1: Introduction to the Photovoice Project & Training

Objectives

The objectives for Session 1 consist of the following items: 1) Conduct an icebreaker activity; 2) Describe what photovoice is; 3) Review goals of photovoice project; 4) Articulate participant roles + establish their expertise + confidentiality; 5) Develop Ground Rules; 6) Discuss issues related to photography power, ethics, & legal issues; 7) Medicine Wheel exercise: violence in our community; 8) Define tasks for next session; and 9) Check-in.

Prior to this session:

- Invite and make arrangements for guest speakers in advance.
- Collect all Consent/Assent forms from participants prior to beginning the session.

Example Supply List for Session #1

- Photovoice Project Timeline/Session outlines handout
- Note cards & Flipchart Paper for developing group ground rules
- Developing a Ground Rules poster
- Ethics and Safety Guidelines
- Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues handout
- Medicine Wheel exercise handout
- Tasks for Next Session sheet
- Check in (verbal)
- Sage for smudge

1) Icebreaker Activity

Catching the Ball: Give the first person a soft foam ball. Introduce the game and explain that the ball is the "share an interesting fact" ball. The first person tells the group their name and something interesting about themselves and then throws the ball to the second person. The second person reveals something about themselves and then throws to the next person. Once everyone has had a turn, one person start by reciting another group members name and their interesting fact from memory. Repeat until everyone gets a turn.

2) What is Photovoice?

PhotoVOICE is a type of research, which is the activity of getting information; and sending powerful messages to the community through photos and words. PhotoVOICE and help to highlight issues that women face in their daily lives to create community level change.

How has photovoice been used in other projects?

On a projector show The North End Women's Centres photovoice project with some examples of photos from the project or show a clip that follows a photovoice project.

Why are photovoice projects important?

Photovoice is a type of research that is led by the community and it is a way to reveal issues that would otherwise be looked over.
The Centre and I, and the MRA, want to know more about how women's experiences about safety, security, and wellbeing in North Douglas and what should be done about it. We are interested in what you think. What the safety issues in your neighbourhood? Where are the safe spaces? What would you like to change about your neighbourhood?
We are asking you to be community researchers and tell your stories because you are the experts of the neighbourhood. Women's voices in North Point Douglas are not heard enough and we need to know what you think. No one is better suited to do this research than you.

3) Goals of Photovoice Project

It is important to set clear, measurable goals for your photovoice project. For our project, we outlined the following goals:

- Record & reflect your community's safety strengths & concerns
- Share personal & community safety issues through group discussions of photographs
- Share photographs & stories about violence and safety with others
- Inform the development of strategies for improving the safety of women in your community

What are some questions that our project would like to look at?

- What does a safe neighbourhood look like for women? What are our dreams for women in NPD?
- What makes us feel safe or unsafe? What makes us angry?
- Women experience more forms of street harassment and gender violence within the inner-city, how do you think this affects:
    - women's sense of safety?
    - Women's sense of empowerment?
    - How women move about and women's mental maps?
    - Women's relationships

4) Participant Roles Explained

- Attend all photovoice group sessions
- Take pictures of their community
- Discuss their pictures with the group
- Write statements/narratives to go with their pictures
- Select photos for display
- Attend community event(s) on (date) at (location)
- Ensure that what is dicussed as a group stays within the group.

Participants will initially attend a photography training session to learn about taking photographs for this project. They will be given a camera and asked to take photographs of their neighborhood that

reflect both unsafe and safe space. They will select photographs that they would like to share, and attend a series of group discussions with other community members and/or individual interviews to talk about their photographs and why they chose to take the pictures, as well as photographs taken by others in the group. The discussion sessions and/or interviews will last approximately three hours each. As part of the project, some discussion sessions will be audio or video taped and notes will be taken. They will also be asked to share their photos with the community at an exhibit.

Facilitators roles explained

Create a safe space for learning and sharing/ ensuring all levels of confidentiality/ leading sessions to make sure we finish on time and are covering all material/ making sure we complete the project.

5) Ground Rules poster

See handout (Appendix A)

6) Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues

It is crucial to teach the photovoice participants not only about their safety as photographers, but also on the power, ethical and legal issues related to photography. See handouts *Ethics and Safety Guidelines handout*, *Photography Power Handout/Activity Sheet*, *Agreement to Ethics Commitment form*, and the *Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form*.

7) Medicine Wheel Intro + Photography Exercise – How to incorporate the Wheel?? I think just having it as a tool to think holistically about safety issues and wellbeing is enough here. The Wheel can be introduced as a tool to remind us to think of the four quadrants when we are looking more deeply into an issue like women's safety in NPD. We can ground the sessions in an awareness of the emotional, spiritual, mental, and physical wellbeing of each individual and how these different parts of a person connect to make a larger whole (also how does the issue affect these different parts of us?)

You will need printed copies of photographs, enough for each participant to have one. Pass out hard copies of photographs (e.g.: nature, local landmarks). Have each participant pick one and hold onto it. Then, go around and allow each participant to introduce themselves by indicating why they picked the photograph, and what it says about them. This activity allows for unique details of participants' lives to emerge in the discussion, as well as gets them thinking about how photos tell stories or "speak a thousand words." We found it was important from the beginning of the project to get participants to **make the connection between photography and their voice.**

8) Tasks for Next Session
See handout that will help participants keep track of the dates for their next session, and any activities they should be doing at home prior to the next session

9) Post- Session Participant Feedback if time allows or Check-In
It is important to get participants' perspectives on how the process is going. After each session take time to gather participant feedback, and then make plans for Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI). See

Post-Session Participant Feedback sheet. This step will only be mentioned here, but let's consider it after each session.

Session 2: All About Photography

Objectives

The objectives for Session 2 consist of the following items: 1) Conduct icebreaker activity; 2) Review Session One activities; 3) Review photovoice project theme; 4) Assign cameras to participants; 5) Run photography 101 training and photo exercise; and 6) Review Take 10 Assignment + Safety/Geographical boundaries.

Notes
Prior to this Session:

- You will need to have all cameras' batteries charged and memory cards inserted before the session. If feasible, it would be ideal to also provide camera cases for safety of camera.
- When teaching how to download pictures, you will need camera cords to connect to computer, computer (lab for participants to practice if possible) and memory sticks (aka flash drives). It is ideal to give one to each participant for them to upload all their photos, and then to have a separate master flash drive that you copy only the photos needed for the photovoice project).

Supply List for Session #2

- Cameras/Camera Manuals
- Flash Drives
- Copies of Forms:
    - *Review from Previous Session sheet (pre written on flip chart)*
    - *Camera policy form* (two copies per participant, one to sign and return, one to keep)
    - *Acknowledgement of camera received*
    - *Camera 101 handout*
    - *Camera Practice form*
    - *Take 10 Worksheet*

1) Icebreaker Activity
Go around in a circle and ask each participant to answer the question "Why are you in this photovoice project?" They could share out loud, or you could give them the opportunity first to list their top three reasons on a note card, then share out loud.

2) Review from Session 1 Activity
Since you may have covered new material with your participants in Session 1, it is good to review, especially the ethical, legal and power issues of photography, and the photographer safety. See *Review from Session 1 Activity Worksheet*.

3) Review Photovoice Project Theme/ What Matters to Me Exercise
It is helpful to review the purpose of your particular photovoice project theme. For our project, the themes to identify are "community strengths and concerns." Prior to the photography stage of the project, take time to review concepts related to the theme using a *What Matters to Me* activity. This helped participants identify important factors in their community and we discussed how these concepts might be captured

using photography. This discussion generated ideas for the participants as they began their role as photographers.

4) Photography 101 Training
The handouts, *Photography 101* and *Seeing Through the Camera*, can help when teaching participants about photography. Some participants may have never held a camera before, or never seen a printed photograph before. When possible, invite a professional photographer to be a guest speaker and present on the basics of photography. This content can be tailored according to the participants' level of knowledge of photography. Again, no prior knowledge is necessary to participate in a photovoice project as long as proper training is provided. You will need to take into account the skill and knowledge level of your participants and possibly build in extra time for photography training. For instance, you may need to spend time out in the community walking around with the participants to guide/coach them.

