



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

**ABORIGINAL MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST ABORIGINAL
WOMEN IN CANADA**

WANDA JAMIESON

**Submitted to the Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa, in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts**

**Ottawa, Ontario
May, 1987**

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-40708-5



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Maria Los, my thesis supervisor, for her advice in preparing this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation for the individuals who, despite their busy schedules, responded to the survey. Finally, I would like to thank Michael, Jessica and Sonja for their patience and support.

ABSTRACT

This thesis locates the phenomenon of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners within the broader context of changing social and gender relations occurring in Aboriginal societies post European contact. Applying the principles of feminist-materialism, this thesis examines how the process of European colonization disrupted the economic and social organization of Aboriginal communities, changing the role and status of Aboriginal women in traditional family structures and community affairs.

Preliminary research indicates that currently, the problem of Aboriginal male spouse/partner abuse is widespread. However, a review of the literature revealed that few Canadian studies have sought to explain the origins or specific nature of this phenomena. Generally speaking, male violence against women in Canada has been depicted as a universal issue, based on an assertion that women share a biological biography. While the issue of race and class are, to some degree, acknowledged as added dimensions of women's oppression, they are not areas which have not been particularly well addressed in Canadian feminist theory on male violence.

In examining the situation of Aboriginal women in Canada, the feminist-materialist perspective directs us to greater specificity in the analysis of the unique material and ideological dynamics which inter-

penetrate and produce Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women. Thus, this thesis begins by merging a number of multi-disciplinary (but fundamentally materialist) perspectives to establish the theoretical framework and historical context upon which an examination of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners can be based. On the basis of this literature, it is argued that neither class, gender, or racial oppression can take primacy in the analysis. The contemporary experiences of Aboriginal women cannot be theoretically reduced to one of these spheres.

The colonization process disrupted the egalitarian basis of Aboriginal societies at the level of material production. Ultimately, it is argued, the colonization process resulted in the depreciation of the position and status of Aboriginal women in Aboriginal societies. The imposition of European ideological forms - particularly patriarchal institutional structures upon Aboriginal societies appears to have demoted Aboriginal women to a greater degree than it demoted Aboriginal men.

In order to acquire practical, contemporary data concerning the issue of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners, a survey of experts actively engaged in Aboriginal women's issues was conducted. Three categories of experts were surveyed: experts from Aboriginal women's advocacy groups; experts from Aboriginal-run shelters for Aboriginal women;

and experts from general shelters which serve a high percentage of Aboriginal clientele.

This survey revealed that Aboriginal experts were more likely to consider the structural and ideological dimensions of the problem of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women as uniquely related to the process of colonization. The non-Aboriginal experts from general shelters were more likely to view the problem in a universalistic framework.

) Differences also emerged in the area of solutions. Aboriginal experts were less likely than the non-Aboriginal experts to endorse the use of the Canadian criminal justice system as presently constructed, to deal with Aboriginal spouse abuse. This appears to reflect the alienation which Aboriginal people generally have experienced in dealing with the Canadian state.

It would be erroneous to directly read the social and gender relations in Aboriginal societies directly from the relationship of these societies to the Canadian state. Colonial oppression also engendered group solidarity, evidenced in the survival of indigenous cultural forms and practices to present day. Thus further research is required to examine the extent to which European social control mechanisms were absorbed, adapted, or resisted at individual community levels and at the level of the family forms.

Such research could concretely explore the relationship between patriarchy and male violence against women in cross-cultural terms.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	
TABLE I - Location of Responding Organizations	85
TABLE II - Perceived Severity of Aboriginal Male Violence Against Aboriginal Spouses/Partners	94
TABLE III - Perceived Awareness of Aboriginal Male Violence Against Aboriginal Spouses/Partners Among Aboriginal Communities	99
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	
A. Aboriginal Women as Victims of Violence: a Pressing Research Issue	1
B. Focus of this Study	5
C. Approach	6
D. Overview of Methodology	13
Theoretical Framework	16
Data Sources Concerning Contemporary Aboriginal Male Violence Against their Spouses/Partners	21
Opinion Survey of Key Experts on Aboriginal Women's Issues	25
CHAPTER 2 - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	
A. Criminology, Colonialism and Underdevelopment	34
B. Impact of Colonialism on Aboriginal Women	50
Position of Aboriginal Women in Aboriginal Societies Prior to European Contact	51
Changes Resulting from European Contact	57
C. Contemporary Position of Aboriginal Women	65
D. Characteristics of Violence Against Aboriginal Women	69
Incidence	70
Explanations of Aboriginal Male Spouse/Partner Abuse	72
Comparison with Indigenous Male Spouse/Partner Abuse in Other Colonized Nations	78
E. Conclusions	

CHAPTER 3 - RESULTS OF THE EXPERT OPINION SURVEY

A. Introduction	84
B. Description of Respondents	84
C. Perceived Type and Severity of Violence	89
D. Perceived Causes and Emergence of Violence	93
E. Services	96
F. Awareness of the Problem	98
G. Solutions	101
H. Role of the Family	105
I. Role of Elders	105
J. Role of Aboriginal Organizations and Associations	106
K. Satisfaction with Aboriginal Governmental Responses	108
L. Satisfaction with Provincial Governmental Responses	109
M. Satisfaction with the Federal Government's Response	111
N. Summary	112

CHAPTER 4 - THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Introduction	114
B. Theoretical Implications	114
Political Economy of Colonization and Gender	117
Colonization and the Ideology of Patriarchy	122
Patriarchy and Violence Against Aboriginal Women	124
C. Implications for Practice	129
D. Solutions	133
E. Conclusions	136

REFERENCES	137
------------	-----

APPENDIX A	153
------------	-----

Letter sent to respondents	
Questionnaire Form A	
Questionnaire Form B	
Coding Sheet	

PREFACE

The term Aboriginal women, as used in this study, broadly refers to all women of Indian, Inuit and Métis descent in Canada. Despite the fact that there are significant social, cultural and legal distinctions among these women, there is a unifying feature among their experiences since the time of European colonial expansion: the economic and social disruption of their communities, of their traditional family life and of their role in community affairs. In this study, violence directed at Aboriginal women by Aboriginal men is explored as one highly negative outcome of this complex process of change.

Before beginning, however, it is useful to briefly provide an overview of the major categorical distinctions which one encounters in researching Canada's Aboriginal population, as from time to time it will be necessary to refer to specific groupings.¹

Since the imposition of colonial rule, Aboriginal persons have been defined by the Canadian state according to legal and quasi-legal categories

1 A more detailed description and history of the definitional issues concerning Canada's Aboriginal population is contained in Frideres (1983) and Opékokew (1986).

rather than by cultural groupings. What is most significant to note in this regard is the legal difference between status, or registered Indian persons and non-status Indians. Status Indians are those persons of Aboriginal descent who fall under the federal legal jurisdiction of the Indian Act. The federal government has grouped status Indian persons into "bands", which represent individual political/administrative entities. As such, these persons are entitled to special political, social and economic rights and privileges as a result of this status. Until 1985, non-status Indians represented Indians who either:

- a) never registered under the Indian Act;
- b) lost their registered status through a process known as enfranchisement;
- c) in the case of female Indians, lost their registered status through marriage to a non-Indian; or
- d) were the children of persons in either category.

On June 28, 1985, Section 12 (1) (b) of the Indian Act was repealed. This has enabled formerly registered Indian women and their children who were enfranchised through marriage to a non-Indian or through the enfranchisement of their husband to become reinstated as status Indians.

This process has made an estimated 17,680 women and some 40,000 children eligible for re-instatement as Status Indians. The historical impact of this particular section of the Indian Act will be discussed in greater detail in this study.

Métis persons are those persons who are the descendents of mixed (Indian/white) marriages. Although some persons in this category may identify themselves as non-status Indian, a distinctive Métis culture with a specific history has emerged. These persons are currently denied special privileges and rights, a position which has continued to cause bitter debate in their relations with the federal government.

The Inuit population of Canada's north is under the direct federal jurisdiction through the British North America Act.

According to the 1981 census, the Aboriginal population constituted 491,460 persons, approximately 2% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 1984). The distribution among the groups identified above was at that time as follows:

<u>Status Indians</u>	<u>Non-Status Indians</u>	<u>Métis</u>	<u>Inuit</u>
292,705 (59.6%)	75,110 (20.0%)	98,260 (15.3%)	25,390 (5.2%)

The accuracy of these figures is a subject of controversy. This is due to some germane and technical problems in carrying out the Census (see

Statistics Canada, n.d., pp.64-82) and, more importantly, a claim by the ~~Native Council of Canada~~ that the figures represent a significant under-representation of Métis people (MacQueen, 1983). Further, as a result of the repeal of Section (1) (b) described above, the proportion of non-status Indians will also shift as more individuals become reinstated.

The actual creation of and subsequent changes in the legal status of Aboriginal people are the product of decisions made by the Canadian government. Aboriginal people themselves have not been able to define their own constituency, which has had profound impact on their history and this fact will undoubtedly continue to affect their destiny until their constitutional status is politically resolved.

These legal distinctions, combined with concerns about human rights considerations, pose distinct problems for research, in that empirical data are rarely systematically gathered unless there are specific "funding" arrangements in question. (such as federal/provincial transfer payments for services, and education, which in some instances are delivered by the province to Status Indians). As Frideres (1983) has pointed out, the definitions created and imposed on Aboriginal people coupled with the problems in obtaining reliable data often make it difficult for Aboriginal people to substantiate their concerns on important issues. This serves to support a "divide and conquer" mentality to examining Aboriginal issues.

Finally, it is also important to recognize that there are limitations to conducting a study which globally considers Aboriginal people. The considerable historical, cultural and material diversity among Aboriginal societies, coupled with changes rendered through the process of colonization should not be underestimated. Thus the generalizations observed in this thesis will undoubtedly exhibit variations at local levels. Social, cultural and geographical differences are, however, noted in so far as possible where particularly significant to the argument being presented.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

A. Aboriginal Women as Victims of Aboriginal Male Violence: A Pressing Research Issue

Violence against women by men has emerged as an urgent, multi-dimensional issue over the past one and a half decades in North America. Despite the proliferation of countless governmental studies, research reports and programs to combat this form of violence, little theoretical research has focused on the distinct experiences of minority women and the historical, social and cultural contexts of their victimization. As Dobash and Dobash commented in 1978 (Dobash and Dobash, 1978), many contemporary accounts of violence against women are thus hampered by an abstract generality, a largely ahistorical approach and a neglect of a broader social theory of gender relations. Consequently many studies lack the depth and breadth which can contribute to specific, long term strategies to combat violence of this nature.

Unfortunately, this observation still applies to the Canadian situation. Although the feminist movement in Canada has been heralded as "more continually aware of the many deep social divisions between women... particularly willing to tolerate diversity, understand split loyalties, negotiate

compromises as well as engage in common struggles" (Barrett and Hamilton, 1987, p.4) it is not well informed at a theoretical level about the experiences of Aboriginal women as they pertain to specific issues. In part, this would appear to reflect a tension arising between the desire to depict women's issues, such as violence, as universal experiences of women and the unexplored reality of material and ideological differences between women which might shatter this myth. Thus, paradoxically, in the case of male violence against women, few Canadian studies to date have sought to explain the disturbing picture which appears to be emerging for Aboriginal women. In the North West Territories, it has been suggested that one in four Dene women has been a victim of wife abuse (North West Territories, Dept. of Information, October 1985, p.2). According to a recent report on wife-battering in Ontario, 70% of Aboriginal respondents felt wife-battering was a common experience (Riddell and Doxtator, 1986, p.14). These studies have also suggested that Aboriginal women perceive fewer options than mainstream Canadian women to free themselves from abusive situations. Many Aboriginal women appear reluctant to involve the criminal justice process, and culturally appropriate social services are not often available.

At a practical level, the situations of abused Aboriginal women have been "officially" recognized as significant and distinct by government. The June, 1986 reports prepared by federal and provincial governments for the

Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering do, in some instances, address battered Aboriginal women as an special area of concern requiring culturally appropriate measures (Canada. Status of Women Canada, 1986). In a recent presentation to the U.N. Expert Group Meeting on Violence in the Family with Special Emphasis on its Effects-on-Women held at Vienna, 8-12 of December 1986, The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women proudly referred to innovative wife-battering projects concerning Aboriginal women in rural areas (United Nations Secretariat, 1987). However, without denying the very real and very practical achievements which have been made in dealing with the issue of wife-battering in Canada, the theoretical basis upon which this response has been constructed pertaining to Aboriginal women has been neglected. This is not to suggest that Aboriginal women are entirely marginalized or invisible in Canadian feminist discourse, for clearly they are included in the 'rhetoric'. In theoretical and real practical terms, however, their interests still appear to be eclipsed by mainstream feminism.

The signification of 'Aboriginal women' as a special needs group can be interpreted as the implied recognition of a particular class, gender, and social relation, however the simultaneous impact of these relations has not been theoretically examined. In a general way, this research attempts to explore and initially connect the dynamics of these relations. A growing body

of research by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons has illuminated some critical dimensions of Aboriginal societal development and underdevelopment in Canada. The particular experiences of Aboriginal women vis a vis their position to Aboriginal men have not been systematically documented in light of that knowledge (Jamieson, 1981, 1982). What kinds of changes in the fundamental relationship between Aboriginal men and women have occurred? What bearing does the status of Aboriginal women have upon a propensity of Aboriginal men to beat them?

Moreover, only a few studies have examined how the institutional arrangements of the Canadian state have affected Aboriginal women. Specifically within the field of criminology itself, few studies have attempted to theorize the relationship between Aboriginal persons and criminal and social justice in Canada. As LaPrairie (1984, pp. 25-27) and Haveman (1984) have commented, almost no attention has been paid to Aboriginal women despite their overrepresentation as both offenders and victims in criminal justice processing. As criminologists move toward a greater appreciation of the function of the state as an agent of social control, this is an important question.

Moreover, violence against women represents a pressing criminal justice issue. A significant part of the solution to this problem which has been formulated by the Canadian state has involved the transfer of the issue of

wife-beating from its location as an acceptable social practice to the criminal justice sphere. As such, the various components of the criminal justice system are conceived as the message-bearers of growing societal intolerance for such male behaviour. Police in various jurisdictions have been instructed to lay charges in all cases of wife assault in which they are called to investigate; crown prosecutors are directed to proceed with cases even though the victim has requested that charges be dropped; and men are going to jail. The impact of this criminal justice involvement within the larger realm of an endemic societal problem needs to be carefully considered, and thus also comprises a central component of the following analysis.

B. Focus of this Study

This study attempts to theoretically situate the context of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women. In particular, the focus of this study is upon violence inflicted upon Aboriginal women by their Aboriginal spouses or partners. While it is recognized that male violence may manifest itself in other forms, such as pornography, sexual assault, and so forth it, is not within the scope of this study to investigate these aspects.

Using the principles of feminist-materialism, the study examines how the process of colonialism and the imposition of a pervasive, western, In-

herently patriarchal power structure affected social/gender relations in Aboriginal societies. How did European colonization and the consequential change in the 'mode of production' and 'relations of production' within Aboriginal society render changes in gender relations? What is the meaning of societal changes emanating from this process in terms of how violence is socially defined and directed toward Aboriginal women? What are the criminal justice policy implications for strategies to deal with the question of violence against Aboriginal women as these societies embark on a transformation to self-governing societies?

C. Approach

The diversity of the feminist movement itself has resulted in a number of distinct approaches to the study of spouse/partner abuse. In this case, the feminist-materialist perspective which asserts that a full, connected understanding of violence against women most essentially requires focused attention on locating the broader historical and social context in which violence against women occurs was chosen as the guiding analytical framework (Dobash and Dobash: 1984, p. 269 - 288, and 1978).

Feminist materialism takes its inspiration from the historical materialism of Marx and Engels, but it centralizes the trans-historical ideological and sexual oppression of women alongside economic exploita-

tion in the analysis. This involves a consideration of how the forces of production and reproduction mediate the social and gender relations within a given social formation at a given historical moment.