5) Camera 101 Training
Once you have gone through the Photography 101 training, you will need to teach the participants about their cameras. See Camera 101 Worksheet in Appendix B. It is ideal to give them time to practice taking photos during photovoice sessions so facilitators can guide or coach participants if they have questions. We may want to use an activity like, *Photograph Practice Worksheet* Appendix B. This activity breaks the participants into groups and allows them to go out into community to take pictures. Participants can use the worksheet to help them practice using different camera techniques and modes (if using digital cameras). It also gets them practicing using the *Photo Release Form* (Appendix A) on their human subjects, or photographees. It is also good to encourage them to practice at home before they start taking and selecting photos to use for the photovoice project.

6) Professional Head Shots
Each Participant and Facilitator will get their photo taken by a professional photographer. We will need to take photos concurrently with the Camera 101 Training exercise to make sure we finish on time.

7) Photographs for First Assignment
Ask photovoice project participants to take 10 photographs prior to Sessions 3 (when we will discuss and reflect on their photos). The *Take 10 Worksheet* (Appendix B) helps participants with this assignment for Session 3 – give them a copy so they are familiar with the worksheet for Session 3. For the first photo shoot, we will ask participants to take 5 photos of areas of concern for women in their community and 5 photos of strengths in their community for women. Then, we will provide space for them to answer the modified "SHOWeD" questions that we would be using for group discussions about their photos in Sessions 3-6.

7) Closing Check-In

Session 3-5: Reflection and Discussion

<u>Objectives</u>
The objectives for Sessions 3 consist of the following items: 1) Execute process for organizing and storing photos; 2) Select photos for evaluation; 3) Discuss and analyze photos with group; 4) Write titles and captions for photos; 5) Review ethical considerations; 6) Discuss thematic data analysis and; 7) Bio-writing.

<u>Notes</u>
• Write/display the "SHOWED" discussion questions where all can see them

Supply List

- Flipchart paper, or computer with projector to write/display themes as participant identify them
- Copies of Forms:
    - Reflection Documentation Worksheet
    - Take 10 Worksheet
    - Medicine Wheel handout

1) Organizing & Storing Photos

Digital Cameras: When teaching how to download pictures, you will need camera cords to connect to the computer. This process will vary according to camera type; consult the operation manual that comes with the camera for help with this process. Once the photovoice participants have learned to upload their photos to a computer, you will need to teach them how to store and organize their photos and select the ones they want to share with the photovoice project. For those using digital cameras they may have taken hundreds of photos, and you as the photovoice project facilitator do not need or want to manage all their photos. What we suggest is that you provide your participants with a memory stick or flash drive. That way, each participant can store and organize all their photos on their own flash drive and then select the ones needed for the photovoice project that you will copy to a separate master flash drive. This master flash drive should have a folder named for each participant to help organize photos. You may also want to organize according to session date. This process may take longer with participants who are unfamiliar with computers or data management and storage devices. Thus, you will need to allow for this in your session agendas. We invited our participants to come meet us in the computer lab before the sessions began so that we had extra time for this process.

All photos, digital or hard copies, as well as other information collected during the sessions and interviews, should be stored in secure areas to protect the participants' privacy as well as to keep the photos safe.

2) Selecting Photos for Photovoice Project: Phase 1

Finally, after viewing all photos available, participants will need to select which ones to share with the photovoice project. As noted in the Consent/Assent forms, the participants own their photos and they need only share and photograph what they consider appropriate. They also have the right to determine which ones they will allow for group discussions and public display.

Participants can determine at any time during the project to withdraw photos from discussions and public displays. All hard copies should be returned to the participants once the displays/exhibits are finished.

3) Discussing & Sharing Photos

The participants' photographs will be used to prompt discussion about the theme of the study. The purpose of the photographs is to educate others about the issues that the participants feel convey their message or "voice" regarding the project theme. It is important to help the participants develop their own voice and not to feel that there is a "right" answer the project facilitator is looking for. Reassure the participants that they are the "experts" on their photographs. In fact, it is good to remind participants that a photograph can mean different things to different people, and not everyone in the room has to agree on what is said about a photo during the discussions.

Consider the size of your group and power dynamics when deciding how to engage the participants in discussions of their photos. It is important to create an environment where people with different personality types and/or cultural preferences are able to engage comfortably. Perhaps breaking into smaller groups (if there are two or more facilitators) or conducting individual interviews, as well as larger group discussions, may allow for more sharing from individuals who are not comfortable speaking in the

large group setting. Again, part of the purpose of photovoice is to raise critical consciousness through reflection and discussion of the photos; thus, this process is essential to a photovoice project.

One common method used in photovoice projects to trigger discussion is to use the questions from the acronym SHOWeD, as well as had participants fill out the *Take 10 handout* (See Appendix B). We can slightly modify the questions that correspond to the "SHOWeD" acronym. For each photo being reviewed, we would ask the participant who photographed the photo to introduce it by responding to the first question in the list corresponding with "S". Then the photographer and each group participant take a turn answering the other questions corresponding to "HOWeD". When time was short we sometimes only asked the group to discuss an abbreviated "SHO" or "SHOW". This allowed us to move through the photos more quickly. The group can come back to the "eD" components later when discussing intervention and dissemination plans.

While one does not need to follow this particular discussion trigger format, it is essential to find ways to elicit discussion of the photos as this is what provides the first essential piece of data analysis of a photovoice project. The steps we followed can be found in Appendix C under *Participatory Data Analysis*.

4) Writing Titles & Captions

Although the saying goes a picture speaks a thousand words, it can say different things to different people. Thus, if the participant wants to convey a specific message related to what they see and why they took the photo, then they will need to provide a title and caption to accompany their photograph.
We developed the *Reflection Documentation Worksheet*, found in Appendix D, to facilitate this process. Often, this process required one-on-one attention of the facilitator with each participant. You will need to plan accordingly in your agenda if you only have one facilitator. You should also consider how much you help "edit" or prompt this process. If needed, you can be the scribe and have the participant tell you verbally what they would like to say. Then you may suggest they re-order for better flow, or correct minor grammatical errors with their permission, but it is crucial to allow the participants' voices to emerge and to be reflected as much as possible.

5) Ethical Considerations

As the facilitator, you should try to remain objective and limit your comments about the photos during the discussions. It helps to follow the discussion question found in the SHOWeD acronym (seen in the previous section), and not stray from these questions. You should also attempt to create a comfortable environment that reduces reactivity and response effects. You may need to practice demonstrating neutral affect to support their sharing, despite how you may feel about what participants are sharing.

6) Thematic Data Analysis

In keeping with a CBPR approach, you can review the themes seen in the photos with the participants at every session when photos are discussed. You can document the participants' answers to the following questions: Have any themes emerged in the group's photos yet? If so, how could we focus on these themes for our next assignment? This free listing activity can be supplemented by pile sorting in an activity described in the next section using the Theme Activity Worksheet (Appendix C).

Session 6 – Action/Mapping

1) Action Map- Preserve, Remove, Add, Keep Out

Beyond assets: In this exercise we can generate a visual map of what the neighborhood needs in terms of resources for women's safety and well-being; what we want to remove that harm women; community strengths we want to preserve/build on; and everything that we want to keep out (racism; discrimination etc.). Visually we can create a board that covers these topics.

2) **Action Map 2 – A Visual Map of Themes/Photos**
Yet to figure how to put all our information together. We can make a collage, a web, an installation? Of all our data. This would be a good time to start planning out any other action projects other than the Exhibit. Or we can continue to focus on the exhibit and take steps to start planning.

Session 7 – Review of Photos/Celebration

Objectives
The objectives of this session are to review the photos, titles, and captions to ensure accuracy, and approve the contents of the photovoice collection. Additionally, an objective of this session is to celebrate the accomplishments during the photovoice project.

Notes
The photovoice project is coming to a close and it is time to celebrate the participants' accomplishments. As a way to celebrate you could display (digitally or hard copy) all the photos and their titles and captions for all to view as a group. The group may want to invite others to this celebration, such as family members.

It is wise at this point to review the photos with the participants one final time to make sure you have the correct photo matched with their correct title and caption. Participants may make any edits as necessary, and ensure that photos were not accidentally left out. When reviewing all of the photos as a group, it may be a useful exercise to ask them one final time to capture any themes they see and add this to the thematic data analysis. This can be done through a free listing exercise, or a pile sort. An example of the one we used, the Theme Activity Worksheet, is in Appendix D.