This central problem has led to considerable theoretical diversity among Marxist feminist scholars (Beechey, 1979, pp. 81-82; Connelly, 1987, pp. 241-248; Brittan and Maynard, 1984.). Constructing a feminist perspective from the materialist orientation has proven difficult, as neither Marx nor Engels's writings in respect to gender constitute a comprehensive view, focusing almost exclusively on the economic oppression contained within a specific mode of production: capitalism. The classic Marxist piece on the oppression of women is contained in Engels's The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State (1972, originally published in Germany in 1884). Here he argued that changes in property ownership and thus economic structure created a reduction in the presumed equal status of women which existed in the communal mode of production. Further, he maintained that removing women from the sphere of domestic labour and employing them in socialist organized, public industry would bring about their emancipation. This analysis has proved unsatisfactory in light of its placement of sexual relations and biological reproduction outside the definition of class relations (Bland et al., 1978; Brittan and Maynard, 1984, p. 51). A continuing, often hotly debated feminist theoretical discourse is attempt-

ing to construct a viable analysis of the role and position of women in Marxist theory by problematizing the oppression of women as a one of power via an examination of patriarchal ideology (see Beechey, 1979; Smart, 1984, pp.3 - 23 and Brittan and Maynard, 1984 for a summary of this debate). Patriarchy may thus be seen as an ideological practice which transcends various 'modes of production' (for example, see Kuhn and Wolpe: 1978; O'Brien: 1979; Leacock: 1986).

The relationship of gender and class is only one aspect of the problem, however. And transition through this requisite macro-level of analysis must be carefully carried out, as the structure of male/female gender relations in terms of socially organized positions and lived experience is complex and intertwined in any given culture. Indeed, one of the nagging difficulties which has emerged for feminist theorists is the very task of developing an appropriate conceptual framework which could explain violence against women trans-culturally. Typically, the problem perceived by mainstream "western" feminist scholars involved in such cross-cultural endeavours would appear to be in following an analytical path which is sensitive to cultural behavioural variations yet uniformly critical of oppressive features of male violence against women which are believed to be contained within those formations. Certainly the easiest way to avoid getting lost is not to ven-

ture too far down the path, a position which has often lost theoretical development in a quagmire of cultural relativism (Yawney: 1984).

More directly problematic is a tendency within the mainstream feminist literature concerning violence against women to mechanically employ an often nebulously defined concept of patriarchy as a key oppressive "constant" of violence against women in all cultures. While feminist-materialist research involves exploring how patriarchy transcends various 'modes of production', various cultural formations and various family formations, theorists have been unable to agree upon a definition of patriarchy for comparative analysis. In the context of Aboriginal societies in Canada, what is required is a definition which can encompass hierarchical differences among Aboriginal men, cultural variations and an extended family form. In the absence of a cross-cultural conceptual dialogue feminists have largely neglected to substantively enrich or critically validate the knowledge base on specific issues relevant to these economic and cultural variations, particularly outside of the dominant Western experience (Yawney, 1984, pp. 13-15).

The consequences of such theoretical omissions are paralyzing to the further development of feminist-materialist theory at the global level. Even within the boundaries of "western" culture, the feminist concentration on explorations of patriarchal relations has not been in itself successful in disen-

tangling the enmeshed reality in which distinctive groups of minority women in these cultures really live.

Most fundamental in this respect is the lack of rigorous attention to the dynamic relationships among race, culture, social class and gender and how these relations are constructed through economic, political and ideological practices (Eisenstein, 1984; Brittan and Maynard, 1984). Speaking more critically, many Third World women living in western societies have questioned the relevance of "western" feminist notions of a universal feminist consciousness, oppressed by a universal set of controllers (see, for example Carby, 1982). To what extent might the notion of universality impose an analytical framework which may not fit all cultures and classes throughout time? Does the notion of universality not betray the principle of historical specificity outlined by Marx? On the other hand, to what extent does the parallel tagging of gender and race onto a materialist framework miss the nature and complexity of oppression which minority women face? What theoretical alternatives can be developed?

The traditional argument western feminists present for the cross-cultural gap on the problem of violence against women is that at both conceptual and practical levels, this work is best left to indigenous persons who know their culture and can identify their appropriate needs. Clearly this principle is of critical importance at the levels of theory and practice and

these persons should lead the agenda. In the Canadian context, at a practical level, these voices are now being heard. At the 11th annual assembly of the Native Women's Association of Canada, a resolution was passed to initiate action to develop appropriate service and support systems for Aboriginal women who are battered. Aboriginal women are tackling this issue through community awareness development, the creation of shelters and so forth. Aboriginal women have effectively mobilized around issues particular to their welfare and that of their children. The Native women's movement was able to successfully mobilize to challenge the discriminatory sections of the Indian Act (Section 12), which ultimately led to the repeal of those sections in 1985. Similarly, Manitoba Indian women were able to successfully fight for the transfer of child welfare services to local Indian control.

These examples clearly represent a positive trend. It is nonetheless compelling for 'mainstream' feminists to inform themselves about these projects in order to facilitate a constructive two-way dialogue on both the theoretical and practical aspects of such issues which appear as "universal" as violence against women does. Such a dialogue has been opened in Britain as the result of the 'immigration issue' which erupted in Britain following the immigration of former colonial peoples to the mother country in the seventies (see, for example University of Birmingham, Centre for Cul-

tural Studies, 1982). Barrett and McIntosh (1985), have presented an apologetic critique of their previous writings on the family from the perspective of its "ethnocentric" biases. Judging by the considerable debate and critical reaction to this article, (Ramazanoglu, 1986; Kazi, 1986; Less, 1986; Mirza, 1986) it seems timely that Canadian feminist theorists begin to concretely explore the contradictions in women's interests which are created by the complexity of class, gender and race in contemporary societies.

In Canada, most importantly there is a need among researchers to grasp and understand that Aboriginal issues are thickly intertwined with the historic colonial oppression and the contemporary struggle for independence. Therefore, an understanding of the victimization of Aboriginal women cannot be analytically isolated from the experiences of Aboriginal men.

In conclusion, communication from different cultural perspectives, which clearly outlines the assumptions from which that communication is proceeding, can enhance objectivity and can ensure a critique of the extant positions. Such criticism may be painful personally and politically, on both sides, but is nonetheless necessary to achieve a full understanding of the issue of violence against women. Networking has long been regarded as a strength of the women's movement and the benefits of sharing, co-ordinating and critiquing strategies on similar issues and publicizing feminist action

outside the community of origin have proven effective mechanisms for promoting change (Feminist Perspectives, 1980). Effective communication not only helps to make ethnocentric biases and conceptual faults contained in theoretical formulations and practical solutions visible, but provides a forum in which they can be confronted. Such confrontation can lead to better theory and better practical understanding of women's issues which will ultimately contribute to the advancement of human rights and human dignity of women globally.

D. Overview of Methodology

A major objective of this thesis is to develop a theoretical framework which can generate meaningful hypotheses about Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses or partners. Assuming that an understanding of the contemporary significance of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women can only be achieved through a dialectical analysis which situates the phenomenon in its historically given context, feminist-materialism was chosen as the primary theoretical orientation. As previously described, feminist-materialism draws its fundamental organizing assumptions from the method of historical materialism - i.e. that social relations within individual social practices have their own dynamics and specific

contents which are related to other social practices within the social formation (Sumner, 1979, p. 209). All social relations are underpinned by the material forces of production and reproduction. However, this is not a mechanistic process whereby social relations precisely mirror or are exclusively determined 'in the last instance' by economic forces as argued by Althusserian structuralism¹ as this reductionist position has been decidedly rejected by Marxist-feminist scholars (Brittan and Maynard, 1984).

The feminist perspective has sought to clarify the concept of gender relations within the conceptual framework of specific social contexts which are created and recreated through human actions (Gersons and Peiss, 1985, p. 317) and it is upon this literature that the methodology employed in this study began its lead. While such an approach acknowledges the phenomenon of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women in terms of a more general, historically situated understanding of gender relations among Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women, it still ignores the large and complex relationship between Aboriginal women and the state. Thus an approach was sought which would acknowledge the phenomenon of

1 See Benton (1984) and Sumner (1979) for a critical analysis of the Althusserian perspective in general; and Bland et al. (1977) for an assessment of its utility to feminist Marxism in particular.

Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women in terms of a more general, historically situated understanding of social relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal society in addition to gender relations between Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women.

Given the real paucity of reliable data on this question, this presents a formidable task. Because of the limited knowledge base in this specific area of concern, a general strategy of theoretical and data triangulation was incorporated into the research design. It is recognized that an analysis at this general level of theory yields only very generalized observations which will have to be tested in reference to specific situations. This research can only, in a preliminary way, outline some theoretical parameters for such further research.

The study begins with the application of multi-disciplinary (but fundamentally materialist) perspectives to establish an integrated theoretical framework for examining and historically situating Aboriginal male/female gender relations. It then moves to an examination of male Aboriginal violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners. Although this phenomenon is not well-documented, a variety of secondary data sources were utilized to explore the scope of the problem in Aboriginal communities.

Furthermore, it was assumed that theoretical development should be linked to contemporary practical reality. That is, practical solutions to com-

plex social problems do not simply flow from a 'theoretically problematized' understanding of the root causes alone, but must be meaningfully created in consultation with those whose interests are most affected. This is of particular importance in this study because the views of Aboriginal women themselves have not been widely circulated in the mainstream literature of academia. Accordingly, a key component of this research is an examination of the issue of violence against Aboriginal women via the opinions of experts on contemporary Aboriginal women's issues.

The data collected from the above sources are then analyzed and applied to a reconsideration of the theoretical premises made on the basis of the literature review.

The various components of this study are described in more detail below.

Theoretical Framework

The first stage of the research involved an extensive review of literature which would help to locate the issue of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women. Of immediate theoretical concern was grasping the material and ideological relationship between class, race and gender. As noted in the introductory section, there are particular difficulties in the ap-

plication of the Marxist tradition of analysis to the complex interplay of race, class and gender. Essentially the difficulties center on a tendency within orthodox Marxism toward class reductionism which renders other social distinctions inconsequential (Bland, et al., 1978; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983, p. 64). Thus ethnic and gender groups are frequently characterized as marginalized populations who are destined to serve the role of surplus labour to capital. As Anthias and Yuval-Davis suggest, this view is over-simplistic as it ignores the colonial history and 'lived reality' of racially complex western nations and makes no meaningful gender and race distinctions.

Another approach within the theoretical discourse has been to explain the relationship between race and gender as parallel articulations, which 'in the final instance' are sedimented in the mode of production. However, as Carby (1982) and Brittan and Maynard (1984) argue, this particular formulation neglects the simultaneous nature of oppression and thereby fails to provide the mechanism for understanding the interrelationship:

Firstly, it appears that in most cases the injection of 'race' and gender into a model is not considered to change the character of the model taken as a whole. Thus whether incorporated into class analyses or posited as a separate class or stratification system, gender and 'race' are just 'added on' to what already exists - fitted into or beside the conventional class divisions. But apart from the fact that these class divisions are essentially male defined, as we have tried to argue, this 'additive' approach is simply unacceptable.

It is untenable because of the implication that gender and 'race' simply increase the degree of oppression which is involved, with no understanding that they qualitatively change the nature of the oppression. (Brittan and Maynard, 1984, p.69)

There is, however, an emerging literature which can be examined to create a more acceptable theoretical framework. Upon a preliminary review of the literature, the most promising starting point to situate the analysis appeared to be through a melding of literature forged in the materialist paradigm and concerned with the interrelationship between crime, justice and colonialism. The political economy of crime model, originating in the work of Walton, Taylor and Young (1973) and the underdevelopment of development model originating in the work of A. Gunder Frank (1972) were examined. A modified theoretical integration of these two approaches is applied by Sumner (1981), which provided a useful basis to establishing the baseline parameters of the analysis.

The works of Canadian researchers, in particular Frideres (1983) and Kellough (1980), have made substantive contributions to an understanding of the process of colonialism in the Canadian context, both historical and present. An important aspect of their work is its attention to the ideological aspects of the colonizer-colonized relationship, achieved through an examination of the imposition of western institutional structures, such as law, Christianity and education upon Aboriginal societies.

Locating Aboriginal women within this historical backdrop is, however, more difficult to map. Although there exists a small body of research concerning the relationship of Aboriginal women to state institutional structures (particularly for status Indian women), valid research on the nature of internal Aboriginal structures is only sporadically available. The critical issues pertaining to Aboriginal women contain a complex set of questions concerning the nature of social relations and the role and status of Aboriginal women in Aboriginal societies prior to, as well as post European contact. However, as no comprehensive studies of this exist, it was necessary to construct a tentative analysis using a variety of sources.

A growing body of feminist-inspired anthropological literature suggests that there were significant differences with respect to gender relations and economic structure among the "colonizing" and the "pre-colonized" nations (Brown, 1980; Leacock, 1986), which were characterized by a different 'mode of production' and did not correspond to the patriarchal form (Jamieson: 1981). Jamieson's account of the experience of Indian women vis a vis the Indian Act, alongside the anthropological works of Eleanor Leacock and J.H.S. Brown were helpful in suggesting that Aboriginal gender relationships were governed by a power arrangement strikingly different from that experienced by European men and women of that histori-

cal period. In this sense, at that time the Aboriginal women of Canada shared closer bonds with women in other traditional cultures (Leacock, 1981; Boserup, 1970).

Literature pertaining to the changes which occurred in Aboriginal social relations in the post-European period is sparsely scattered throughout anthropological studies and historical documents such as traders' journals. Most of these works have been written from a European perspective, making it difficult to evaluate whether they represent an accurate portrayal of reality. Few actually focus on the question of gender relations in any great detail, however a tentative sketch of these relations can be derived from them.

What appears to emerge is a complex, shifting pattern of changing social relationships in Aboriginal society against a much larger pattern of economic, political and social marginalization stemming from their changing relationship to the dominating culture. These developments are probably unique and historically specific across North American Aboriginal cultures, with varying degrees of impact upon the everyday traditional lives of Aboriginal men and women. As such, gender relations cannot be rigidly constructed and categorized: rather, they are dynamic and fluid amidst changing contexts. Moreover, women cannot be cast as passive victims in this changing process (Leacock, 1980; Gersons and Peiss, 1985).

Generally, however, these events ultimately appear to have socially demoted Aboriginal women in an even greater degree than Aboriginal men (Jamieson, 1981, p.139). Thus it would appear that the imposed changing features of traditional life played a significant role in structurally and ideologically setting up the victimization of Aboriginal women by their Aboriginal spouses/partners.

Data Sources Concerning Contemporary Aboriginal Male Violence Against their Aboriginal Spouses/Partners

The incidence, scope and nature of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners is exceedingly difficult to empirically establish. Generally, hard data, documenting the extent and nature of violence against women in general has proven difficult to collect. The foremost problem is that for so many years, violence against women has been informally condoned by society and therefore neither perceived or categorized as a social problem or as a crime. Alternative data sources, such as statistics kept by women's shelters, have only recently developed.

Data sources on the victimization of Aboriginal women are very sparse, outside of a few localized studies. It has been suggested that this possibly reflects a low prioritization of violence against women as a social

problem within the Aboriginal community (Riddell, Doxtator: 1986). However, as Jamieson (1978), LaChappelle (1982) and Pierre-Aggamaway (1983) have pointed out, historically the interests and issues which specifically affect Native women have been given low priority by Aboriginal leaders amidst the larger struggle for Aboriginal identity for nationhood and self-determination. This is best exemplified by the split between Indian women and Indian men over the reinstatement of women and children denied their status under provisions of section 12 (1) (b) of the Indian Act. Indian organizations, primarily male dominated, opposed any changes to the Act until the entire Act would be revised to the benefit of the entire Aboriginal population (Jamieson: 1978).

A fuller explanation, however, lies in the limited access to services for Aboriginal women, which truly traps them in a vicious circle. Of well over one hundred and sixty-five transition homes in Canada in 1985, only seven were operated and staffed by Aboriginal persons (National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program: 1984, p.4). Although the service network appears to have improved since that time (Final Reports of the Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering, June 1986) accessible documentation and research on these projects is not yet available. While Aboriginal women are eligible for assistance through the other shelters operated by non-Aboriginal persons, few actually do, unless there is an Aboriginal per-

son on staff. Because of the lack of support networks for many Aboriginal women, few are likely to come forward and publicize their victimization. Thus the problem remains hidden.