Supply List for Session # 7
- Refreshments/Food for celebration
- Way to display all photos with titles and captions, for each participant to review and check for accuracy
- Copies of forms:
    - Theme Activity Worksheet

APPENDIX B: PHOTOVOICE PARTICPANT HANDBOOK

Photovoice Project
General Schedule of Sessions

Spring 2016

- All sessions will be held at the North Point Douglas Women's Centre from 12pm-3pm. Lunch and refreshments will be served. Bus tickets are available.

Date	**Session**	**Topic**
Thursday, March 3	1	Welcome, Introductions, Review of project, Ground rules. Medicine Wheel
Thursday, March 10	2	Photography 101, receive cameras and practice
	Take Photos	
Thursday, March 17th	3	Photo sharing and Reflection
	Take Photos	
Thursday, March 24	4	Photo sharing and Reflection
March 25-31st	Spring Break + Take Photos	No Session
Thursday, March 31st	Photo Field Trip	Optional photo opportunity
Thursday, April 7	5	Photo Sharing, Reflection, and Themes
Thursday, April 14	6	Mapping, Action, Choose Exhibit Photos
Thursday, April 21	7	Exhibit planning, Debriefing, evaluation, Celebration

Developing Ground Rules

Expectations for Photovoice Sessions

Distribute one note card per person. All approximately three minutes for them to write:

- "hopes" on one side
- "fears" on the other side

On the side that has the "hopes" have participants write a response to the flowing question:

- What are your hopes for what would have to happen to make the Photovoice session a terrific experience?

On the side that has "fears" have participants write a response to the following question:

- What are your fears of what could happen that would make the Photovice session a terrible experience?

Do not write your name on the cards.

Then (readiness of group) either collect and redistribute the cards and have each participant read out the "hopes" and write them on a larger board and repeat with the "fears" or have one facilitator read and another facilitator write on a flipchart.

Examples:
Hopes:

- People will share their thought about the photos

Fears

- I will be misunderstood

Developing Ground Rules
State that the goals for Ground Rules are to

- Build on the terrifics
- Understand the terribles and try to move past them

Examples of Ground Rules

- Confidentiality – what is said here stays here
- Being on time
- Attendance
- Respect
- No distruptive chatting
- One person talking at a time
- Using respectful language
- Listening respectively
- Be respectful of other peoples opinions
- The only stupid question is the one that isn't asked

Ethics and Safety Guidelines Handout

Voluntary Participation

- In what way can I show respect for a person's decision to be photographed?
- How do I get consent to take their picture?

Do No Harm

- What is my purpose for taking this photo?
- Am I creating and using photos in a way that will not harm people I have took photos of?

Fairness

- Am I using photos in a way that fairly represents the real situation, identity, or physical location of the image?
- Am I respectful of the people, places, and things that I am photographing?

<u>Image Ethics</u>

There are 3 important areas of privacy that must be taken into consideration when you take photos:

- Intrusion into People's Private Space
- Capturing Embarrassing Facts about Individuals
- Misrepresenting people in your photographs.

<u>Photographer Safety</u>

~ Maintaining your safety is the number one rule!
~ No photo is worth personal danger.

- Be aware of your surroundings
- Buddy system
- Don't do anything you wouldn't usually do
- Don't go anywhere you wouldn't us usually go
- What if you are robbed or mugged?
    - – Stay calm
    - – Do not resist
    - – If they are after your camera, give it up!

Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues.

Scenario 1: Sally is Bob's old lady and has been for years. Yesterday though, I seen Sally get into Tim's car and drive away. I knew Bob wouldn't like that so I took a picture to show him.

- What seems to be happening here?

- What is going wrong?

- What could be done differently?

Scenario 2: Mindy takes a photo of Jason dealing from behind a bustop. Jason doesn't know that Mindy took the photo. Mindy shares the photo with the larger group and uses Jason's name.

- What seems to be happening here?

- What is going wrong?

- What could be done differently?

Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form

University of Manitoba and North Point Douglas Women's Centre Photovoice Project

Project Title:	Photovoice Project
Project Directors:	Jessica Senehi, Ph.D. & Emma Bonnemaison, M.A. Student University of Manitoba
Coordinators:	Ashlyn Stevenson & Bianca Ramos North Point Douglas Women's Centre

Form to be completed anytime photographer takes a picture of a person's face

What am I being asked to do?
I am asking that you give me your permission to take your picture.

Why are you taking these photographs?
I am taking pictures for the North Point Douglas Women's Centre Community Photovoice project, called "Our Safety, Our Streets". This photovoice project is being conducted to better understand gender violence and safety issues in the North Point Douglas community. To reach this goal, community members like myself will be equipped with cameras and asked to go into their community and photograph people, places and things that represent safe and unsafe space. The photographs taken will be used for the purpose of triggering discussion amongst others participating in the project, and to illustrate important ideas. The pictures may also be used in publications and presentations about the project. The names of people who appear in the pictures will not be used or disclosed; however, someone who sees the publications or presentations may recognize the images of people in the pictures. At the conclusion of the project, the photos will belong to me as the photographer.

Who are the people running this project? How can I call them?
This project is being run by the University of Manitoba.
* The project supervisor is Dr. Jessica Senehi. She can be reached at [redacted]
* The student investigator is Emma Bonnemaison. She can be reached at [redacted]

How will you use my picture?
After I have taken a certain number of pictures, I will bring them to a photo-discussion session. At this session I will meet with participants and we will discuss our pictures. There is also the chance that some of the photographs will be included in presentations about the North Point Douglas Women's Centre Community Photovoice project.

Will people know that I had my picture taken for your project?
To ensure "confidentiality", your name or any identifying information will never be mentioned during the discussions we have about our photos. Also, your name will not be revealed if your picture was included in any presentations or displays. Still, there is always the chance that somebody may recognize you. All photographs and information will be maintained in a confidential manner. Data will

be stored in computers that are password protected and all data will be secured in a locked storage file.

What will I get out of having my picture taken for your project?
You will have a chance to help the development of the North Point Douglas Women's Centre Community Photovoice project, a project that is aimed at improving the North Point Douglas Community through identifying safety strengths and concerns, raising awareness about the concerns and building on the strengths to improve our community.

Do I have to allow you to take my picture? Can I withdraw my consent to use my picture if I wish?
You do not have to have your picture taken. Further, if you decide at a later date that you do not want your picture discussed or displayed anywhere, you may contact any of the research investigators whose names and phone numbers are listed above and your picture(s) will be removed immediately from the collection. You do not have to give any reasons for withdrawing your consent. Remember, your willingness to be photographed is completely voluntary and you may decline at any time.

What if I have any questions about the project or my participation?
If you ever have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact Emma Bonnemaison at [redacted]

If you are willing to give your consent to having your (and/or your child's) picture taken, please fill out the following information, sign the bottom of the form, and return it to me. You may keep a copy of the form for yourself, in case you have any questions or concerns at a later date.

*If photographer is under 18 years of age, then the parent or guardian must sign below.

Consent

Having read the above information, I _____ (printed name), give permission to have my (and/or my child's) photograph taken for purposes of this project. I give _____ unlimited permission to copyright and use the photographs that may include me (and/or my child) in presentations about this project, as well as in publications. I have been told that I/my child will not be identified by name or by other background information. I waive any right that I (and/or my child) may have to inspect or approve the publication or use of the pictures.

University of Manitoba, we would like to provide you with a copy. Would you like a copy of the photo sent to you? _____Yes _____No

Would you like this sent to you by [ ] email or [ ] regular mail? (check one)

If you provide your address, we will send you an invitation to the photo exhibition.

Please print your name and address (street number, street name, city, and zip code):

_____

_____

Email Address: _____

"Photographee/Subject" Name

_____

"Photographee/Subject" Signature _____ Date _____

~ For Photographer Use~
Photo Title:
Description of photo:
Uploaded: ___yes, date:_____
Sent to subject:__yes, date:_____

*If Minors:

Parent/Guardian of "Photographee/Subject" Name _____

Parent/Guardian of "Photographee/Subject" Signature _____ Date _____

"Photographer" Name _____ "Photographer" Signature _____ Date _____

Thanks for your time and help!

This project is a collaboration between the University of Manitoba and the North Point Douglas Women's Centre and is funded by the Manitoba Research Alliance. The project is directed Dr. Jessica Senehi and Emma Bonnemaison.

Photovoice Project

Photovoice Ethics Agreement Form

Participant's Name: _____

In this Photovoice project, you and other participants will take pictures and share stories about safety for women in North Point Douglas. This is a chance to teach others about your life and your community.

By signing this ethics agreement form you also agree to follow the ethics of photovoice, which have been taught by the photovoice facilitators, Ashlyn, Bianca, and Emma. Please read below and sign your initials next to each statement to confirm that you have read and understand each ethic of Photovoice.

_____ I will not intrude into an individual's personal space both publicly and privately.

_____ I will not disclose embarrassing facts about individuals unless they have given me permission to do so.

_____ I will not misrepresent people in my photographs.

_____ I will respect the confidentiality of the stories that were discussed during the Photovoice sharing circles.

_____ I will get the signature of all individuals that I take photographs of.

_____ I will not reveal the name(s) of any persons in my photographs, and will not use them when discussing or writing about my photographs.

Signing this ethics agreement form means that you have read, understand and respect the ethics and privacy concerns involved in a photovoice project. If you do not follow these principles you may be asked to leave the project.

_____

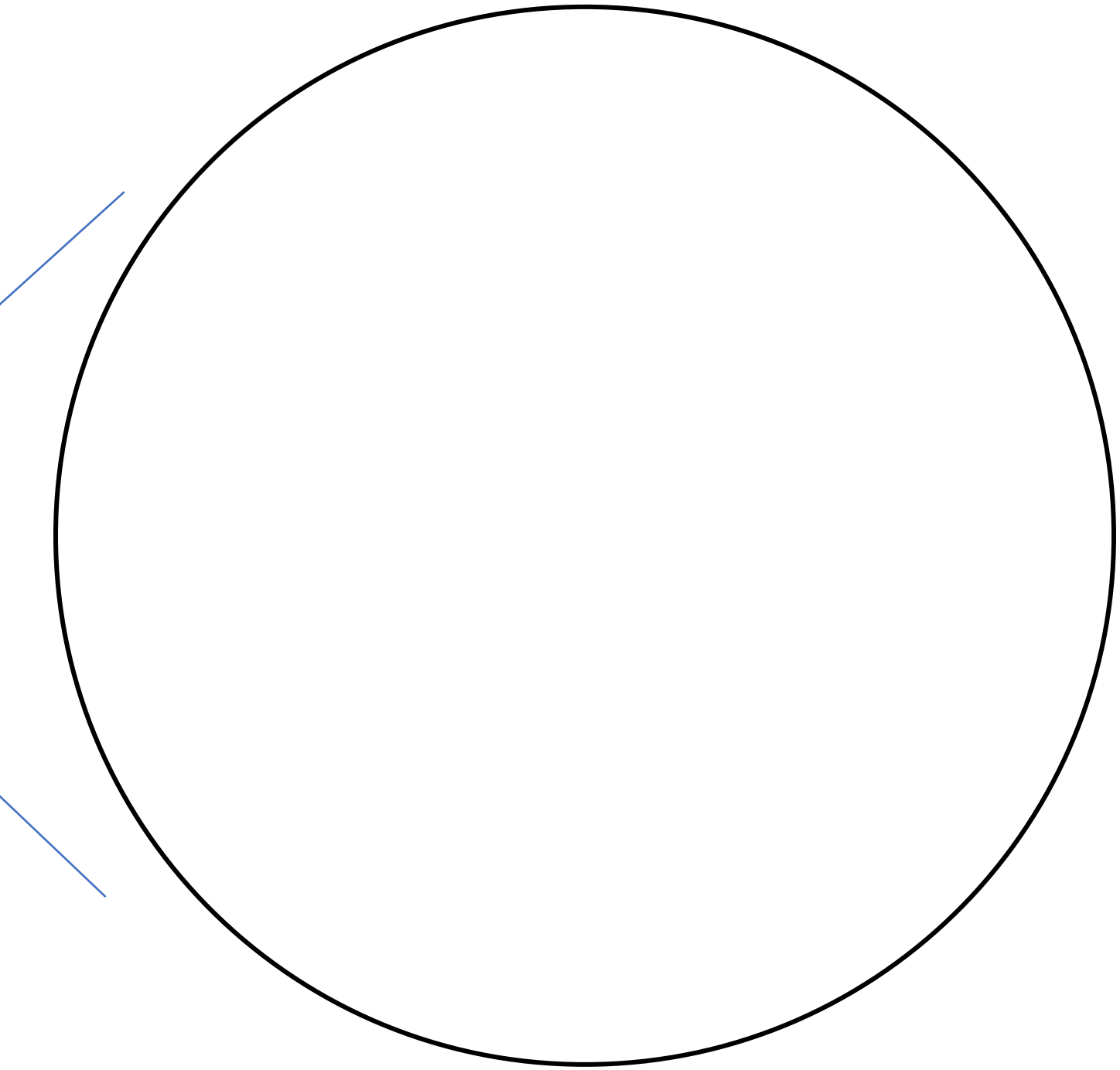
Print Your Name Here **Date of Birth**

_____

Sign Your Name Here **Today's Date**

This project is a collaboration between the University of Manitoba
and the North Point Douglas Women's Centre and is funded by the Manitoba Research Alliance. The project is directed Dr. Jessica Senehi and Emma Bonnemais

Medicine Wheel



Community Photovoice Project

Tasks for Next Session Sheet

Our Next Photovoice Session is:

Date:_____

Things I need to do for next Photovoice Session:

Things I need to bring for our next session:

Community Photovoice Project

Participant Feed Back Sheet

Name: _____

1) What was the best thing in today's session?

2) What would be something we could improve for next session?

3) Is there anything else you would like to share?

Thank you for your participation

What Matters to Me Worksheet- Things I am Proud Of

Think about **where you live** and **how you live** for this activity.

What Matters to Me Worksheet- Things I Want to Change

Think about **where you live** and **how you live** for this activity.

Photography 101 Handout

<u>Light</u> ~Pay careful attention to the light conditions in your photograph

- When trying to avoid harsh shadows, shoot photographs of people in covered shade so the light is more even across your subject(s). Cloudy days are good days for taking photos of people faces, because there are less shadows.

- Try to place the sun at your back when you are shooting your photographs. This will help you avoid backlit subjects with shadowy faces.

<u>Shooting</u> ~ When shooting a photograph, hold the camera steady and press button firmly. You may need to hold the button down for several seconds depending on the camera.

- You'll want to make sure your body is steady when you take your photographs. Hold the camera with both hands, with elbows against your body and feet spread apart. This helps to avoid camera shake, which leads to blurry and out of focus pictures.

<u>Subject</u> ~ Have a strong center of interest in your photograph

- Get as close as you can with your camera to include only what is needed in the frame. Photographs often have extra things in the frame that distract from the center of care.

<u>Framing</u>~ Pay attention to the background in your photo

- Watch for clutter or for an object like a telephone pole that might appear to be growing out of the subject's head on the final picture.
- Are there elements in your photograph's background that are important for telling the story you want to tell?

<u>Composition</u>~ Composition is the placement of elements (people, objects, environment) in a photograph within the restriction of the frame of the photograph

- Pay attention to how you arrange the people, objects, and environment in your photograph

Tips:

- **Experiment with different lighting. Remember that the flash will not reach very far at night. Be sure to limit night shots to objects that are within arm's length. You may need to use the flash even on a sunny day outdoors.**
- **Keep the sun behind the photographer when outdoors.**
- **Keep your finger away from the lens and flash**
- **Avoid using zoom unless you have to. You'll get better quality photos that way**

- **Take several photos – you can always go back later and choose the best one**
- **Experiment! There is always room to learn and grow as a photographer**

Seeing Through the Camera

"Photography helps people to see." – Berenice Abbott

"Photography is a magical kind of art that allows people to preserve time and moments, and to describe the world the way they see it." ― Sahara Sanders

A few tips to get you started...

- Be mindful of your surroundings
- Try to not rush your shots
- Don't be afraid to play with your camera
- Look beyond the obvious

9 Guidelines of Photographic Composition

1. Keep it simple
2. Rule of Thirds
3. Subject in Focus
4. Control the background
5. Use the power of lines/repetition of form
6. Horizontal vs. vertical orientation
7. Pay attention to light and shadow
8. Be imaginative and have fun

Community Photovoice Project

Camera 101

** The facilitator will need to review this information with all participants.

What are the parts?

How to take a picture?

How to download/print pictures? How to recharge the battery? How to keep it safe?