Moreover, underlying the social pressure and practical constraints which keep Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners hidden, is a general mistrust of the Canadian legal and criminal justice system which does not reflect Aboriginal philosophies and values and which has fostered even greater social and familial dislocation in many instances (Morse, 1976). Aboriginal women, who have seen aspects of the Canadian legal process, such as child welfare legislation, work against their interests through the extraction of Aboriginal children from their societies, are less likely to seek resolution of their problems through the law (see Morse, 1976; and Johnston, 1983). The majority of Aboriginal respondents in an Ontario study on wife-battering (ARA, 1985, p.v-19) indicated that they were afraid to call the police because they fear that they will lose their children to the Children's Aid Society. Moreover, the long delays in actually receiving lawful assistance, coupled with unfamiliarity with the criminal justice process further discourage women from using this avenue. This different orientation toward the likely outcome of involving "the system" in its present format is a critical concept to understanding what strategies should

be developed to eliminate Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women.

As it is only recently that spouse abuse has become even remotely criminalized, official criminal justice data sources are of limited value in spousal abuse research. In any case, most official statistical recording practices have not included racial breakdowns in most instances (Craig and LaPrairie, 1984, pp. 191-193). This reflects a generalized 'agency' concern about violating human rights by requesting this information from persons who either come in conflict with the law, or are victimized. One notable exception to this is data collected through Statistics Canada's Homicide Program of the Uniform Crime Reporting program. Breakdowns by gender and racial origin are available for the 1961-1974 period. This data set reveals some interesting differential patterns of victimization between Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men, and will be discussed further on in the study.

Opinion Survey of Key Experts on Aboriginal Womens' Issues

Rationale

The expert opinion survey was chosen as a method which would yield a generalized, interpretive account of the nature of Aboriginal spouse abuse, based on the knowledge and experience of the selected participants. The bulk of research concerning spousal/partner violence against women has been conducted on the basis of such surveys or direct surveys of battered women themselves (Loseke and Cahill, 1983).

In this case, the practical limitations in acquiring a representative sample of battered Aboriginal women within the time and resource constraints of this study precluded the latter approach. Moreover, it was felt that the requirement for generalized knowledge on the issue of Aboriginal spousal assault could (with obvious limitations) be best served at this phase through a broader response base.

Expert opinion surveys are increasingly recognized as a reliable method for obtaining valid information in social problem solving, in particular that which is goal-oriented, such as evaluation research (Patton, 1978). In exploratory research, expert opinion surveys have proven helpful in both defining the parameters of the problem and in formulating theory. In the case of Aboriginal research, an additional attraction is its com-

patibility with traditional values which emphasize a consultative approach to problem solving.

Hemingway et al. (1983), for example, used a modified opinion survey to generate hypotheses on Indian/non-Indian approaches to the causes of and solutions to Indian crime in Canada. This study consisted of three phases. In the pre-pilot phase, a review of the literature and a selection of ~~interviews~~ with Indian and non-Indian experts and "opinion leaders" were conducted. This process provided basic information concerning possible hypotheses to explain Indian crime. In addition, it provided the basis for the preparation of an open-ended interview schedule. In the second stage, open-ended group interviews were held with a selection of the study population to further develop hypotheses and to refine the basis for a structured questionnaire. The final phase consisted of structured interviews from the sample population which yielded data amenable to statistical analysis for hypotheses creation and testing. The results between the two groups were then analysed and compared.

Thus, because research concerning Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women is in its formative stages, it is well suited to the expert opinion survey approach.

Survey Goals and Objectives

The overall goal of this survey was to identify the opinions and perceptions of representative experts on Aboriginal women's issues concerning the topic of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners.

The specific objectives were:

- to gather data which can assist in the construction of an theoretical understanding of the causes, nature and extent of such violence in Aboriginal communities;
- to examine their perceptions of the causes of such violence;
- to determine their satisfaction with the current governmental response to the issue; and
- to identify their views as to what, in a practical sense, can be done to eliminate Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners.

Methodology

It is important to reiterate that the central task of this thesis is not operational/goal oriented - rather, it is concentrated on the initial task of theory development. For this reason, neither the interactive process utilized in the Hemingway et al. study (1983) nor suggested by other opinion survey methodologies (such as the Delphi method, which seeks to attain a strategic

consensus among respondents) is completely appropriate. Given the limited resources Aboriginal organizations have available to deal with an enormous and highly complex range of issues, it seemed incongruous to request their extended participation in an abstract version of this interactive goal-related exercise

Thus it was necessary to develop a more generalized survey methodology which would remain useful in refining theory and defining the initial parameters for policy direction in this area. Recognizing, however, that because of the wide geographic dispersal of the proposed survey population (described below) and the potential costs which would be incurred, it was not possible to conduct personal interviews. Finally a questionnaire format, with certain contingency measures built in, was chosen for data collection. The design of this survey is detailed below.

Survey Population

A combination panel of experts from across Canada was chosen on the basis of selection criteria related to their particular area of expertise. Two categories were developed, reflecting a policy-oriented and a practical-involved division of expertise. These categories are described below.

a. Experts in Aboriginal Women's Issues

Individuals identified in this category include representatives, of or spokespersons for, major Aboriginal women's associations and groups.

A list of major Aboriginal women's associations and groups was compiled based on information received from the Native Women's Association of Canada and the Native Citizens Directorate, federal department of the Secretary of State.

A total of 18 organizations were identified. Because of the relatively small number of such organizations, sampling was unnecessary.

b. Practically Involved Experts in the Issue of Aboriginal Spouse/Partner Abuse

Individuals identified in this category include representatives of transition houses (shelters), either predominately operated by, or utilized by Aboriginal persons. Two subcategories of experts were created in this broad category. The first comprises representatives of transition houses and shelters which are operated by Aboriginal persons for Aboriginal persons. The second category consists of non-Aboriginal experts who operate transition houses or shelters predominantly utilized by Aboriginal persons. The level of Aboriginal utilization established in this latter category was set at more than 50% Aboriginal female clients in the past year of operation.

A list of transition houses and shelters was compiled based upon a transition house inventory maintained by the National Clearing House on Family Violence and a list of projects dealing with direct services to

Aboriginal women prepared by Health and Welfare in 1985 (Health and Welfare, 1985). Three additional transition houses were referred to me by officials working in the field. The final list comprised a total of 26 organizations.

Recognizing that the decision to seek assistance is preceded by a complex decision making process on the part of the victimized woman, a process in which the abuse has come to be defined as a problem, it is possible that the women with whom the practical experts have had contact differ in significant ways from those who do not seek help (Loseke and Cahill, 1983). In the case of the Aboriginal experts, however this problem is mitigated by their ties and experiences within the communities which they serve, which provides an extended source of knowledge. In the case of the non-Aboriginal women representing several shelters, this shared sense of biography and community may not exist, thus their comments may reflect a more limited appreciation of the unique circumstances of Aboriginal women.

Questionnaire Design

A short questionnaire was designed based on the review of the literature outlined above. Two versions were created to accommodate the need to collect descriptive information concerning the organization or group to which it was sent (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was then submitted

for review to one expert in Aboriginal women's issues and one expert in Aboriginal criminal justice. The purpose of this review was to ensure that the questions substantively encompassed key points and were constructed in clear language. On the basis of these reviews, modifications were made.

Essentially, the questionnaire combines an open-ended and close-ended question format, however the emphasis is upon the unstructured questions. The latter questions were favoured because this would permit respondents to reply in their own terms rather than in a 'pre-determined' manner. Given the preliminary stage of research in this area, the opportunity for open-ended responses was regarded as essential.

Distribution of Questionnaire

The questionnaire was mailed to 18 Aboriginal women's policy experts and 26 practical experts in Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women across Canada. Accompanying the questionnaire was a personal letter explaining the purpose of the research and requesting their participation (see Appendix A).

In the case of the policy experts, approximately 10 days after the questionnaire had been mailed, follow-up phone calls were made to ensure that the questionnaire had arrived, to clarify the purposes of the study and to encourage the recipients to complete it.

In the case of the practically involved experts, telephone calls were made to the transition houses prior to the mailing of the questionnaire to establish the orientation of the organization, obtain its address, identify the director or co-ordinator and to secure her participation.

Response Rate

Twenty (20) of the 44 experts to whom the questionnaire was sent responded, yielding an overall response rate of 45.5 %. With respect to the 18 experts involved in the advocacy of Aboriginal women generally, six replied, representing a response rate of 33.4%. This relatively low response rate can be partially attributed to the timing of the survey, which coincided with the preparatory activities undertaken by these organizations, for the First Minister's Conference held March 26 and March 27, 1987. In one case where it was unlikely that the respondent would be able to complete the questionnaire in time for its inclusion in the data analysis, a shortened interview, focusing on the policy related questions (6, 10, 11), was conducted at that time. Five of the eight experts working for Aboriginal-run services for Aboriginal women responded, representing a response rate of 62%. Of the remaining non-Aboriginal category of shelter workers, nine responded, yielding a response rate of 50%.

Analysis

The data were analysed using quantitative and qualitative techniques. Structured questions were coded and input to a statistical software package for micro-computers (StatPac) for descriptive analysis. Unstructured questions were content analyzed. The coding format for these questions is included in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 2 - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. Criminology, Colonialism and Underdevelopment

Traditional criminology has been accused of being ahistorical, non-developmental and non-comparative, rarely taking the broader patterns of socio-political events into consideration (Sumner, 1981). Nowhere could this be better evidenced than in the case of traditional criminology's analysis of Aboriginal people and criminal justice issues in Canada, which have tended to view Aboriginal cultures as inherently pathological.

The analysis of the Aboriginal "crime problem", which began with the publication of Indians and the Law (Canadian Correctional Association, 1967), has persistently presented a stereotypical image of Aboriginal society in the context of societal disintegration, measured by a ubiquitous litany of standard, readily quantifiable indicators such as levels of welfare dependency, overcrowding, alcoholism, violent death, whilst generally ignoring the base rhythm of these societies as if Aboriginal history and interaction with western society only began with the rise in Aboriginal incarceration rates which occurred in the mid-1960's. Much of the early literature in this regard focused on the 'cultural conflict' viewed unavoidable as Aboriginal society moved toward modernization and urbanization, a process which the

dominant culture considered would ultimately result in the full assimilation of Aboriginals into white society (see Haveman, 1984 for a review of this literature).

In true positivist tradition, such analyses did not question the origins of inequality, and essentially did little more than support the existing unequal social order. With respect to Native American populations, conflict theorist Reasons (1977) challenged the order/assimilationist approach for its individualized, blaming the victim characteristics, which generally failed to account for the role of the state, power and coercion in the reality of everyday living. He argued that the whole question of Aboriginal "crime" must be understood from the perspective of power relationships resulting out of colonialism.

Although conceptually Canadian criminal justice literature on Aboriginal criminal justice issues has been overwhelmingly parochial, a similar pattern of analysis can be traced in other western works on crime in developing countries, best typified by Clinnard and Abbott's Crime in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective (1973). Clinnard and Abbott saw an apparent 'increasing crime' rate in "developing countries" as a function of rapid social change emanating from the 'progressive forces of development' - modernization, industrialization and urban migration. As such, this work urged solutions designed to unblock the apparently "blocked

opportunity structure", essentially via integration or assimilation of the indigenous groups to the modern concepts and practices of "civilized" western living. The problem was essentially formulated as one which would be easily and "progressively" solved through more sincere attempts to modernize and assimilate indigenous cultures into a westernized milieu.

The central problem with the modernization perspective is its abbreviated, ethnocentric version of history, which ignores the baseline development of underdevelopment occurring as a result of the historical reality of colonization and Aboriginal/western relations over time (Sumner, 1981). Because of this, it views the main issue of crime and crime control in terms of a perceived maladaptiveness of indigenous cultures to westernized ways. The only possible resolution, therefore, is assimilation to western cultural goals and the structuring of legitimate means of achieving those goals as the central project. As such, this approach denies the cultural integrity of indigenous groups and leaves the ideological and structural dynamics of colonial oppression and marginalization of huge sectors of the indigenous populations untouched.

Critical criminology seeks to overcome this ahistorical mode of analysis¹. Essentially, this school of thought must be traced back to the political economy of crime theory rooted in the critical criminological perspective explicated by Taylor, Walton and Young over a decade ago (1973). The "new" social theory of deviance project advanced by these authors sought to challenge both positivism and labelling theory, and was embedded in the conceptual framework of Marx's historical materialism. Thus, they emphasized the need to define and address social and criminal justice issues in the context of class and power relations which are imposed by the economic structure of production and distribution.

A central assertion of the new theoretical thrust is that the nature and level of economic development or, conversely, the nature and level of economic displacement in a given society are key determinant factors in how crime is defined and controlled by the state.

While the new criminologists argued for a fully social theory of deviance, which "could demonstrate theoretically the connections between law and the state, legal and political relations, the economic basis and func-

1 There is great diversity and debate among the perspectives advanced by theoreticians in this area, although all appear bound to a method of historical materialism. For a review of the critical criminology paradigm, see Hall, and Scraton (1981).

tions of crime" (Hall and Scraton, 1981, p. 465), they did not specify a detailed route to this end. Consequently, various strands of Marxist-oriented theory of crime began to emerge. Chambliss (1978), for example, argued for the integration into criminological theory of Marx's assertion that peoples' lives pivot on their relationship to production. Others, such as Spitzer (1975), Hall et al. (1981) have focused on refining the Marxist analysis by examining how the material and ideological contradictions inherent in capitalist development create marginalized "problem" populations which are then regulated in the criminal justice sphere.

The importance of the critical paradigm to an analysis of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women lies in its emphasis upon reorienting the analysis to the historical process, the ideological and structural characteristics and contexts of criminal justice issues. Especially important is its application to and analysis of criminal justice issues under conditions of colonial and neo-colonial development. Sumner (1981), for example, has specifically advocated an analysis of criminal justice and underdevelopment (which he sees as a principal outcome of colonization) as a critical research strategy for criminologists in general. He argues that economy, politics and culture are all international, inter-connected matters and cannot be conceptually or empirically ignored. The expansion of capitalism through colonialism and neo-colonialism, the creation of a hierarchical world order

and the increasing interpenetration of a "global social formation" make this case apparent (see also Hall and Scraton, 1981, p. 483).

Moreover, an approach so richly contextualized illuminates how crime is a moral-political concept, not by definition "universal, inevitable or natural" (Sumner, 1981, p.8) but a phenomenon shaped by the relations and struggles between classes constituted by the mode of production. Thus an analysis of Aboriginal criminal justice issues is more correctly preceded by questions concerning the economic structure, the processes of dependency and political order of society. This is not without its limitations, because the relationship of women to the mode of production is just one aspect of their oppression. This aspect is central nonetheless, and therefore constitutes the starting point.

Sumner's analysis of the impact of colonization upon indigenous cultures hinges on an understanding of the "underdevelopment of development" theory. This theory was first developed and applied by Latin American theorists such as A. Gunder Frank in the early 1970s to describe the "underdevelopment" of Third World countries in relation to the capital accumulation strategies of the colonial power (Frank, 1972; Chilcote and Johnson, 1983). Essentially, Frank's thesis was a reaction against modernization theory and classic imperialism, which both viewed the causes of underdevelopment in the Third World as a product of pre-capitalistic or back-

ward social formations. Essentially, Frank argued that underdevelopment was in fact a product and integral part of European capitalist development. According to his argument, the rise and expansion of European commercial capitalism in the New World necessitated Latin American dependence on the metropolis. The success of European capitalist development was contingent upon access to cheap resources which the colonial hinterland could provide. Thus the economic class and cultural structure of Latin America has been historically suppressed and maintained in a holding pattern to serve the needs of foreign capitalism.

Frank's theory has been the subject of much debate which centers on whether or not the Third World 'mode of production' can be classified as 'capitalistic' when it contains significant enclaves which are more aptly described as 'pre-capitalistic' (see Fitzgerald, 1983 for a summary). The critical resolution of this debate appears to be taking form in a revision of dependency theory which sees the Third World as characterised by the articulation of multiple modes of production which interact at the economic level and through related legal/political and ideological levels (Fitzgerald, 1983, pp. 163-170). An alternative position, advanced by Banaji (discussed in Fitzgerald, 1983), views the Third World as a social formation in which, overall, the laws of motion are capitalistic, despite the existence of other 'forms' of production which exhibit pre-capitalistic features. These 'forms'

are not independent modes because their reproduction is dependent on the capitalist mode.

Thus intertwined in countries which experience the development of underdevelopment phenomenon are the dominant mode of production, capitalism, and enclaves of dysfunctional forms of production. In the case of the resource based economies of Latin America, these enclaves are created as capital has been withdrawn to be more profitably invested elsewhere. Left are the discarded remains of capitalism, such as land stripped of its resources and outmoded technologies. Redundant populations are created which are both marginalized and alienated from the dominant mode of production and its attendant institutional structures. Thus the process of colonialism under western capitalism structured and shaped the contradictions between the highly developed metropolis and underdeveloped hinterlands throughout much of the Third World.

Canadian authors such as Kellough (1980, pp. 343-377) and Frideres (1983) and Verdun-Jones (1979/80) have suggested that Canada's colonial experience vis a vis the Aboriginal population follows a similar form to that advanced by underdevelopment theory.

Frideres (1983) has convincingly argued that Aboriginal People in Canada experienced the colonization process and have been victims of underdevelopment.

The central features of this colonization process adopted by Frideres are those identified by Blaunner (1945). It first involves the forced-voluntary entry of the colonizers into the geographic area occupied by the future colonized. The first contacts with Aboriginal people by the French and the British were to further the mercantile interests of these respective countries, and led to the development of a staple economy (Innis, 1975).

In particular, this meant the development of the fur trade. At first, the fur trade fostered interdependence between the Aboriginal people and the colonizers, as the indigenous peoples possessed skills which were requisite to survival and the economic exploitation of the land. However, this interdependence was rapidly eroded in the nineteenth century as the colonizers took possession and control of the land and its resources, and Indians became a hindrance to settlement. The marginalization of Aboriginal people was hastened by their territorial displacement onto reserves and through the reduction in food resources which colonization and settlement created.

The second feature of the colonization process is when the colonizers invoke formal and informal measures to destroy the social and cultural structures of the indigenous group. This process follows a well known pattern throughout colonized nations, beginning with the Christianizing activities of the first missionaries, the Jesuits.

Prior to European contact, "education" was an integral part of everyday living in Aboriginal societies, and was essentially a life-long process which was part of the overall social and political structure of Aboriginal societies. Education of the Aboriginal population was zealously undertaken by missionaries, and was regarded as an "essential tool of assimilation" (Gibbons and Ponting, 1986, p.27; Jordan, 1986, p.260-283).

In the 1892, residential schools were created to more effectively carry out the assimilationist goal of the cultural colonialists (Kellough, 1980, pp.358-365). Schools were located off-reserves in order to isolate the young from the cultural and parental influences in their own communities. Run under strict disciplinary conditions, which included the prohibition of Aboriginal languages, these schools were clearly set up to indoctrinate the young in western ways.

Kellough (1980) has termed the political aspects of this process as "structural colonialism", that is, the control of decision making, institutions and structural living conditions through the forced surrender of lands and the nomadic lifestyle. The treaties, the creation of reservations and the imposition of western laws, courts and procedures all served to undermine autonomous structures.

Under these coercive conditions, the colonizers exercise external political control over the colonized group, through representative rule

vested in the law, such as the Indian Act and through the developing bureaucracy. Independent structures of government were suppressed and outlawed. Thus in 1924 an RCMP raid at the Six Nations Reserve council hall resulted in the imprisonment of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) government leaders (Canada, House of Commons Special Committee on Indian Self-government, 1983, p.13). Similarly, the Potlach ceremony used by West Coast tribes to affirm community identity was outlawed, violators were sentenced and ceremonial property was seized by the state (Canada, House of Commons Special Committee on Indian Self-government, 1983, p.13).

According to Blaunner, the control by the state is absolute and the rights of the colonized in the broader society are sharply curtailed. Thus, for example, until 1940, migration from reserves was controlled by the bureaucracy. The pressures which the government felt obliged to bear upon the Aboriginal population to conform is evidenced by the fact that until 1960, registered Indians had to undergo a process of enfranchisement (giving up their special status) in order to vote in federal elections.

This process, also described by Sumner (1981) with respect to Third World situations is important to the issue of crime, as law served as an important formal mechanism in the colonizer's efforts to achieve control and domination of Aboriginal workers to satisfy the interests of colonial capital.

Economic dependence on the metropolis is fostered through this process. As Kellough has pointed out, the interdependence characteristic of the period of the fur-trade passed by the mid-nineteenth century, giving way to the expansion of European agrarian settlement. Aboriginal people became a hindrance to development and thus were relegated to bottom of the hinterland ladder.

Ideologically, a state illusion of "protection" was cultivated, where the reality was to isolate and ignore the Aboriginal population. Reserves were established under the guise of protection, however in effect they served to contain a potential problem population which had already demonstrated its capabilities in confrontations during the Riel Rebellion. As Spitzer (1975) notes:

Strategies of containment have always flourished where social segregation exists, but they have become especially favored in modern capitalist societies. One reason for this is their compatibility with patterns of residential segregation, ghettoization and internal colonialism (p. 649).

The growth of the welfare state further provided a means of handling this "problem population" wrought redundant by economic development, though services provided to this sector never match the quality available to the dominant population (Frideres, 1983).

Blaunner continues to argue that racism becomes part of the dominant ideology and that a colour line becomes established. Intermarriage with the dominant culture is rare. Frideres (1983) notes that the word racism is politically and morally contentious to many, however the evidence simply is undeniable. As racism, it connotes not only the whole history of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships but contemporary attitudes of most Canadians who believe that Aboriginal people are inferior, and that "there is a sound rational basis for discrimination against Natives at both the individual and institutional level" (p.3). These deeply ingrained attitudes temper the prevailing view of Aboriginal people as incapable of escaping the state of dependency and social disorganization in which they are perceived by most Canadians to live.

The colonization process continues to affect the contemporary treatment of Aboriginal people by the dominant society. Ponting and Gibbons (1980), for example, have examined this phenomena as activated in contemporary federal policy concerning Aboriginals. In particular, they have focused upon the then Liberal government's White Paper of 1969 and subsequent federal posturing in the process of constitutional rights and land claims (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980; 1986, p. 34-35).

The White Paper proposed that the social injustices which Indian persons had endured over time could be resolved through the elimination of

the legislative and constitutional special status of Indians who fall under the Indian Act. As such, it represented a federal-liberal strategy to achieve a form of "equality" for individual Indians, but at the same time, threatened collective group rights. Moreover, it did not represent a way to deal with the fundamental economic issues affecting the isolation of Aboriginal peoples. Indian leaders were quick to reject the document, and indeed, it has been argued that the latter was quite instrumental in unifying Aboriginal people across the country to fight with the Canadian government in a common cause: self-determination.

Similarly it has been argued that Northern development, which revolves around the exploitation of mineral resources, such as oil and natural gas and hydro-electric power has followed the pattern of forced-voluntary colonization. Watkins (1977) has described how this process operated in the natural resource exploitation of the North, where it was assumed that Aboriginal people would simply assimilate to the western technologically-oriented way of life which the construction of an oil pipeline would create. The Berger Commission examined how the economic development proposed by the pipeline companies would destroy the intricate traditional Aboriginal economy and documented the extent to which the intrusion of white settlement had changed the traditional way of life (Berger, 1986).

Despite the oppressive nature of the Aboriginal experience since contact with Europeans, Aboriginal people have been able to protect their identities and have resiliently begun to seek self-government. In the early 1970's, the Aboriginal opposition to the MacKenzie Valley pipeline project and the James Bay hydro-electric plans prompted the federal government to acknowledge the principle that Aboriginal interests could exist (Asch, 1984, p.65) a recognition which has led to an on-going process of land claims negotiations (see Cumming, 1985 for an overview of Northern Development). However, despite this shift to recognize Aboriginal rights, the government appears to remain reluctant to extend this principle to include political rights (see Asch, 1984, p. 71-73).

The 1970's and 1980's have witnessed enormous changes in Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations (Ponting, 1986). In particular, there has been the growth of a strong skilled leadership among Aboriginal communities. The repatriation of the Canadian constitution and the on-going constitutional talks underway to define Aboriginal rights under this document have, alongside land claim negotiations provided the central focus for Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. The intricacies of these debates cannot be justly described here, however their importance for setting the future course for Aboriginal women and men cannot be underestimated.

- Although the federal government has recognized the principle of self-government, Aboriginal People will continue to be blocked from achieving effective autonomy until the above debates are resolved. The neo-colonial ideology which defines Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations is tightly bound in a fundamental way with the historic development of the Canadian political and economic structure. As stated by Kathleen Jamieson,

In short, the colonizer colonized relationship persists in Canada and most Canadians have a vested interest in ignoring this situation (Jamieson, 1980, p.138).

Thus, until such time that Aboriginal People regain control of their destinies and are able to function as autonomous communities, they will remain "colonized" nations. This colonization process has had specific effects upon Aboriginal women, and it is to this aspect that we now turn.

B. Impact of Colonialism on Aboriginal Women

The arrival of the Europeans in the New World sparked a series of complex interactions which had profound effects upon the structure and organization of Aboriginal societies. Unfortunately, it is impossible to construct a "definitive" account of those changes, as few aspects of the historical record have been written from the Aboriginal perspective. Alternative sources, such as historical accounts of Aboriginal societies by European observers are not satisfactory sources either, due to two factors: the rapid transition occurring in Aboriginal societal structures occurring as a product of contact, and the androcentric and ethnocentric biases of the European observers themselves (Brodrigg, 1984). Anthropological and historical literature concerning women in traditional based societies which has been constructed on these faulty sources have come under sharp criticism by feminist anthropology. The shortcomings of mainstream anthropological literature have been critiqued elsewhere and will not be reproduced here (see for example, Boserup: 1970; Etienne and Leacock: 1980;).

The review which follows concentrates on contemporary anthropological and historical literature, which has attempted to deconstruct the androcentric and ethnocentric biases common in traditional anthropology and history.

Position of Aboriginal Women in Aboriginal Societies Prior to European Contact

The starting point for the analysis of the impact of colonialism upon Aboriginal women is in an examination of their position prior to contact with Europeans. Because of the scarcity of material on this subject and the diversity among Aboriginal societal organizations across North America, the debate which has emerged on this issue is considerably diverse.

Friedrich Engels, in The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State (1972, originally published in 1884) constructed a view of communally based societies as governed by egalitarian relations of production. Although no society can be realistically expected to conform to the ideal type, evidence suggests that most indigenous hunting and gathering societies, as well as many horticultural societies of North America were egalitarian societies (Etienne and Leacock 1980; Morrison and Wilson, 1986). As equal members of the communal group, women played a socially recognized and valued economic and social role. As Leacock notes, equality in this context does not imply that women and men were equal in the sense of sameness. Rather, the sexual division of labour was not problematic. Being communal, consensual based societies, authority was dispersed and the traditional female familial "domain" was not considered secondary to the

public, political "domain" (Etienne and Leacock, 1980, p.9-130). Thus the isolation of women, which existed in European familial structures (and which theoretically is considered a key component of their oppression) was not known in these societies.

Men's and women's rights and responsibilities were conceived and institutionalized as parallel and complementary, rather than hierarchical. Women held a considerable degree of personal autonomy and control over aspects of production and social relations stemming from their role in the particular form of organization. Thus the Aboriginal women of Canada shared a common bond with other 'Third World' indigenous women in the pre-colonial period (Etienne and Leacock, 1980; Carby, 1982, p.224).

This structural organization and kinship systems in Aboriginal societies have suggested to a number of authors that Aboriginal women appear to have held considerable autonomy - at least at the level of societal structural organization. Of particular interest has been the matriarchal structure of Iroquois and Haida societies. Jamieson, for example, has synthesized the customary position of women among the Iroquois and Algonkian Indians prior to European contact which began with the French colonization of eastern-central Canada (Jamieson, 1978). as it is important to note Iroquois women held significant control in spheres within the economic structure of the society. Land was collectively held by all women (Jamieson,

1978, p.44; Baskin, 1982). Agricultural subsistence was principally organized by women, who held usufruct, that is, the right to make use of the resources of parcels of land (which were not, in the European sense, 'owned').

In spiritual matters women were also central characters in the mythology of creation (Paper, 1983, p. 49). Baskin has argued that it is the centrality of women in the creation myth which establishes the philosophical foundation for the pivotal role of women within Iroquois society, as producers and reproducers of the cultural form.

Politically, the female matrons of the community had the power to elect and depose elders of the council. While women could not be chiefs, they effectively held the critical balance of power and control and therefore they played a critical and respected role in matters of the group. As Brown has argued, the Iroquois women's control over the organization of the tribal economy ensured their status (1975, p.243).

Using limited sources, Whipp (1986) has similarly constructed a picture of the role and status of Haida women of the west coast. The Haida lived in a highly structured society which was organized matrilineally. Women had decision-making powers in the councils and held property independently of their husbands.

Contemporary research by Brodribb concerning the view of Aboriginal women on their status within their particular cultural frameworks reveal conflicting views, suggesting that the power which Iroquois women of eastern Canada and Haida women of the Northwest coast enjoyed was not widely shared by other Aboriginal women, such as the Ojibwa and the Cree cultures (Brodribb, 1984, pp.91-92). In these cultures, Native women have suggested that women did not share the right to participate in decision-making activities which affected the entire tribe. Similarly, Aboriginal women's opinions concerning the position of women in Inuit culture reflect controversy as to the actual status of women with regards to the community structure (Brodribb, 1984).

Even if judgement about the status and position of women in Aboriginal societies is momentarily suspended, it is still difficult to deduce or assess the status of women at the level of real gender relations. In the case of Iroquois societies, it is uncertain whether the existence of equal structural power among certain tribes actually translated into real equality at more personal sites, notably the family. According to Niethammer's (1977) comparative study of women in North American Aboriginal societies prior to European contact many tribes were characterized by the fluidity of marriage and divorce. For example, marriages among men and women of the Micmac, Iroquois, the Ojibwa, the Haida and the Cree tribes involved

few formalities and women were relatively free to exit from abusive relationships (Niethammer, 1977; Whipp, 1986).

Whipp's (1985) historical review on the status of Native women and wife beating among the Iroquois, the Haida, the Ojibwa and the Micmac reveals variations among traditional tribal attitudes to wife-beating. According to her historical sources (p. 15-16), the Iroquois explicitly forbade husbands and wives from physically assaulting each other. Although information is scant about the Haida, in cases of adultery or mistreatment, an errant husband was required to make compensation to his wife's mother.

Conversely, it would appear that a husband was also permitted to take revenge upon an adulterous wife.

Although Whipp (1986, p.20-22) notes that the literature pertaining to gender relationships within traditional Ojibwa culture is confusing, there appears to have been a distinctive separation of male and female roles with the male exercising the dominant position. Wife beating was permitted, although "battering was frequently associated with a reason, and victims were judged on whether they did or did not 'deserve it'" (p. 22). Samuel Hearne's observations of Chipewayn culture suggests that men did assert themselves over women through the use of force and coercion (Brodrick, 1984, p.89). The practice of wrestling for wives and wife sharing among the Chipewayn suggest that women were ascribed a subordinate status. In any case, it is not

clear whether this reflects an intrinsic, generalized treatment of women or the result of economic distress and social breakdown. Clearly, further research is required to examine these issues in more specific ways.

From the above literature, it can be concluded that in many cases, Aboriginal women held a significant degree of responsibility and position of status within the traditional structures of their communities. However, given the limited information base upon which this observation is made, generalizations must be made cautiously. In the sphere of the sexual division of labour, it would appear that these societies were organized according to complementary but equal divisions. However, little is known about the actual functioning of gender relationships within these societies and whether power was exerted by men over women in any systematized way. If the egalitarian quality of gender relationships is measured by the position and status of women within Aboriginal societies generally, it would appear that harmonious arrangements were in existence. Wife abuse, was not an entirely unknown phenomenon, however it is possible that the relative autonomy of women, the practical ease of marriage and divorce and the overall strength of the community structure possibly constrained its occurrence.