- keep away from food and beverages
- keep all doors/shutters closed when not in use
- use wristband
- keep in camera case when not using
- don't flaunt and become a target for someone to steal it from you

Community Photovoice Project

Camera Policy Form for Photovoice Participants

Participant's Name: _____

In the event that your camera is lost, broken, or stolen, you may still participate in the photovoice project but we will give you a disposable camera to use. You will not be given another digital camera.

It is also important that you do not lend the camera out or let anyone else use the camera during the photovoice project.

By signing this form, you agree that you will take good care of you digital camera and will not let anyone else use it during our photovoice project.

_____ Print Your Name Here

_____ Sign Your Name Here

_____ Witness Signature

_____ Date of Birth

_____ Today's Date

_____ Today's Date

Thanks for your time and help!

Community Photovoice Project

Acknowledgement of Camera Received

Date	Name	Signature	Witness
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
	6.		
	7.		
	8.		
	9.		
	10.		
	11.		
	12.		

Photography Scavenger Hunt

PhotoExercise

1. **Take an outdoor portrait**
2. **Take a photo of a creative angle**
3. **Bright colours**
4. **Close up and wide shot**
5. **Take a picture of something beautiful or hopeful**

Photography Practice Worksheet

You will have 20 minutes to practice taking photos. This activity will allow you to practice using your camera in the different modes. After you take each picture please check a box in the category you have taken the picture in and write a short description of the picture. This will help your memory later when we discuss the pictures.

You must have two photographs of people, so, you will need to use the photo release form.

Check	Description of the Photo	Why I took this Photo	Photo Release Form Obtained
1 ___			
2___			

Take same picture with each mode and think about what they produce/what you like/don't like

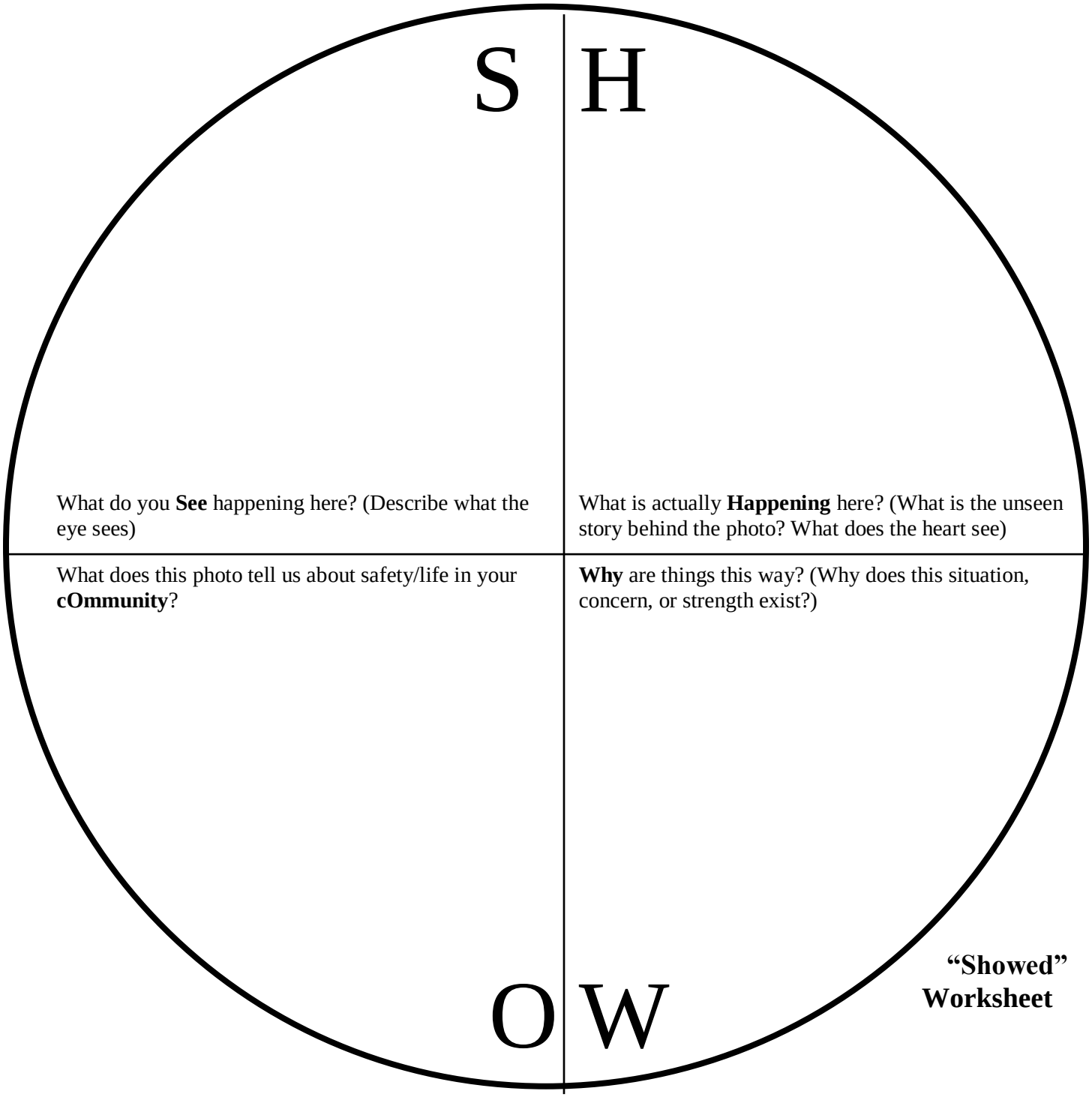
Mode	Description of the Photo	Comments/Why I took this Photo
1 (P)		
2 (iAUTO)		
3 ("hand")		
4 (SCN)	Also, note which scene setting you used	
5 (MAGIC)	Also, note which magic setting you used	