Changes Resulting from European Contact

At the level of relations of production, the introduction of the fur trade and the colonization process altered the economic organization of traditional societies away from the harmonious division of labour which characterized the pre-European period towards greater specialization (Etienne and Leacock: 1980, p. 13). Etienne and Leacock have suggested that the furtrade and the introduction of iron technologies created a new stratification into Aboriginal society by undercutting the interdependence that had previously existed among its male and female members and by fostering an external dependency on material goods which changed the nature of exchange relationships. In particular, the men's spheres of responsibility in hunting and warfare took on new significance in trading and external political relations, which ultimately undermined the traditional position and balance of control held by women.

In effect, Leacock argues that trade with Europeans resulted in a shift toward a patriarchal based authority, as the colonizing power chose to supplant Aboriginal culture and traditions with their 'superior' form of organization. Thus the pattern of the institution building process of the colonial era in Canada - as elsewhere in the New World was essentially a product of men. The building of male hierarchies was encouraged while traditional spheres of female control were largely suppressed or ignored.

Law and policy were effectively used by the colonizing powers to achieve this end. This European "form" assumed that the private rights of property were vested in men, and that women should be subject to their husbands, as was the case in European societies. To the European colonizers, it was inconceivable that Indian women would be able to control and transmit property rights to their children (Jamieson: 1978, p. 38).

Leacock's investigations into the impact of European culture upon the Montagnais-Naskapi illustrates how the colonizing power sought through the ideology of the church to achieve 'civility' among the Indians (Leacock, 1980). Examining an account of Montagnais life written by Paul le Jeune, a Jesuit superior who once wintered with the Montagnais, she documents the shock and disapproval with which the European mind observed the everyday relations between men and women:

Men leave the arrangement of the household to the women, without interfering with them; they cut and decide and give away as they please without making the husband angry..(Leacock, 1980 p.27)

Christianizing the Indian, Le Jeune maintained, would most effectively be carried out through the introduction of a fourfold program: permanent settlement and institutionalized authority structures; the application of the principle of punishment; education; and the introduction of the European

family form (Leacock, 1981, p. 141). The latter objective would tame what he seemed to perceive as the evil, independent spirit of Indian women. Disciplinary measures would be introduced to enforce male authority upon women. Of particular concern to him was the Indian acceptance of divorce, polygamy and infidelity (Leacock, 1980, p.30). Whipp (1986, p. 26) and McGrath (1986, pp.6-7) have all suggested that the influence of western Christianity with its fundamentally patriarchal expectation of female passivity, enduring marriage and its disapproval of spontaneous divorce served to undermine the traditional mechanisms which ensured a balance of status and power among Aboriginal women and men.

Another relevant comment expressed by Le Jeune was his concern about the Montagnais's refusal to use corporal punishment on its members. An account of the conflict between Christianized and "Pagan" Montagnais documented by Le Jeune reveals quite succinctly the transition which occurred with respect to Montagnais women as a result of the missionizing experience. As described by Leacock:

Women and children alike suffered punishment at the hands of the converts. "A young Christian, getting into a passion, beat his wife, who had insolently provoked him," Le Jeune wrote. The man then repented of his sin and went to the chapel to pray to God for mercy. Le Jeune had the couple brought to him. "They were properly reprimanded," he reported, "especially the woman, who was more guilty than her husband" (1980, p.30).

A similar erosion of traditional female control occurred as the fur trade expanded to the west. Van Kirk's (1980) analysis of western fur trade society seems to suggest that until the arrival of white women in the 1820's and 1830's, Indian women and women of 'mixed-blood' enjoyed a privileged position in both Aboriginal and fur-trader societies due to improvements in their material conditions (such as the introduction of kettles, ironware and cloth).

Moreover Aboriginal women who became personally aligned with white furtraders played very active and important roles as mediators between Indians and the furtraders and were greatly prized for their traditional skills (Van Kirk, 1980). Thus, women were far from passive victims in the colonization process. But it must be noted that their new roles were undertaken at considerable expense to their personal autonomy which they had held prior to the contact (Van Kirk, 1980 and Brown, 1980). They came to fulfill a subordinate role in economic and social relations, as they performed duties which were in the final analysis controlled by their husbands. Moreover, as Van Kirk comments,

...despite her important contributions and influence in certain areas, the Indian woman in furtrade society was at the mercy of a social structure devised primarily to meet the needs of European males (Van Kirk, 1980, p. 88).

The imposition of a patriarchal order upon Aboriginal society was engendered by the reorientation of gender roles and responsibilities resulting from changes to the economic organization of the society. This should not suggest, however, that aspects of male control were entirely absent within those societies - as evidenced by both explorer's accounts (such as Samuel Hearne's comments on Chipewayn societies) and comments of Aboriginal women themselves (Brodribb, 1984, pp. 89-91). Furtraders' accounts of Indian gender relations consistently refer to the hardships which women in Indian societies were expected to endure through their seemingly overburdening responsibilities in everyday living. Van Kirk (1980) and Brown (1980) have both described the accounts of furtraders such as Henry Kelsey (on the Chipewayns; Van Kirk, p. 17), and Samuel Hearne (on the Cree, Brown 1980, p. 65) who were shocked at the burdens which these Indian women were expected to carry¹.

The explorers' accounts, however, do require cautious interpretation as they reflect a belief that women in Aboriginal societies occupied a

1 ~~It is worthy to note that despite the pity which the furtraders~~ professed, it did not intrude upon their desires to acquire Indian wives or companions who would then be expected to use their traditional skills to assist the furtraders in their exploitation of the land (Brown 1980; and Van Kirk, 1980)

degraded position. This observation stemmed from their bourgeois European ideas of women as inherently fragile, weak and dependent upon the chivalrous protection of men. The introduction of the ideology of patriarchy to Aboriginal cultures was, according to the male European world view, a progressive change which would restore men to their role as protectors of the female species.

The decline in the furtrade in the first half of the nineteenth century, coupled with the beginning of agrarian settlement was to eliminate the interdependency between Aboriginal societies and the white colonizers. Ultimately, this was to result in the marginalization. Kellough (1980) has documented the marginalization process which characterized the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This marginalization was to have a significant impact upon the organization of Aboriginal societies. Jamieson(1978) has documented how the subordination and control of women was institutionalized through the Indian Act. As settlement pressure increased, the government sought ways and means of controlling the Indian population. This was always carried out through the ideological underpinning of protectionism however this was an ideology which thinly masked the real aim: white control of land for agrarian settlement.

With respect to Aboriginal women, the marginalization process was also to hold special meaning for their particular relation to furtrader society. The arrival of white women in the 1830's in particular brought forth racial and class distinctions which had been held at bay in furtrader society. White male colonizers consistently cast their Aboriginal women aside in favour of the "tender exotics" : white women from the motherland (Van Kirk, 1980).

Intimately tied to Aboriginal/white relations was the continued desire of the colonizers to assimilate the Aboriginal population to fit the European mould of civilization. By mid-nineteenth century a process of enfranchisement was introduced as a means to encourage Aboriginal males to acquire property and thereby, the inherent 'right' to participate in civilized European society.

Aboriginal women, like their European counterparts, were bypassed in this process. Although enfranchisement was not a widely embraced concept among the Aboriginal population (Frideres, 1983), it nonetheless served to formalize the alienation of women from their traditional right of control of the land. The 1869 Indian Act (The Act to the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians: the Better Management of Indians' Affairs and to Extend the Provisions of the 31st Victoria Chapter 42) further institutionalized discrimination against Aboriginal women. Women were forbidden from voting in band elections, and from inheriting their husbands' property, and they

were not permitted to marry outside the band without penalty (Jamieson: 1978, pp. 9-28). Subsequent revisions of the Indian Act reinforced this discrimination throughout the nineteenth century.

Jamieson (1978) has thoroughly documented the detrimental social, economic and political impact of this legislation upon women who lost their status in Indian society through marriage to "non-Indians". But little remains known about the general impact which the imposition of the patriarchal order actually had upon Aboriginal gender relations. It is exceedingly difficult to determine the extent to which the imposed patriarchal order was ideologically absorbed throughout Aboriginal societies beyond the formalized level of law, as this has not been a researched subject (Jamieson, 1980). Whether the treatment of women by men changed as a result of a new ideology or due to economic and social breakdown generally, needs to be examined in specific contexts.

Moreover, it is likely that there are differences in practices according to the specific evolution of individual Aboriginal communities, the degree to which traditional structures were either suppressed (but retained) or destroyed. Gerber (1979), for example, has suggested that the process of community development and adaptation of western values and norms has proceeded multi-dimensionally. Key factors affecting the development of Indian communities across the twentieth century include the existence of

group resources (such as road access, quality of housing, earned income), personal resources (such as education levels, skill developments), relative isolation and proximity to urban centres. Her research, based on an analysis of 516 Indian bands in nine Canadian provinces indicates that Indian bands have differentially evolved and have adapted at different rates and in different forms to the "modernized" world. Conversely, it can be expected that community differences exist in relation to which western values and norms have been adopted and to which traditional values and norms have been maintained. Morse (1985) and others who have investigated the modern usage of traditional laws and customs among Aboriginal people further confirm that the overall structural evolution of individual communities may have an effect upon the ordering of gender relations within those societies.

C. Contemporary Position of Aboriginal Women in Canada

Given the current paucity within the literature on the status of Aboriginal women, it is not possible to generate a fully developed discussion on the contemporary status of Aboriginal women in Aboriginal societies. The major problem concerns the theoretical and methodological difficulties in determining appropriate status measures. As Jamieson (1980, p. 134) notes, standard status indicators (such as labour force participation,

employment rate, income level) may be more reflective of western research biases than an accurate portrayal of social and economic status differentials among a population with a less materialistically oriented value structure and frequently based on a mixed/cash economy. Essentially these data reveal the location of Aboriginal women vis a vis the dominant production process, but are silent concerning the nature of relationships between Aboriginal women and men within specific social contexts. Despite their limitations, these data do, however, reveal some interesting differences and striking similarities.

A general observation held throughout the literature is that Aboriginal women are victims of 'double jeopardy' (Jamieson, p. 140). Both the 1971 Census (Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979) and the 1981 Census (Canada. Supply and Services, 1986) have revealed that Aboriginal women remain at the bottom of the hinterland ladder. First, Aboriginal women are more removed from the labour force than non-Aboriginal women. According to the 1981 census (Supply and Services, p.14), approximately 40% of Aboriginal women over the age of 15 were considered part of the labour force, in comparison to 52% of non-Aboriginal women in the same age category.

These data further suggest that Aboriginal women are even more 'marginalized' than Aboriginal men. For example, it is noteworthy that in 1981, 63.2% of Aboriginal men were considered part of the labour force, in com-

parison to 78.4 % of non-Aboriginal men (Canada, Supply and Services, 1986, p.14). Labour force participation may, in part be a function of local economic structures as Aboriginal women residing in the south tend to have slightly higher labour force participation rates than their counterparts in the North, which have perhaps tended to retain more features of a traditional economy. Unemployment, however remains high for both Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men. At the time of the 1981 census, 16.5% of the Aboriginal women and 15.4% of the Aboriginal men were classified as unemployed (Canada, Supply and Services, 1986,p.15). These rates are significantly higher than for the non-Aboriginal population, which on Census day stood at 8.6% for non-Aboriginal women and 6.3% for non-Aboriginal men (Canada, Supply and Services, 1986,p.15).

Income distributions reveal similar disparities. In 1980, Aboriginal women reported an average annual income of \$6,063, compared to an average income of \$8,414 for all Canadian women (Canada, Supply and Services, 1986, p. 18). For the same period, Aboriginal men earned \$10,700

(Statistics Canada, 1984)¹. Compared to the non-Aboriginal population, Aboriginal women made approximately 36% of the average non-Aboriginal male income, whilst Aboriginal men made approximately 63% of this figure. Interestingly, the occupational pattern for Aboriginal women corresponds to that for non-Aboriginal women, focusing heavily (approximately 60%) in the clerical, sales and service sector. Approximately 20% of Aboriginal women are in managerial/professional categories, as are a slightly higher (22%) proportion of non-Aboriginal women. The occupational pattern for Aboriginal men which concentrates heavily upon the construction and agricultural sector does not mirror that of non-Aboriginal men who have a greater proportion in the managerial/professional categories.

Whether the current structure of the Aboriginal family and household is particularly disadvantageous to Aboriginal women is difficult to address. Statistics indicate that Aboriginal women appear to carry more of the burden for familial matters than do non-Aboriginal women. Over 20% of Aboriginal families are single parent families (Supply and Services, 1986, p.

1 Note: there are some minor discrepancies between the figures presented in the Supply and Services (1986) report and that of Statistics Canada (1984) although these figures are derived from the same data base. Presumably these discrepancies are the result of rounding

22), of which over 80% are headed by lone females, compared to 10% for the Canadian population generally. The percentage of families headed singly by Aboriginal women is higher in urban areas. For example, in 1981, almost 92% of all lone parent Aboriginal families in Winnipeg were headed by lone females (Supply and Services, 1986, p.22). However, the concept of marital dependency cannot be operationalized for Aboriginal women in the same sense that it can for Canadian women generally: the high rates of unemployment among Aboriginal men, combined with the situations in which Aboriginal women are the heads of households precludes this. The created dependency of Aboriginal people by the state conceptually overshadows the relationships between Aboriginal women and men.

D. Characteristics of Violence Against Aboriginal Women

As noted in the introduction, little has been written about particular justice issues as they affect or involve Aboriginal women. The issue of violence against Aboriginal women is no exception. To collect material for this section of the literature review, a number of strategies were undertaken. This included the following:

- a computerized search of the National Victims Resource Centre of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada;

- a computerized search of major North American social science data bases;
- a manual search through material compiled by the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence of the Health and Welfare Canada;
- manual searches through compiled bibliographies on Native issues; and
- additional manual searches through pertinent Amerindian journals.

The results of these various strategies disappointingly confirmed the lack of coverage in the area. However, using the sporadic sources available, it is possible to reconstruct the victimization experiences of Aboriginal women on a preliminary basis.

Incidence

The indications within the literature are that the incidence of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women is of significant proportions. Riddell and Doxtator (1986) report high rates of wife battering in

their survey of 169 Native women living in London, Ontario and the neighbouring Oneida Reserve. Of the urban sample (n = 105), 71% indicated that they had been battered by either current or past partners (p. 13). Of the reserve sample, 48% indicated that they had been victims of abuse by their male partners. An explanation for the differences in urban/reserve rates was however cautiously avoided due to the small sample size and because both samples were not constructed on a random basis.

In both sample groups, 70% of the respondents felt that battering was a common occurrence. 41% of the urban sample, and 45% of the reserve sample reported witnessing violence between their parents.

Research into spousal assault in the North West Territories has suggested that 1 in 4 Dene women have been subjected to violence by their spouses (NWT, 1985,p.2). The Nova Scotia Native Women's Association (1985) recently conducted a survey of 300 Micmac women which found that 7 in 10 married Native respondents had been victimized by their husbands (Section VII).

An analysis of Canadian homicide rates further suggests Aboriginal domestic violence directed at Aboriginal women by Aboriginal men can readily transform into a homicide, a trend which is evident for Canadian society as a whole (MacLeod, 1980, p.10). In a study of homicide patterns among the Aboriginal population between 1961 and 1974, Gaucher (1977)

observed that 58% of all Aboriginal intra-racial homicides took place in the context of a domestic relationship, compared to a national percentage of 43%. Of all Aboriginal female homicide victims recorded from 1961 and 1974, 69% were victims of domestic homicide (p.27).

Explanations of Aboriginal Male Spouse/Partner Abuse

Few of the available studies have satisfactorily explained why Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women occurs. To a large degree, the literature has focused on situational factors - primarily alcohol, as a facilitator in precipitating wife abuse. Essentially this observation is based on the perceptions of battered women themselves. For example, 90% of the respondents to the Nova Scotia Native Women's Association survey felt that the abuse which they had endured was attributable to alcohol abuse (Nova Scotia Native Women's Association 1985). The majority of the respondents to the London and Oneida reserve survey (1986) felt that most of their beatings were alcohol related. A study conducted for Indian and Northern Affairs further noted that "abuse is related to factors such as despair, depression and alcohol abuse" (Weiler, 1985 p.9). The North West Territories report more cautiously indicated that "while the use of alcohol may not be

the root cause for all incidents of spousal assault, it is a contributing factor" (1985, p.55).

In an earlier study of crime in Churchill, Jayewardene (1972) observed that wife-beating may be a product of male and female drinking patterns. He commented,

It is usually and very frequently wife-beating in which the Indians are reputed to engage in after they consume alcohol...It is assumed to be one of those things which are and cannot be explained. It appears, however to be involved with cultural interpretations of behaviour. In the case of the Indians and Eskimo, to ignore the individual is the biggest insult that one could offer. Perhaps the intoxicated wife's non-compliance with the intoxicated husband's request to continue drinking with him is interpreted by the husband as an unprovoked insult calling for a violent remedial reaction (p.68)

The role of alcohol as a facilitator of wife abuse and as an absolver of responsibility for male behaviour cannot be considered an underlying causal factor of wife abuse. Nor can the possible conjecture which focuses blame on the wife for provoking the attack! For to do so ignores the crux of the issue: what encourages men to assume that they have the right to beat their wives.

The literature has also stressed a relationship between the underlying social and economic dislocation within contemporary Aboriginal societies and violence against women. Clark (1985), in his analysis of Native victimization in Canada, noted that social and economic dependency and dis-

location of many Aboriginal societies are contributing factors in this kind of victimization. He maintained that the marginalization of this population in both its urban and rural settings has resulted in persistent high rates of unemployment, considerable problems with alcohol, and in general a collective shattered self-esteem among the population. This situation induces social and personal conflict. Although his analysis considers the propensity for Aboriginal males to directly abuse women as an outcome of stress, he does not extend his thesis to include the perspective of male attitudes towards women within these societies.

Riddell and Doxtator (1986) explicitly assert that violence against Aboriginal women by Aboriginal men is a product of sexism. In their introductory remarks they observe that in the mainstream literature on violence against women,

preconceived notions of women 'provoking' battering, or of alcohol, unemployment, or other external factors causing men to batter are slowly being replaced with increased understanding of the anger control issues among men, as well as how sexism contributes to men's needs to maintain power over women; through force if necessary... (1986, p.2)


They then conclude:

- It is clearly time to set into motion a similar process specifically directed toward the native women in Ontario and Canada (1986, p. 3)

Their subsequent analysis points to a general acceptance of male violence against women among members of the communities which they studied. The reserve women they surveyed tended to stay in battered relationships much longer than their urban Aboriginal counterparts. While this may in part be a product of the lack of options available to these women, they also noted that abused women may feel socially pressured into maintaining a marriage or relationship, despite the physical danger. Pressure may originate in other family members. Commenting on her thirty years' experience in an abuse relationship, one woman stated:

My father, who I really looked up to, told me I had made my bed and I better learn to lie in it. I tried to live my life by those words...

An Ontario study prepared for the Provincial Justice Secretariat (ARA, 1985) and conducted in Fort Albany/Moosonee, Thunder Bay, Brantford/Six Nations and Toronto focused exclusively on self-identified battered women. It further indicated that members of the community may also exert pressure on the abused woman to endure the relationship. Sixty four percent of the respondents indicated that they felt it very important to keep family matters confidential. Moreover, 56% strongly felt that family



and friends would disapprove of involving other persons in family disputes. Finally, 55% felt that they must accept the abusive behaviour from their husbands. These data, which ARA consultants argue emphasize a commitment to an impermeable 'nuclear family' unit, seem to contrast rather strikingly with the image of traditional Aboriginal familial/gender relationships which were characterized by a supportive extended family network. Again, this emphasizes the need for research into the Aboriginal family formation.

At a broader level of analysis, the responses of these women further suggest that the relationship between Aboriginal women and the state may play a role in community tolerance of male violence towards women. Women's activists and community professionals estimated that possibly only 1 woman in 10 would call the police for assistance. Only 26 % of the women interviewed indicated that they had called the police the last time they were beaten (ARA, 1985, p. v-5). Interestingly, 81% indicated that fear of anger and retaliation by their husbands were rated as very important factors in deciding not to involve the police. In rural areas, where police are not available on a regular basis to monitor crisis situations, an initial police intervention (possibly leading to a formal charge) could still leave the husband free and in a position to take revenge. Although this situation may exist in urban areas, the remoteness and isolation which the rural women feel is even greater than that felt by their urban counterparts.

An important, related finding of this study is the alienation which a majority of participants felt from the traditional avenues of intervention. A total of 76% of the respondents indicated that they did not seek police intervention because they felt that the police would not be able to help and that they felt that the police would believe their partners, not them. Not only did these women fear for themselves, but also for the custody of their children and the unity of their family. A total of 67% indicated that they were afraid that the police would take their children away (ARA, 1985, p.v6-v70), a fear which in many instances is not unfounded. Moreover, of the 26% of respondents who had called the police, 56% of them indicated that they were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way that the police had handled the situations (ARA, 1985, v12).

This alienation from externally controlled Canadian justice is evident at all levels of the reserve structure and further inhibits any effective response. As argued in the Ontario Justice Secretariat study,

On reserves, there may be a lack of support for strong police reaction to family violence on the part of the Band Council members. Most Band Council members are male, and may not have particularly progressive attitudes concerning family violence. Without support of the Band Council, [police] officers may be unlikely to take vigorous efforts against family violence (p.v17)

Comparison with Indigenous Male Spouse/Partner Abuse in other Colonized Nations

An attempt was also made to examine literature concerning violence against women in cultures which underwent a parallel process of European colonization (Boserup, 1972). The literature in this regard was of limited value as few studies have examined the issue in the specific context of the impact of colonization. The limited literature reviewed appears to mirror the faults of modernization theory which was discussed in the first section of this literature review, but even more erroneously adopts a "blaming the victim" approach. For example, Mushanga (1977/78, pp. 479-485) examined wife victimization in east and central Africa and found that in a disproportionate number of homicides which occurred, wives were victims. Without actually analyzing status variables by gender, he concluded:

It would appear that the new ideas about women's liberation in traditional communities bring about death....these ideas may conflict with cultural patterns of behaviour and socially accepted responses...these ideas remain quite alien and are utterly unacceptable to the uneducated and traditionally-oriented men who form the bulk of the population of offenders....(p.484)

In a brief review of the literature on wife assault in cross-cultural perspective, Bowker (1984) hypothesized that "modernization" and its ac-

companying stresses upon traditional societies would have the general effect of increasing the incidence and severity of wife-beating (Bowker, 1984, p. 11). Moreover, he suggested that these stresses would be more heavily felt by the lower strata of society, which would, in turn exhibit higher levels of wife-abuse. Not only does Bowker fail to define what in fact he means by "modernization", his assumption of wife-beating as a problem of the lower class is particularly objectionable in light of a great deal of research which confirms that wife abuse is a cross-class phenomenon (Dobash and Dobash, 1978, Macleod, 1980). Conceptually and analytically, Bowker's explanation is not very helpful. As pointed out in the above section, stress may be a facilitating factor however a discussion of its core causes needs to address the issue of gender relations.

E. Conclusion

A review of the literature concerning the impact of colonialism on Aboriginal society in general, and on Aboriginal women in particular provides a useful backdrop for an examination of violence directed at Aboriginal women. The literature reveals a number of ideological and material complexities which should be taken into consideration in the examination of violence. These revolve around the underlying economic and social changes in gender relations which were the result of contact with

European society. In summary, the literature suggests that the structural aspects of Aboriginal society were deeply affected by the colonization process, which generally directed the societies away from a communal mode of production to a capitalist mode of production based on the fur trade. The form of production which was created ultimately did not sustain itself much beyond the mid-nineteenth century, as white agrarian settlement advanced across the prairies. At that time, the interdependency between the white colonizers and the Aboriginal societies was eliminated. Legal mechanisms, in particular treaties and the Indian Act were put in place to govern Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. The ensuing laws and policies were designed to ensure more effective control over the Aboriginal population.

An integral part of the state ideology was the assimilation of Aboriginal people to European norms. This clearly involved the suppression and restructuring of the traditional roles and autonomy of Aboriginal women and men. The simultaneous pressures created by colonization on the economic and social organization of Aboriginal community structures and norms influenced all spheres of activity. The actual ideological penetration is not readily generalizable, however a tentative summary can be drawn from this literature:

1. The status of Aboriginal women was characterized by greater equality in the generally egalitarian structured societies of the pre-European contact period. That is, women not only played recognized valuable social and economic roles, but they held control over the spheres of activities in which they participated. In these societies, women exercised considerable personal autonomy, and the classic female familial domain was not secondary to the public, political domain.

2. Colonialism changed the 'mode of production' in Aboriginal societies to a capitalist one, oriented to trade. In the period of fur-trade society an interdependence was fostered at the material level, which was soon extended into the social relations of the interdependent societies. To a large extent, the fur trade was affected by the role which Aboriginal women and women of 'mixed-blood' played in white fur trade society. In the final analysis, however, the social exchanges and changes in social relations favoured both white and Aboriginal men and served to increase their power and control over Aboriginal women.

3. The economic and social interdependency between the Aboriginal and white colonizers did not extend beyond mid-nineteenth century. The decline of the fur trade and the pressure for western agrarian settlement were to restructure Aboriginal/white relations. The control of land by the white colonizers and the creation of the reserve system effectively alienated

Aboriginal men and women from the dominant mode of production and infrastructure.

4. Within the 'total relations' of economic dependency and underdevelopment which were produced by the expansion of agrarian settlement, Aboriginal women were placed at the last rung of the hinterland ladder. In the analysis however, this cannot be totally separated from the effect which colonialism had on marginalizing Aboriginal society as a whole.

5. Colonialism changed the nature of social and economic relations between Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men, persistently reinforcing the structural superiority of men. Contemporary evidence relating to the socio-economic position of Aboriginal women in comparison to both non-Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men illustrates the 'double jeopardy' with which many Aboriginal women are faced. However, the dominance which Aboriginal men may exert over Aboriginal women is distinct from that of non-Aboriginal Canadian men, because the former have been denied the equitable opportunities and positions in Canadian society generally.

6. Legal and ideological European-oriented, gender based inequalities were imposed which can be summarized as the imposition of a patriarchal order by the state. However, a patriarchal order - as evidenced in the formal adoption of patriarchal institutions of marriage may not be uniformly integrated across Aboriginal societal variations. Further research, at specific

community levels, is required to examine gender relations within the context of Aboriginal family forms more closely.

7. A limited, but relatively consistent body of literature suggests that Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners is currently a significant problem. On the basis of the literature review, however, it would appear that this phenomenon is the product of a more complex process than that dictated by the "universality of patriarchy" thesis so commonly used by feminist theory in explaining violence against women cross-culturally. The origins of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women relate to a particular 'social form' arising in Aboriginal communities from the colonization process. In this context, the term 'social form' refers to the particular set of social and gender relations which have been intersubjectively developed and intertwined over time within the general development of the Canadian state and capitalism.

Thus, a constructive analysis of violence against Aboriginal women must come to terms with the relationship between the Aboriginal people and the formation (and perpetuation) of the Canadian state at a more general level.

CHAPTER 3 - RESULTS OF THE EXPERT OPINION SURVEY

A. Introduction

Having situated the problem of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women in this general context, it is now possible to explore the nature of such violence more concretely. The expert opinion survey was chosen as a method which would yield a generalized, interpretive account of the nature of Aboriginal spouse abuse based on the knowledge and experience of particular categories of experts involved with Aboriginal women. The methodological considerations for this approach were discussed in Chapter One.

B. Description of Respondents

Generally, the geographic distribution of the respondents is representative of both the Aboriginal women's associations and the service organizations, which are primarily located in the southern urban parts of Canada.

The distribution is described in Table I:

TABLE I

LOCATION OF RESPONDING EXPERTS' ORGANIZATIONS

Location	Number	Percent
Large urban south	6	30.0%
Large urban north	1	5.0%
Small - medium urban south	5	25.0%
Small - medium urban north	4	20.0%
Rural accessible south	1	5.0%
Rural accessible north	2	10.0%
Rural remote south	0	0.0%
Rural remote north	1	5.0%
Total	20	100.0%

Large urban = population of 100,000 or over

Small - medium urban = population of 10,000 - 99,000

Rural accessible = population less than 10,000, usually accessible by rail or road

Rural remote = population less than 10,000, usually accessible by rail or road

Northern defined as 53 parallel or above

The majority of the twenty respondents (16 or 80%) were located in urban centres. Nine of these, representing 45% of the total respondents, were located in medium sized urban centres while the remaining seven, representing 35.0% of the total respondents, were located in large urban centres. Only four respondents (20%) were located in rural areas. Of these, three were located in accessible rural areas and one was located in a remote community.

Twelve (60%) of the respondents were located in southern regions of Canada, and eight (40%) were located in northern regions. The coverage from across Canada was representative, excepting Quebec for which no responses were received.

Although the experts were asked for their personal opinions which may or may not reflect the views of the particular organizations they represent, it is likely that their organizational position will have influenced their knowledge about Aboriginal spouse/partner abuse. This reasoning provided the rationale for categorizing the experts according to the level and sphere of knowledge they could be expected to contribute.

Eleven (55%) of the organizations were founded by Aboriginal women's groups. Of these organizations, six (30.0% of all responding organizations) serve as advocacy mechanisms for Aboriginal women on a broad range of issues. Generally, these organizations were founded in the

1970s, a period in which the awareness of Aboriginal women's issues and the general politicization of Aboriginal women began to nationally emerge. Generally, these organizations are informed about the issue of the victimization of Aboriginal women through contact with their national or provincial/territorial membership and, in some cases, special initiatives (such as conferences, research, etc.) in which they have played a part. The remaining five (25%) organizations founded by Aboriginal women are service oriented organizations which emerged in the 1980s. Generally, their services are geared toward assisting Aboriginal women and their children in times of crisis, which may extend beyond the provision of assistance to women who have been battered.

The remaining nine experts represent organizations which provide services for non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal women. In these cases, the respondents themselves were not of Aboriginal origin, as far as can be ascertained. However, because their services are located in proximity to Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal women comprise a significant proportion of their clients it was felt that their opinions would be important. Notably, half of them indicated that 50% or more of their clientele in the past year was of

Aboriginal origin. The remaining four cited lower figures (25% or less), however in previous years these figures had been considerably higher (Health and Welfare, 1985¹). It is not possible to comment on the reason for these apparently declining percentages, as such information was not sought through the survey mechanism. Readers should also bear in mind that these figures are only estimates.

With respect to all of the service-related organizations, it should be noted that clients may go to the shelters for a variety of reasons, not necessarily directly related to an immediately preceding violent incident involving their spouse/partner. However, nine of the fourteen respondents in this category indicated that one-half or more of their clients had been victims of spouse/partner abuse (4 responses).

It is difficult to establish the residential location of the Aboriginal women who are served by these service organizations, as records are not necessarily kept on this basis. Not surprisingly, it would appear that shelters draw their clients from their immediate population base. This results in urban southern Aboriginal women being more heavily represented among the client group. Women in accessible rural areas are somewhat likely to

1 Page number is not cited to ensure anonymity.

use shelters located in nearby urban centres. Generally speaking, women in remote settings rarely have ready access to such formal shelters and are accordingly less likely to use these services. The majority of the experts seemed particularly sympathetic to the isolation problems of these women (which will be discussed later in this Chapter).

The women responding to the survey appear to represent a viable group of experts on the issue of violence against Aboriginal women, notwithstanding the fact that their experience and knowledge is possibly more urban based than desirable. This drawback is however mitigated by the following factors. First, the six responding experts from advocacy groups represent organizations with membership among urban and rural Aboriginal women, and it is assumed that their views are reflective of this membership basis. Secondly, two respondents from service oriented shelters are located in rural areas, and over half of the urban based experts are located in small to medium urban centres which also provide services to rural Aboriginal women.

C. Perceived Type and Severity of Violence

The experts were asked to describe the types, or kinds of violence which Aboriginal women are subjected to by their Aboriginal

spouses/partners. Fourteen (73.7%) of respondents indicated that Aboriginal women experience a combination of physical assault, emotional assault and sexual assault. Five respondents (26.3%) referred only to physical and emotional aspects of spousal violence (one missing case). Physical assault would generally appear to be the primary form of abuse, however three non-Aboriginal respondents did suggest that sexual abuse was also present, albeit difficult to establish or identify, as their clients were generally unwilling to identify themselves as victims of sexual abuse. One non-Aboriginal respondent identified sexual abuse of women and children by males as "more accepted" in Aboriginal cultures than non-Aboriginal Canadian culture.