“Showed” Worksheet

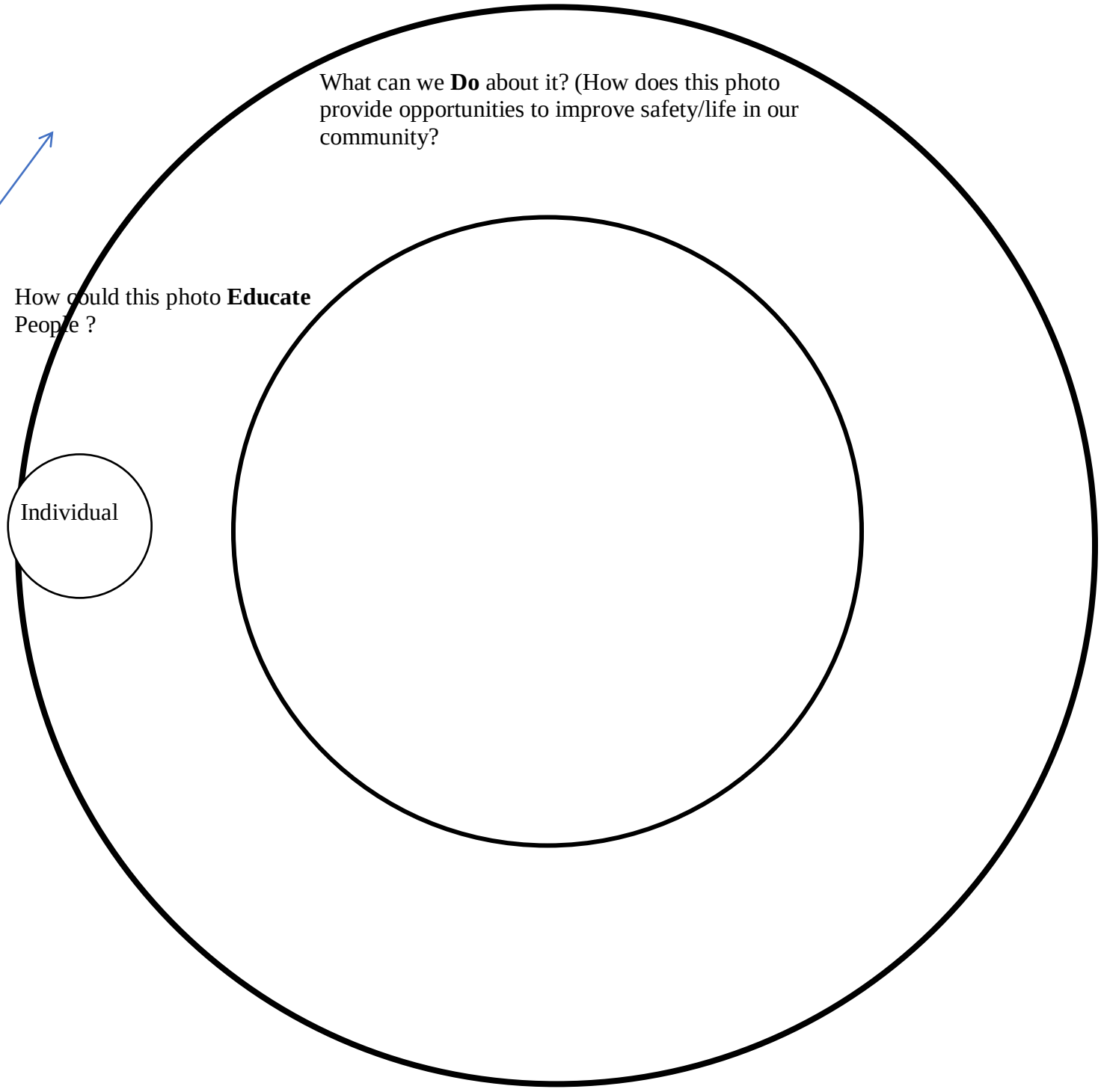
Your Name:
_____

Title of Photo: _____Date:
_____
Location:_____
_____

Caption (description of photo):
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____



"Showed" Worksheet


What can we **Do** about it? (How does this photo provide opportunities to improve safety/life in our community?
How could this photo **Educate** People ?
Individual

Participatory Data Analysis

We paid careful attention to using a community-based participatory research approach in the data analysis of this project. Thematic analysis was conducted in collaboration with the participants in several steps over the course of the project. Through both inductive and deductive thematic analysis we found the emergent themes aligned nicely with and supported existing theories in the literature.

Step 1: During each session participants engaged in a modified process of "SHOWeD" (see Appendix C) to ignite discussion about their photos. This yielded 172 photos, titles, and captions generated by participants. Emergent themes were summarized with participants after each session. The research facilitators also recorded field notes and reflections on the emergent themes.

Step 2: A draft summary report was created in collaboration with the photovoice participants. This document incorporated the most salient themes emergent in Step 1. These included both strengths and community-level concerns.

Step 3: The draft summary report of themes developed in Step 2 was presented to participants at a "reunion" session. Prior to sharing the draft summary report, participants worked in small groups to complete a pile sort activity to identify all salient themes based on a review of all photos, titles, and captions in the collection. The results of the pile sort activity were compared to the draft summary report.

Step 4: Following the reunion session, the research team (N=7) reviewed the entire photovoice collection to identify salient themes in the photos, titles, and captions. An additional pile sort process was repeated by two of the research team facilitators. Findings from this process were combined with the participant feedback collected in Step 3. The draft summary report was then revised by identifying themes that overlapped between the "outsider" (researcher) perspective and the "insider" (photovoice participant) perspective.

Step 5: Next, the revised 'draft' summary report was presented to participants for member checking, editing, and approval. Participants also identified relevant photos that corresponded with the themes for inclusion in the report.

Step 6: The research team facilitators and one photovoice participant refined the themes based on feedback gained in Step 5, added titles to the themes, and selected representative photos for each theme. In addition, themes were examined for theoretical constructs that may be related to the data. This resulted in a summary report that was presented to the participants for final approval. Printed copies of the summary report were distributed to participants to use as a tool to present data results to their community.

Reflection Documentation Worksheet

Session :_____

Now that we have discussed your photos as a group, take a few minutes to decide if you would like to make a "catchy title" for your photos, and write 3 to 5 sentence description that would hang on a plaque next to your picture, if selected for the exhibit.

Your Name:
_____
_____

PHOTO 1:
Title of Photo: _____Date Taken:
_____

Description of Photo:
_____

_____
_____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ____ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of
person(s):_____
___

PHOTO 2:
Title of Photo: _____Date Taken:
_____

Description of Photo:
_____

_____
_____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ____ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of person(s):
_____

What Are The Themes? Exercise

1. Think about all of the photos you took as well as the photos of others

2. One a note card – do this quickly. We want the first thoughts that come to mind (no more than 5 minutes)

A) Green Paper: Record 3-5 words or phrases that capture the main strengths about the community – things that people are proud of.

B) Yellow Paper: Record 3-5 words or phrases that capture the main challenges in the community – things that people want to improve.

3. In groups of 4, sort your words into common categories (15 minutes)

A) After they are sorted, record a title for each group of words.

B) Recorder will capture all words and titles for each group.

4. Present main themes we gathered from discussions so far (5 min)

STRENGTHS/PROUD OF	AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT
Ex/ We have outdoor places to relax/have fun	Ex/ Parks are dangerous at night

5. Do any of the themes remind you of previous themes that we talked about?

A) Were there any new themes?

B) Any previous themes that need to be revised?

(1 of 2)
Group Members:

_____
_____

Recorder: _____

Theme 1: Words:	Theme 2: Words:	Theme 3: Words:
Theme 4: Words:	Theme 5: Words:	Theme 6: Words:
Theme 7: Words:	Theme 8: Words:	Theme 9: Words:

Session 1 – Introductions

Time	Time Allotted	Topic	Facilitator
	20	Welcome/ Ice Breaker	
	15	Hand out binders Details of Project ~What is Photovoice? How has photovoice been used in other projects? What is Community-Led research? What will the research be used for? Looking at the Issue ~Calendar	
	30	Ground Rules Poster	
	5	Break	
	15	Photography: Power, Ethics, and Legal Issues • Ethics and Safety Guidelines handout • Photography Power handout • Agreement to Ethics commitment • Copies of photo release form	
	30	Mobility Map (10 minute) Sharing 20 minutes	
	30	Medicine Wheel /Photo Exercise	
	10	Assignment for next week • Think about what safety means to you in your community. Think of a safety strength and a safety weakness in the community.	
	5	Check In – One word to describe how you're feeling	

Session 2 – Photography 101

Time	Minute Allotted	Task	Facilitators Name
12:00-12:10	10	Icebreaker	
	5	Review from previous session • Review from Previous Session sheet • Ground rules • Photography Ethical Guidelines	
	25	Review Project Theme- and check in about assignment (think about what safety means to you in your community. Strength/Weakness • What Matters to Me exercise (15 minutes)	
	60	Photography 101 workshop; Cameras 101 Training • Photography 101 handout • Camera policy form • Acknowledgement of camera received form • Camera 101 handout	Brandy
	5	Break	
	60	Practice taking photos, discuss • Camera practice handout	
	10	Assignment for next session • Take Photos	
	5	Closing Check-In	

Session 3 – Photo Reflection 1

Voice record	Minutes Allotted	Task	Facilitator
	60	Upload photos and select 5 to share	
yes	**60**	Sharing Circle: Three small groups of 4 participants each ~Discussion about selected photos "SHO" ~Do as many as possible in the time allotted	
	5	Break	
	20	Regroup to Review Themes/Medicine Wheel	
	30	Work in Pairs ~Write titles and narratives for photos discussed as group (Photo Reflection Worksheet)	
	5	Assignment for next session ~Finish Photo Reflection Worksheets ~Complete Take 10 Worksheet ~Take Photos	

	5	Check-In	

Session 4 – Photo Reflection 2

Time	**Minutes Allotted**	**Task**	**Facilitator**
	40	Final upload for photos. Participants select 10/10 for project to share	
	60	Sharing Circle: Three small groups of 4 participants each ~Discussion about selected A: 5/5 photos "SHOW" ~Do as many as possible in the time allotted	
	5	Break	
	35	Themes Exercise 20 minutes Themes Sharing 15 Minutes	
	30	Work in Pairs ~Write titles and narratives for photos discussed as group (Reflection documentation worksheet)	
	5	Assignment for next session ~Cont. doing Reflection Documentation Worksheet ~Complete Take 10 Worksheet	
	5	Check-In	

Spring Break March 25-31st ~ Photo fieldtrip/uploading of photos/choosing photos for next session ~ Photo editing drop-in before next session

Session 5– Photovoice Themes

Time	**Minutes Allotted**	**Task**	**Facilitator**
	20	Choose last photos for people that took more during break	
	60	Sharing Circle Three small groups of 4 participants each ~Discussion about B: 5/5 photos variation of "showED". Concentrate on one of the "S/H/O/W" letters + "ED" ~Do as many as possible in the time allotted	
	5	Break	
	25	Theme Exercise	
	15	Theme sharing in larger group	
	25	Work in Pairs ~Write titles and narratives for photos discussed as group (Reflection documentation worksheet)	
	5	Assignment for next session	

		~Cont. doing Reflection Documentation Worksheet for last 5/5 ~Complete Take 10 Worksheet for last 5/5	
	5	Check-In	

Session 6– Safety Mapping- Mental/Physical/Emotional/Spiritual

Time	**Minutes Allotted**	**Task**	**Facilitator**
	20	In large group review all Themes and "EDs" on flipcharts.	
	60	Action map "Add/Preserve/Remove" exercise	**What do we want to do about this? Exhibit and ???**
	5	Break	
	60	NPD Action/Safety Map	
	15	Participants choose 2 exhibit photos	
	Remind	**Think about what you want in your bio/personal story for next session**	
	5	Check-In	

Session 7- Exhibit Planning and Celebration

Time	**Minutes Allotted**	**Task**	**Facilitator**
	60	Eat ~View and share insights on exhibit photos ~Make sure all photos, titles, captions are correct – edit if necessary	
	60	Exhibit planning + Biowriting (?)	
		Portraits with Brandy?	