At this point, there are no contemporary works - empirical or otherwise, which have explored Aboriginal sexual relations to establish that this is the case. While historical accounts and anthropological studies have commented upon the apparently informal attitudes towards sexual activity and acceptability of such abusive male initiated behaviour towards women and girls in certain tribes, none would appear to importantly have asked, "accepted", by which gender? The attitudes and opinions of Aboriginal women themselves most clearly need to be incorporated into research on sexuality before meaningful observations can be made.

TABLE II

PERCEIVED SEVERITY OF ABORIGINAL MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST ABORIGINAL SPOUSES/PARTNERS

LOCATION	PERCEIVED LEVEL OF SEVERITY				MISSING
	NOT AT ALL SEVERE	SOMEWHAT SEVERE	VERY SEVERE		
Large Urban	0 (0%)	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	
Small-medium Urban	0 (0%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	
Accessible Rural	0 (0%)	5 (25%)	10 (50%)	5 (25%)	
Remote Rural	0 (0%)	6 (30%)	9 (45%)	5 (25%)	

N = 30

The experts were asked their opinion about the severity of the problem of Aboriginal spouse/partner abuse. Generally, respondents indicated that this problem was somewhat to very severe in Aboriginal communities, as evidenced by Table II on the preceding page.

In examining this table, it should be noted that respondents appear to have been careful about responding only to those areas upon which they felt they had specific knowledge, hence the high number of missing responses to this question. Interestingly, respondents indicated that violence in rural communities is more severe than in urban communities. Although few respondents qualified their scoring, those who did indicated that situational factors, such as higher unemployment rates and higher alcoholism rates contribute to more spousal violence in rural communities. According to the respondents, it would appear men, who are generally frustrated in these situations, appear to require control over some aspect of their lives, and women (and children) are readily targeted. This would suggest that the marginalization and displacement experienced by Aboriginal persons as a result of the colonial capitalism are related factors to consider.

Furthermore, the respondents indicated that rural settings offer fewer opportunities for women to temporarily or permanently leave violent relationships. Because of their isolation and their lack of resources (including alternative support structures) women see no alternative to remaining

within violent relationships. Thus it is perhaps because of these external constraints that the experts have viewed the situation in rural communities as particularly severe.

D. Perceived Causes and Emergence of Violence

The experts found difficulty in discussing the causes and emergence of Aboriginal spousal/partner violence against Aboriginal women as a problem. Of the 12 experts responding to these questions, all recognized the construction of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women as a social problem to be modern occurrence.

There appears to be a general consensus among the majority of respondents that male violence reflects particular attitudes of superiority toward women, however considerable debate about the origins of these attitudes is contained in their comments. Ten (50%) of the respondents addressed the historical basis of such violence. Interestingly, four (20.0%) of these (comprising non-Aboriginal experts) adopted a universalistic explanation, indicating that violence against women was originally present in Aboriginal cultures, as it is present in all cultures. In contrast, 6 (30%) experts identified the acculturation process as an important factor in Aboriginal spouse abuse. Two respondents specifically identified the Indian Act as an important ideological basis for the introduction and perpetuation of western patriarchal attitudes toward women, which legitimize and con-

done male violence directed at women. In particular, one respondent commented:

[violence is due to]..The Indian Act and imposed alien laws and education ...the residential school system represented a form of abuse to the aboriginal people by clergy and teachers.....they in turn abuse spouses and children.

One respondent cited the example of recent court decisions (Derrickson v. Derrickson and Paul v. Paul, Supreme Court of Canada, May, 1986) in which it was upheld that, under the Indian Act, women who leave their matrimonial homes have no right or interest to that home in law. Although the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) is aware that provincial family property law does not apply on reserves, it has not indicated that it will consider or seek a remedy to the discrimination against Indian women in this regard (Status of Women Canada, 1986, p.101). Discrimination toward Indian women is also evident within DIAND's funding policies with respect to status-Indian women who utilize off-reserve shelters. According to the respondent, at the present time in her area DIAND will only fund for 3 days stay, which she views as grossly inadequate. In the Final Report of the Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering, prepared in 1986, DIAND confirmed eligibility criteria for per diem assistance and funding practices vary across Canada, however in that

report they did not commit themselves to initiating any solution to this situation.

The latter two respondents indicated that they believed changes affecting the material conditions of life for Aboriginal people and the attendant changing roles of men and women as a result of the colonization process were central factors in the high incidence of wife/partner abuse in Aboriginal communities. As one respondent stated:

[Aboriginal male violence against women is caused by]...feelings of inadequacy in unemployed males. Traditional means of family support i.e. hunting, fishing, etc, have been taken away resulting in anger, low self-esteem and hopelessness, which is then directed towards those most handy - the partner...

Similarly, another respondent commented:

[Aboriginal male violence expresses]..their desire to control some portion of their lives. Also, many aboriginal men do not and cannot explain or communicate their feelings of frustration with the non-native and in many cases the native environments in which they live, as such they turn to physical abuse...

The remaining respondent cautiously elaborated her remarks to discuss male violence as a more complex phenomenon than a superficial interpretation of the colonization thesis appears to make it. Specifically, this respondent indicated that spousal assault cannot be interpreted as a sole

product of colonization, for historical descriptions do indicate that elements of inequality were present in Aboriginal societies. However, the colonization process has further encouraged the attitude that violence toward women is acceptable behaviour. What this latter position suggests is a complex ideological and materially based phenomenon resulting from the devaluation of traditional Aboriginal roles, which, at both levels contribute toward the acceptability of male supremacy over women.

Notably, only one-half (10) of the respondents indicated that substance abuse, primarily alcohol, is factor in Aboriginal spouse/partner abuse. In six of these cases, however, respondents had qualified their comments by linking the use of alcohol to the structural problems facing individual community members, such as unemployment and cultural alienation.

E. Services

The majority of respondents (18 or 90%) indicated that despite the existence of some services for abused Aboriginal women within their communities, generally, the present service network is inadequate to meet the needs of Aboriginal women. A major problem identified was that existing services are geared toward the needs of urban-based women generally, not Aboriginal women specifically. Moreover, the dearth of Aboriginal controlled shelters was identified as problematic for Aboriginal women who, it was

indicated, are reluctant to use shelters which are run by non-Aboriginal persons who are not prepared to deal with different cultural orientations and alternatives to dealing with Aboriginal spousal abuse. These observations also find support in previous studies of the situation of rural Aboriginal women, such as Riddell and Doxtator, 1986 and ARA 1985.

Interestingly, the Aboriginal experts responding to this question explained the reluctance of Aboriginal women to use generalized shelters by indicating that Aboriginal women do not feel comfortable in shelters which are not run by their people. Two of these respondents specifically referred to racism as a problem in these shelters. The non-aboriginal experts displayed a tendency to attribute the low usage of available resources by Aboriginal women due to pressures originating in Aboriginal communities themselves. As one respondent stated,

there are probably enough services [in our area] but the women must want to use them

The problems facing rural and reserve Aboriginal women were regarded by all respondents as particularly acute. Local services are limited in existence. Because of this, the awareness of solutions to the problem of spousal abuse among community members is low. In many cases, if an Aboriginal woman chooses to seek shelter or assistance, it inevitably means leaving her community. This means the disruption of the familial and social

network for herself and her children. While urban centres may have some aspects of a support network (through transition houses, Friendship centres, and so on, this may be fragmentary and in any case not regarded as a meaningful replacement for the ties which must be broken in the community. In the case of status Indian women who decide to leave the reserve, the respondents indicated that this decision can have serious legal consequences. First, her leaving may jeopardize her rights to band membership for her and her children and may have implications for her rights to her matrimonial home (see discussion, above). Moreover, when funding for status Indian women is limited to 3 days stay in a shelter, at best these women are only provided with a brief opportunity to find direction for themselves. Thus ironically, the woman is doubly victimized. Banishment, a traditional means of restoring justice through the removal of the offender from the community - is ironically the victim's chief option.

F. Awareness of the Problem

Generally, the respondents indicated that awareness of the problem of spousal assault in Aboriginal communities varies considerably, as evidenced in Table III on the following page.

TABLE III
**PERCEIVED AWARENESS OF ABORIGINAL MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST
 ABORIGINAL SPOUSES/PARTNERS AMONG ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES**

GROUP	LEVEL OF AWARENESS				MISSING
	NOT AT ALL AWARE	SOMEWHAT AWARE	VERY AWARE		
Aboriginal Women	2 (10%)	12 (60%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	
Aboriginal Men	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	
Aboriginal Associations	2 (10%)	12 (60%)	0 (0%)	6 (30%)	
Band/Hamlet Councils	3 (15%)	10 (50%)	0 (0%)	7 (35%)	
Aboriginal Elders	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	

N = 20

Interestingly, the experts perceived a great split between the levels of awareness of spousal/partner abuse as a problem among Aboriginal men and women. Aboriginal women were perceived as more likely to be somewhat, or very aware of the issue than their male counterparts, who contrastingly are perceived to exhibit fairly low levels of awareness. As one Aboriginal respondent commented:

The men do not recognize the problem because they do not see their actions as a form of abuse...

Another non-Aboriginal respondent stated:

..[the] prevailing attitude by aboriginal men is to control wife and family. When physical abuse does occur the male may admit to maybe being a little too harsh in his controlling methods but on the whole feels it is his right and duty to control the wife and family...

Respondents felt that Aboriginal women are generally aware of spouse abuse as a problem. One respondent commented:

Inuit women in general and Inuit women employed within aboriginal organizations are much more concerned about health and social issues than their male counterparts

One respondent suggested that generational differences exist here as well:

...the women, especially the younger ones are balking the abuse - the older women tend to accept battering as a "way of life"...

A lack of awareness is also perceived to be present among Aboriginal governmental organizations, which respondents appeared to view as male dominated. In accounting for these differences, respondents made the following observations:

Local bands are not very interested in the problem...

Aboriginal women have lack of knowledge of their rights. Chief and council are comprised of primarily male members, dominate administration of rules and regulations and attitudes of a band...

G. Solutions

The respondents were asked to identify the types of strategies which, in their opinion, would be feasible ways of changing the abusive behaviour of Aboriginal men towards Aboriginal women. In this area, the responses of the experts varied considerably. With respect to the Aboriginal experts, seven (63.6%) of the responding eleven experts stressed the need for combined strategies of intervention. While counselling of Aboriginal males was

is regarded as a pivotal component, the format for this counselling varied. Four (36.6%) of the respondents indicated that counselling should be combined with broader education efforts which would contribute to the wider recognition of spouse abuse as a problem, and would educate and encourage the reaffirmation of traditional male and female-roles in Aboriginal societies. The development of positive self-esteem was also regarded as critical. As one respondent stated:

Aboriginal men also need to be reaffirmed to their roles and clearly understand the "old" way of roles between men and women. Aboriginal men need as much building as the women. Native communities need to say loud and clear that violent behaviour is clearly not to be tolerated. At this point in time, it appears to be an accepted and expected part of being Aboriginal.

Although the nature of counselling was not specified in many responses, four (36.6) Aboriginal experts explicitly identified the need for traditionally based strategies, which utilize community resources, such as elders and Aboriginal support workers. One respondent also commented that self-help groups organized by Aboriginal males could provide the opportunity for men to start to examine their frustrations and to uncover solutions to their problems. This respondent further stated the need for men who abuse their spouses and children to open themselves to spirituality and traditional

Aboriginal teachings in order to find the coping mechanisms required to deal with violent tendencies.

Interestingly, few of these experts envisioned the involvement of the criminal justice system as presently constituted in these endeavours. Only four respondents explicitly referred to criminal justice intervention as part of a desired strategy. One respondent suggested incarceration, one suggested that treatment be court mandated and one simply referred to the need for police to consistently charge men who appear to have abused their spouses.

When all of the Aboriginal experts were asked to specifically indicate if the criminal justice system should have a role in the overall handling of spouse abuse, all indicated "yes". However, most cautiously qualified their answers by describing changes which would have to occur if this were to become workable. One respondent commented that the criminal justice system would "have to do a 180 degree turn around" because, in its present format "it perpetuates violence in our people". One respondent called for reform which would enable Aboriginal controlled structures to exist. One respondent stressed the need for greater advocacy for abused women, criminal justice awareness generally, greater community involvement and sentencing linked to treatment as focal areas of concern. Two respondents

indicated that criminal justice intervention should occur "if necessary" however the necessitating conditions were not described.

In summary, the Aboriginal experts argued that the criminal justice system, if it is to be utilized, must play a greater role in community awareness and prevention, advocacy for abused Aboriginal women, and sentencing which should include some form of treatment plan for the offender. This seems to suggest a concern that social control mechanisms should be brought to bear on this problem. Generally, however, the respondents were reluctant to endorse the use of current criminal justice procedures as effective ways of handling their concerns.

Experts working within shelters which deal with both Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal women shared dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system's response to spousal abuse, however they were somewhat more likely to advocate criminal justice intervention and punitive measures. Of the six experts based in general shelters responding to the question of what should be done with Aboriginal males to change their behaviour, one advocated criminal justice intervention only (incarceration), whilst the remaining viewed criminal justice involvement as integral to successful treatment strategies. When asked to respond specifically to the question of whether the criminal justice system should be involved with the question of Aboriginal spousal abuse generally, all nine respondents indicated that

criminal justice system should be involved. In six cases, the discussion focussed on the application of mandatory charging, mandatory treatment and greater awareness and education about spousal assault on the part of criminal justice professionals and the public at large.

H. Role of the Family

The group of experts uniformly felt that the family should play a supportive role in developing individual solutions to abuse. But more importantly, the family was viewed as a mechanism for confronting the cycle of violence which exists in a number of family situations. As one respondent commented—

...the family is the basis on which we learn - we need to relearn...

Respondents appear to agree that family life and family education are important foci for teaching the young that violent behaviour is unacceptable.

I. Role of Elders

All respondents saw elders as important community members who should actively engage in both broad, educative activities and focused coun-

selling and support to help eliminate male violent behaviour (one missing response):

[Elders should play a] lead role in talking with both men and women; examining the issues and identifying the roles and methods of correcting the problem...

[Elders] should bring communities back to traditional values...

[Elders should become] involved in rehabilitation of batterers and in care of battered and children from a spiritual perspective...

One respondent, however, cautioned that elders must elicit respect among the community members, and fully support the need to end the violence.

J. Role of Aboriginal Organizations and Associations

All of the respondents indicated that Aboriginal community organizations should be involved in this issue. Respondents indicated that organizations need to develop advocacy/public awareness capacities which could strengthen a community awareness and perception of family violence as wrongful. Additionally, one respondent suggested that organizations could

play a direct role in providing shelters for battered Aboriginal women. Aboriginal women's organizations in particular should play an instrumental role in assisting their membership to become aware of their rights and the rights of their children, through activities such as awareness workshops and direct program support for abused women.

Similarly, the majority (19 or 95%) of the respondents felt that social service agencies should become proactively involved in dealing with the issue of violence, through similar initiatives, however two respondents indicated that caution should be exercised in this case. One Aboriginal respondent suggested that social service agencies should have a greater role if they are Aboriginal controlled. Otherwise, it was suggested that their role should be limited, especially in cases in which the welfare of the children may be at stake. One non-Aboriginal respondent cautiously stated that social service agencies have, historically, exhibited a paternalistic attitude toward Aboriginal peoples, and that for this reason, their activities in this sphere of violence need careful consideration. Certainly these latter concerns reflect the alienation which Aboriginal women, men and children have felt at the mercy of Canada's child welfare system.

Additional comments were made by one Aboriginal respondent with respect to the possible role of men's groups (i.e. self-help groups), perhaps echoing a more frequently arising concern that the current response to this

issue has almost exclusively focused on the needs from the perspective of women. This respondent actively argued that legitimate change can only occur if men become actively involved in finding solutions. Another Aboriginal respondent indicated that other institutions, such as schools and health service need to become aware of, and serve as educative mechanisms in combating violence against women.