APPENDIX C: COMMUNITY STRENGTHS AND ISSUES DOCUMENT

Culture of Hope	**Culture of Violence**
• Web of Solid Relationships • Family and loved ones • Community	• Loss of Older Generation • Loss of loved ones and siblings • Need for more elders
• Generations of Traditions and love • Ancestors we carry with us • "Our Nations" that are with us • Traditional Culture	• Intergenerational Trauma • Cycles of Poverty and Addiction • "Emotional Spirits that haunt"
• Collectively work towards community change for the next generation • Build on action and awareness work to help keep loved ones safe • "Change starts here" • "Culture of Hope"	• Violence • Domestic Abuse • Murder of loved ones • People need to look out for one another more • "Culture of Violence"
• More volunteer supports for community revival programs • More paid-work programs • Jobs for women • NPDWC has come a long way from its start and is ready to help support these types of programs	• Lack of lights – dark streets • Extra bushes by the river • Pot holes • Dirty streets • Dangerous Parks • Abandoned buildings • Lack of infrastructure • Neighbourhood Neglect • City Financial Issues
• Community members are capable and are making change happen • Community members are non-judgmental despite addictions/personal affairs (they are the peers of the community)	• -Name Redacted- as a community member and neighbor has created an environment of surveillance and intimidation • This individual presents a threat to community safety
• Photovoice • Grateful to share in circle • Togetherness • Change • Empowerment • This is an inspirational group • This is a motivational group	

APPENDIX D: COMMUNITY ASSET MAPPING DOCUMENT

The Setting

Photovoice participants were asked to use four different categories to talk about and describe the neighbourhood and community. These categories are:

Preserve- what is great about the neighbourhood that we want to keep and maintain?
Add- what should we bring to the neighbourhood to make it even better?
Remove – the neighbourhood would be improved if we could get rid of these things.
Keep Out – these harm the community and should never be allowed in.

PRESERVE

- Friendly people
- Family
- Good friendships
- Strong women
- Healthy animals

- Food/groceries
- Yale restaurant/Linda
- Money saving grocery stores instead of just convenience
- Neechi Commons
- Metro meats
- Grocery stores (x2)

- Green space/parks
- Beautiful park areas
- Local gardens
- History museum
- Zoe Zuken Park
- Park Michelle Jean
- Community gardens

- Youth opportunities
- Eagle Wing Day Care Centre
- Early eagle wing
- Programs for youth
- Healthy youth

- Cultural opportunities
- Elders
- The library – traditional books.
- MICEC
- Cultural teachings
- Cultural education centre (x2)

- Politics
- Nahanni Fontaine
- Kevin Chief

- Education
- Norquay community centre (x4)
- Elementary school
- Walking school bus

- Religion
- Grace Point
- Church
- Access to church service

- Supportive Resources
- Barber House (x3)
- Spiritual Centre's food banks
- Friendship Centre
- Food banks
- Mamawi (school too)
- Wahbung
- Resource places
- Mount Carmel clinic
- The History of Point Douglas
- North Point Douglas Women's Centre (x7)
- Carrie Program (methodone)

- Welcome Home (x3)
- Wednesday lunch (Welcome Home)
- Programs for women that come from abuse
- Siloam Mission
- Pizza Oven (x2)
- Austin Street Festival
- Walking School bus
- Opportunities for the community

ADD

- 24 hour safe space for adults
- 24 hour youth care centre
- youth programs
- safe houses
- safe space for homeless people
- JR. High School in our community
- All night drop in centre for youth
- Walking school bus for the distances
- Women finding their own voice
- Add unsafe parks
- Road upkeep
- Good housing that we can pay for
- Safe, affordable housing + free universal health care
- lighting
- proper lighting along the river
- street lights, more lights
- better housing, lighting on out streets
- 24 hour safe space for youth & women & men
- safe place for our children to walk the streets and not have to thing they are street workers
- 24/7 youth drop in
- Bike Dump
- Places like the Bike Dump but for vehicles
- Bear clan
- Keep patrol people especially during evening and night
- Strong women make strong communities
- Community led initiatives
- Keep building on community strengths
- Healthy supports for women on self-care opportunities

- More stores and businesses
- More second hand stores
- Listening to each other
- Free cats “spayed” or “neutered”
- More banks
- Acceptance of white or aboriginal
- More stores so we can shop in our community and close some of the clinics
- Non-judgmental support
- Accountability
- Opportunities
- More teachers to stand with children that do patrols
- More community cops/community patrols

- More drummers and singers (cultural)
- Education opportunities
- Status / knowledge/ resources

- Building knowledge and learning skills
- Indian status rights and awareness places
- Peoples who ask what the people need and not assume they know best
- Need more child abuse awareness and what to do on suspicions
- Experience – good properly educated people

- Funding
- More support for all community centres
- More help for seniors
- Free outings`
- Our people live on the reserves like third world country – look after our people too
- Get immigrants working
- Third world on reserve and newcomers

- Healthy affordable food resources
- Affordable food

- More traditional opportunities
- More culture teachings
- Traditional teachings
- More powwow dances from this community
- Ceremony – access to positive
- More traditional elders

- 24 hour day care
- 24 hour day care centre

REMOVE

- Pawn Shops (x2)
- Payday loan sharks

- Abuse/Violence (x2)
- Take people's hurt away
- Trauma and crises
- Guns
- Violence
- Anger
- Violent men
- Gang bangers
- Partner abuse

- Verbal abuse
- Domestic abuse
- Random violence

- Pharmacy (x3)
- Pharmacies (too many)
- Some of the pharmacies and clinics
- Less pharmacies
- Legalized drug dealers

- Garbage (x2)
- Garbage in the streets

- Drugs (x2)
- Crack Sellers
- Pill sellers
- Needles on the streets and in yards
- Addiction/alcoholism (x2)
- Drugs (pursuing our children)
- Drugs / Violence
  Meth Sellers
- Drunks in Public
- Crack Houses
- Drug Houses
- Drug para

- Bad Landlords
- Landlords who do not respect tenants
- Landlords who do not respect the law
- Slum landlords
- Slum landlords who throw the mattresses around
- Slum lords
- Slum LANDlords who do not help tenants
- Land lords who ask sexual favours
- Abandoned business and housing
- Rundown places
- Land lords who change too much
- Bad landlords eg. slum lords

- Sexual exploitation
- Pimps and johns
- Prevents (pigs)??
- Dirty cops
- Human trafficking

- Prostitution
- Sexism
- Pedophile
- Porno shops

- Child abuse
- Parents taking care of their children (responsibilities)
- Crappy parenting
- Child abusers
- Pedophiles

- Police Brutality
- Bully Police and bully people from our community groups

- Bars (x2)
- Paula "whitewashed" Neechi
- Stores that beat up customers
- Neechi foods
- Liquor stores
- The Sutherland
- The Northern Hotel (x3)
- Troubled Bars
- Bars and clubs

- Stereotypes
- Racism
- Racists community members (new)
- Hate
- Stigma
- Neglect
- Hatred
- Negative relationships in community
- Bitchiness
- Bullshit jealousy

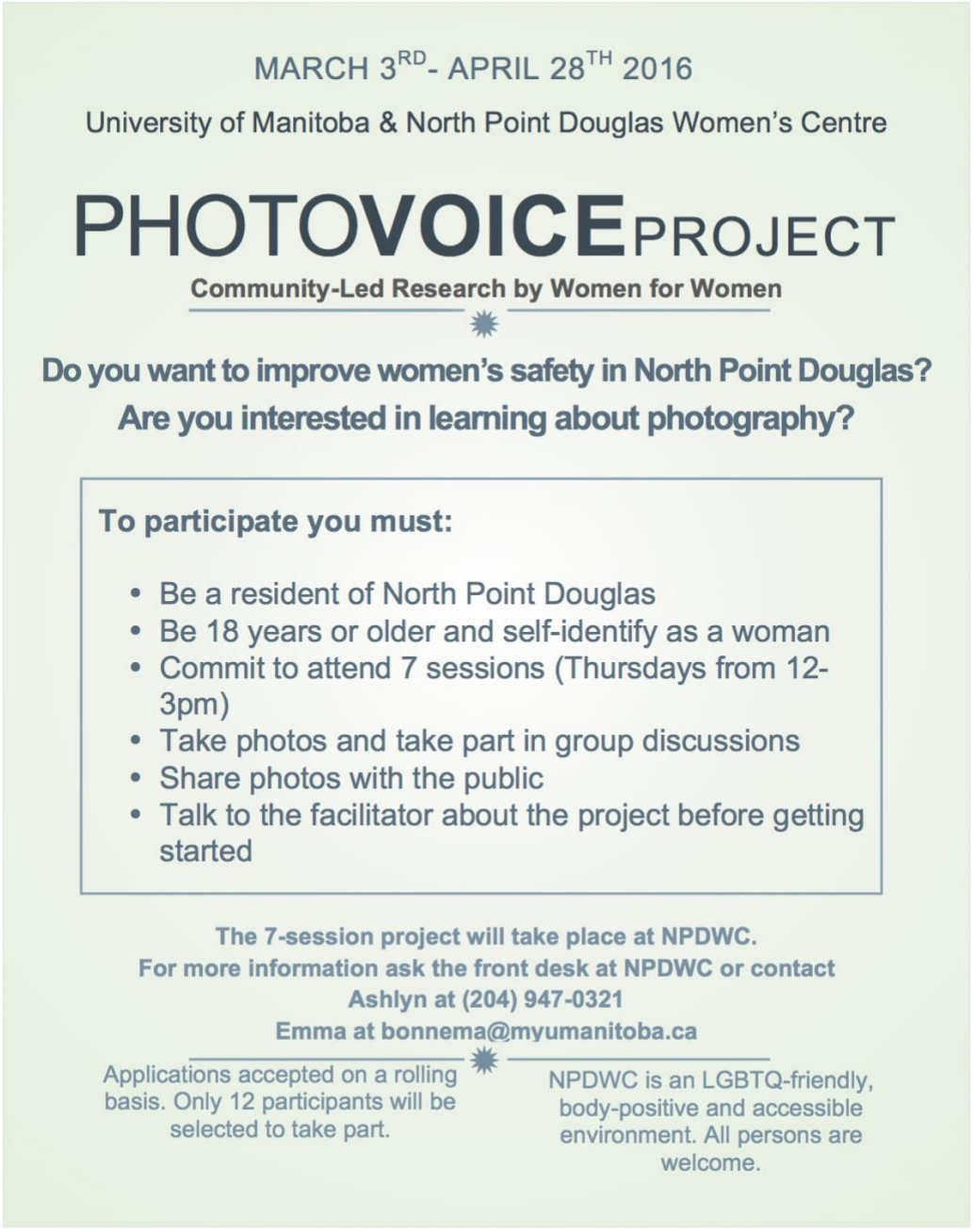
- Gossip
- Sel Burrows (x3)
- Stereotypical society
- People that abuse our community

KEEP OUT

- Creepy john's or guys hollering at women

- MMIW and girls
- Predators
- Murdered and missing indigenous women
- Misuse or trust / abuse of power & influence
- Riggin' food prices – so poor people can eat stuff that is just not from the food bank
- Negative energy
- Hateful/judgmental people
- Gang members
- Bad reporting
- Rising rent
- Violence
- Keep elite community out
- Gentry out
- Colonization
- Slum landlords
- Abuse
- Arguments
- Dirty journalism – poverty porn
- Stereotyping society
- Negativity
- Mentally abusive people
- Racism
- Gossip
- More place to live for low income families
- Negative people

APPENDIX E: PROJECT RECRUITMENT POSTER



ADDENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies

Arthur V. Mauro Centre
for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
252-70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone: (204) 474-6052
Fax: (204) 474-8828

Informed Consent Form
PHOTOVOICE

Study Name: The (UN) Safe City: Sexual Violence, Race, and Spatial Justice in Winnipeg

Researcher: Emma Bonnemaison
Masters of Arts (Candidate) in Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Manitoba
[redacted]

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Senehi
Department of Peace and Conflict Studies
[redacted]

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of Research: To gain information about the safety and gender violence issues in Winnipeg, Manitoba. I am interested in finding out more about how women experience unsafe public space in Winnipeg and what women are doing to combat gender violence in the city.

What you will Be Asked to do in the Research:
North Point Douglas Women's Center Photovoice Participants*:* You will participate in a photovoice project with a group of women from North Point Douglas. By agreeing to participate in the project, you are agreeing to take photos of safety issues in your neighbourhood and to talk about your photos with the larger women's group. The project will take place over 2 months with up to 7 sessions ranging from 2-3 hours each. I will provide you with a camera and copies of your photographs. All the sessions will be audio-taped. Participants are free to leave the project at any time for any reasons.

You may also be asked to refer people to the study in a research technique called the snowball-approach. This means asking others you know that would like to participate in the study. There is no requirement to do this, it is simply an option.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You:
North Point Douglas Women's Center Photovoice Participants*:* The benefits of participating in this project include mapping unsafe space/safety issues in your community and learning important research skills. This project will contribute to a stronger understanding of women's experiences of safety issues and violence in our communities. You will be provided with a $25 honorarium for 6 of the 7 sessions.

Risks and Discomforts: Because we will be talking about safety issues and violence in North Point Douglas, some participants may choose to talk about their own experiences of violence that can be an emotional topic to talk about. There will be counseling services available if participants would like to talk further about their experiences. Additionally, participants will be asked to take photographs in their neighbourhood of space that they perceive to be safe and unsafe. There will be a meeting to discuss safety protocols before participants take photographs within their neighbourhood. These are photos of places that you visit and walk through everyday by yourself, with your partners, and with your friends and family. You will not be asked to put yourself in danger in order to take a photograph or participate in the project in any way.

Confidentiality: All information that you provide in the photovoice sessions will be confidential, unless you specifically give me permission to include any identifying information. Your name will not appear in any publications unless you clearly give consent. With your consent, photovoice sessions and/or interviews will be audio-recorded using a locked digital recorder. Once the recording has been transcribed, the audio-recording and notes will be destroyed. Transcripts will be rendered anonymous after analysis is completed for this research.

Withdrawal from the Study: Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating in the photovoice sessions and withdraw the information you provided at any time. Your decision to not participate, or to refuse to answer any questions will not impact your relationship with me or the University of Manitoba. If you choose to withdraw from the study, any associated collected data will be promptly destroyed. <u>If you choose to withdraw from the study please do so before June, 2016.</u> You will be able to contact me through my University email account or cellphone at any time to change the status of your participation. I will contact you by either phone or email before the publication of any materials derived from the interview or photovoice project to make sure you are still willing to participate in the study.

Debriefing: There will be a debriefing session after the photovoice project where participants can review the materials and choose to withdrawal any information they do not want to be included in the final document.

Dissemination: The information collected from you will be used in my thesis. You will have the option to receive a brief (1-3 pages) summary of the results of this study by December 2016. You can either have this summary mailed or emailed to you.

Questions about the Research: If you have any questions about this research or your role in the research please feel free to email me ([redacted] or by phone [redacted] This research has been reviewed and approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board and follows the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. The University of Manitoba may look at my research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Do you consent to having your session recorded? Yes ___ No ___
Participant Signature: _____
Date: _____
Email or address you may wish to have a study summary sent to you:
_____

Researchers signature: _____
Date: _____

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at [redacted] or by email at [redacted] A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.