K. Satisfaction with Aboriginal Governmental Responses

The experts were uniformly dissatisfied with the performance of Aboriginal political structures in dealing with the issue of male violence against women (four missing cases). Seven (39%) respondents explicitly stated that these Aboriginal governmental structures have not adequately recognized spousal assault as a serious problem, nor supported the development of initiatives to deal with it. The sentiments voiced in four Aboriginal respondents' comments particularly address the issue of male domination of these structures:

They don't touch the issue - given the fact they are "leaders", they have not evolved to traditional ways of leadership which include aboriginal women... they have been brainwashed by DIAND.

Band Councils do not seem to look at spousal abuse as a problem to be dealt with outside the family unit e.g. what happens in the home is no one else's business.

At the Band level, the leaders of the community must be more vocal against the issues of spousal abuse...

[They] should have greater female components on councils.

L. Satisfaction with Provincial Government Responses

Seventeen respondents indicated that they were not satisfied with the provincial response to the problem of spousal violence against Aboriginal women, whilst the remaining one was undecided (two missing responses). The twelve respondents who elaborated upon the source of this dissatisfaction spoke about the need for the provincial government to undertake a more supportive role (in terms of a stronger commitment to enforcing the law, to financial resources for educational efforts and support services) in this area. According to the provincial reports to the Working Group on Battered Wives (Status of Women, 1986), it would appear that only Manitoba and Ontario have actively supported Aboriginal initiatives. In Manitoba, a native family violence program is being designed to provide support services to Aboriginal women and their children, with the ultimate goal of establishing a native domestic assault program and training centre in Manitoba (Manitoba Report to the Working Group on Wife Battering, 1986, p 4). In

Ontario, various initiatives have been undertaken to provide crisis centres Aboriginal communities, which are operated by Aboriginal people.

Recognizing that the provincial jurisdiction for Aboriginal people is limited, one Aboriginal respondent felt that this level of government should provide funding to Métis and non-status groups for the implementation of programs. Notably, direct program involvement on the part of the provinces was not recommended. As one respondent commented:

It is the responsibility of Aboriginal people to address the issue themselves with financial backing.

Clearly the Aboriginal respondents see that what is required is "native people to work with native people".

Three non-Aboriginal respondents commented on the need for the provinces to show a greater commitment to punitive measures. As stated by one of these respondents:

..stiffer legislation with regard to police involvement in spousal abuse. Police must arrest the abuser, the crown prosecutor must prosecute and judgement must be made toward more severe sentences.

M. Satisfaction with the Federal Government's Response

The majority (17 or 85%) of the respondents felt dissatisfied with the response of the federal government to Aboriginal male violence. In particular, respondents from Aboriginal initiated organizations felt that the government was not taking a proactive position vis a vis abused Aboriginal women. The majority of the concerns raised focussed on the need for more funding to facilitate the development of community education and development issues, alongside support services for Aboriginal women and children who are abused. One Aboriginal respondent linked her dissatisfaction with the government's slowness to respond to demands for self government, which would enable Aboriginal peoples to institute needed programs, and to deal with remaining aspects of the Indian Act which discriminate against Indian women.

The respondents working within generally accessible organizations echoed these concerns. One non-Aboriginal respondent, however, cautioned that care would have to be exercised in the process of Indian self-government, to ensure that women are adequately represented within emerging structures.

N. Summary

To briefly summarize, the expert opinion survey provided a means to acquire direct data on the perceptions of persons actively engaged in Aboriginal women's issues. The written questionnaire method which was used to collect these data yielded favourable response rates, which enable generalized comments to be made. Recognizing that the acquired data are based on an interpretive account of the situation by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal experts does, however, pose certain limitations. As noted in the introductory comments, the reliability of expert opinion is, to a large extent, experientially based (Loseke and Cahill, 1983). Three categories of experts were established for the purposes of this study to account for perceived differences in expertise. Experts from Aboriginal women's advocacy groups were expected to have a broad-based understanding of the issue, whilst experts from shelters were expected to hold a more specific understanding of the problems abused Aboriginal women face. Within this latter category, two subcategories were developed to account for possible differences in opinions resulting from a closer sense of shared biography and shared community among Aboriginal experts who work in Aboriginal-run shelters as opposed to non-Aboriginal experts who work in general shelters which serve a high percentage of Aboriginal clientele.

Generally, it would appear that differences of opinion do exist on this basis. Aboriginal experts were more likely to consider the structural and ideological dimensions of the problem of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women as uniquely related to the process of colonization. The non-Aboriginal experts were more likely to view the problem of Aboriginal male violence in a universalistic framework. Differences also emerge in the area of solutions. Aboriginal experts were less likely to endorse the use of the criminal justice system, as presently constituted, in the creation of solutions. While all groups appear to support a holistic approach to the elimination of Aboriginal male spousal abuse, they do not emphasize the same elements.

Regrettably, the written questionnaire format adopted for this study does not permit the researcher to probe these different orientations any further. However, the general trends which are indicated in the data can form the basis for developing generalized theoretical statements which could at a future date be subjected to further examination. These are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4 - THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Introduction

In this final chapter, the theoretical implications for feminist research arising out of the literature review and the connecting expert opinion study are considered. The major questions addressed are two-fold. First, what is the contribution of the feminist-materialist perspective in terms of understanding the phenomenon of spouse/partner abuse in the context of Aboriginal gender relations? Secondly, what are the implications in terms of developing strategies to eliminate this kind of abuse?

B. Theoretical Implications

Feminism has been described as "an ideology, a theory and a method, and the three are inextricably intertwined" (Jamieson, 1981). The common-sense, generalized usage of the term, however, has masked the very fundamental and very real differences in theoretical and political orientations which fall under this widely-used rubric. Despite the fact that politically diverse segments within the feminist movement can agree that there is an interrelationship between the relatively low status and subordination of

women generally (supported by cross-cultural evidence of spousal violence in which women overwhelmingly are victims), this cannot be taken to infer that this "interrelationship" is similarly experienced by women.

In Canada, the dominating strand of feminism which has been applied to the issue of wife assault has focused on the notion of a shared biology, sisterhood, and a universal set of interests among women. The issue of race - in this case, the plight of Aboriginal women victims of male violence - has been constructed as an extended factor, not as a central issue for consideration. The evidence presented in this study suggests that notion of a universalistic base to male power and female subordination, upon which this approach is based, is not an appropriate framework from which an analysis of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women can proceed. In short, the notion of universality falls far short of providing a meaningful analysis of the historic, interactive nature of power, race, culture and social class in complex modern societies such as Canada's.

The theoretical fusion of feminism and historical materialism represents an attempt to create layered spheres of analyses which do account for these important features. It is this approach which can be sufficiently elaborated to explain the type of victimization endured by Aboriginal women at the hands of their Aboriginal spouses or partners. In this instance, the shared biography of women - according to class, race, as well as

gender, provides the grounding feature of the analysis. These are the unique dimensions to the structural and ideological origins of violence, which need to be considered in theory and in practice.

In examining the situation of Aboriginal women in Canada, the feminist-materialist perspective directs us to greater specificity in the analysis of the unique material and ideological dynamics which interpenetrate and produce Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women. In the course of this research, it has been argued that neither class, gender or racial oppression can take primacy in the analysis, for it is theoretically invalid to reduce the experiences of Aboriginal women to just one of these spheres.

In an abstract sense, it is helpful to consider Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women as an expression of a social form of Aboriginal societies. The term social form, as applied here, concerns a particular set of social and gender relations which have been intersubjectively developed, experienced and intertwined within the separate realm of the internal culture context and in relation to the dominant capitalist structures over time. It is by identifying the characteristics of this form that the contextually distinct origins of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women can be traced.

Political Economy of Colonization and Gender

At the material level, the main features of this component of the analysis must be examined in reference to the relationship of Aboriginal societies to the dominant mode of production. Starting at this level is based on the assumption that the mode of production plays a determining role in creating the baseline social form through which real relations between the genders are lived in both a material and ideological sense. This is not to suggest that ideology is created only through the material base, as structural Marxism would have it; it remains, however a central source for the creation of ideology.

In a general sense, the evidence suggests that the process of colonization effected significant changes in the mode of production within Aboriginal societies. The evidence gathered thus far suggests that Aboriginal peoples played a strategic role to European colonial capitalism throughout its developmental phases in the creation of Canada. This accommodation disrupted their indigenous communal based economy and fused their further evolution to external capitalistic forces.

Applying the 'development of underdevelopment' model articulated by A.Gunder Frank to the Canadian situation, authors such as Kellough (1980) and Frideres (1983) have been able to demonstrate that the expansion of French and British capital across North America was initially contin-

gent upon solid relations with Aboriginal people to facilitate resource extraction. From the European perspective, the need for interdependency diminished with the decline of the fur trade and the coincidental rise in European agrarian settlement in the late nineteenth century. It is at the historic juncture of European migration to Canada in the nineteenth century and its accompanying flurry of treaties and land settlements that the Aboriginal people of Canada first emerge as marginalized population, alienated from the emerging capitalistic form of production.

The role of the Canadian state in marginalizing the economic livelihood of Aboriginal peoples through the treaties and the politico-legal arrangements imposed through legislation such as the Indian Act needs to be considered here. In this present research, it is not possible to enter into the enormous political, economic and social complexity of debate surrounding the Canadian state's historic denial of Aboriginal rights since colonization began, but it is necessary to indicate that its historic role has chiefly been to ensure that Aboriginal people did not threaten the desired process of European capitalistic expansion which in the nineteenth century was preferentially based upon European migration. As Frideres (1983, p. 31) has argued, it was the pressure of European settlement itself which increased the state's intention to regulate and control Aboriginal people.

Because of the massive influx of European immigration occurring in the late nineteenth century there was never a need to transform this marginalized population into a separate 'reserve army' on a large scale. The internal perpetuation of out-moded forms of production alongside 'advanced' forms has been demonstrated as a compatible feature of modern capitalist development (Fitzgerald, 1983). Moreover, the procedure of assimilation outlined in the Indian Act was to have excluded such a creation, for the successful implementation of the Indian Act would have ultimately discharged the government's responsibilities to Aboriginal people. They would have ceased to exist as separate nations and their economic role in the Canadian economy would have merged with that of the general population. Indeed, until recently, the participation of Aboriginal people in the mainstream economy and Canadian society generally would have come at the cost of individual enfranchisement and the relinquishment of Aboriginal group rights. Thus for the Aboriginal people of Canada, the political economy of colonization has concerned a deeper, layered conflict over their role and very existence as a group in relation to the dominant culture.

Finding the strands which would enable a theoretical construction of how the political economy of the colonization process affected the lives of Aboriginal women has proven difficult to undertake. Most of the literature pertaining to the relationship of Aboriginal people to the colonization

process in Canada has ignored the issues of gender with the broad exception of the impact of the Indian Act upon the status and reproductive role of Indian women (Jamieson, 1980). While this literature has been helpful in explaining the how the relations between Aboriginal women and the Canadian state at the level of production and reproduction have been mediated in a general sense, it is not historically specific to the internal issue of Aboriginal gender relations.

The paucity of documentation on this latter subject impedes any kind of comprehensive theorizing. However, locating the relationship of Aboriginal women within the complex processes of colonization which have defined, produced and reproduced social relations in Canada, presents a way to begin to construct a theory.

A major problem in constructing a theoretical base remains the passivity with which Aboriginal women have been ascribed in anthropological, historical and contemporary accounts. Women are typically rendered invisible agents in the process of every day living, despite growing evidence to the contrary (Van Kirk, 1981; Brodribb, 1984). A danger in adopting an analysis which begins with the broader structure is that the myth of passivity may be inadvertently fed in the process (Parmar, 1982). To reiterate this point, which was raised in the introduction of this thesis, this is not the intention here.

Although we have seen that available sources concerning the impact of a communal mode of production upon gender relations are scarce and at many levels controversial, it would appear that under the conditions prior to European contact, productive roles were gender shared, and the internal balances and spheres of decision making were relatively gender equitable (Leacock, 1980).

This harmonious division of labour was gradually disrupted through contact with European traders. Although Van Kirk (1980) has argued that Aboriginal women were instrumental in encouraging trade (because of the technological benefits ~~it~~ brought to their spheres of activities and the community's generally), ultimately, the concentration of decision making in males - as the primary hunters - converged with the male-dominating model and interests of the colonizing culture.

At this stage, more research is required to theoretically and empirically specify how the erosion of the position of Aboriginal women vis a vis production took place. Van Kirk's analysis of the erosion of Aboriginal women's positions with the decline of the fur trade and the arrival of European women can serve as a starting point for research concerning the impact of the dominant state structure and its attendant economic impact upon these women. More research is required to document the specific histories of Aboriginal women over the course of the twentieth century, which

account for the position of Aboriginal women in relation to the Canada's political economy and the welfare state generally.

The position of Aboriginal women in relation to Aboriginal men in the contemporary conditions of production in Aboriginal societies has been neglected in research. This research gap has perhaps directed researchers to view all aspects of Aboriginal relations as mediated through Canadian state control. According to Gerber's research on the adaptation and accommodation of Canadian Indian Bands to Canadian structural and ideological forms, suggests that this superficial view should be discarded (Gerber, 1979). The multiplicity of social, geographic and economic contexts in which Aboriginal men and women are located indicates a more varied dynamic which requires investigation.

Colonization and The Ideology of Patriarchy

Tracking the evolution of patriarchal ideology over the course of the colonization process is very difficult, as ideologies are complex phenomena which can arise and interpenetrate at various historical points in time (Sumner, 1979). The ideology of patriarchy is particularly complex because its origins in social practices have not been clearly specified or distinguished under communal or capitalist forms.

As was noted in the initial literature review for this thesis, it is, therefore, not possible to confirm the actual impact the changes in production had upon ideology and gender relations as a knowledge base does not exist which could support or refute any particular claim. Evidence concerning the treatment of Aboriginal women by Aboriginal women reveals conflicting patterns (Brodrribb, 1984). Judgement is further clouded by the treatment of Aboriginal women by anthropological accounts which have rendered women insignificant and passive in the colonization process, despite growing evidence to the contrary (Van Kirk, 1981; Brown, 1980; Brodrribb, 1984). It is this latter accumulation of historical evidence which nonetheless convincingly points to the egalitarian nature of pre-contact Aboriginal societies. It also points to the evolution of new cultural forms post-European contact, which necessitated substantive economic and social reorganization by those societies.

At this stage in the analysis, it is important to grasp two points. First, the appearance of an equitable convergence of Aboriginal and European male interests is not borne out in essence. Rather, the accounts of the furtraders confirm that this was conceived as a hierarchical arrangement, favouring European culture; thus legislation such as the Indian Act demoted Aboriginal men as well as Aboriginal women.

Ultimately, the process of marginalization forced both Aboriginal men and women to make a deferential accommodation to the colonizing power and to colonial capitalism. As Van Kirk has argued, the arrival of European women in the nineteenth century marks the beginning of the displacement of Aboriginal women.

However, although the traditional mode and means of existence were fractured by the intrusion of European settlement, it can be argued that they were not entirely displaced but rather suppressed. The survival of egalitarian and matriarchal ideologies and related indigenous practices to present day attests to the strength and vitality of this resistance.

Secondly, to infer that this essentially economic arrangement exclusively resulted in the subordination of Aboriginal women is unconvincing; making this inferential leap would require a conceptualization of Aboriginal men and women as passive agents, which is a position which has been rejected here.

Patriarchy and Violence Against Aboriginal Women

Whether male violence against women might have existed and might have been tolerated within the pre-European contact, egalitarian form of Aboriginal societies remains a subject of unresolved debate. At a theoretical level, certainly orthodox Marxism has treated communal based societies

rather idyllically and offers no viable direction in concretely establishing the nature of gender relations at this level of specificity (Beechey, 1977). Nor is the radical feminist position, which posits that antagonism between the sexes preceded the emergence of surplus, private property and patriarchal structures, a particularly strong alternative explanation. Its central problem is its failure to understand the sexual division of labour as both a biological and social arrangement (Ursel, 1977). Neither class reductionism nor biological reductionism can theoretically explain historical dynamics producing spouse/partner assault by Aboriginal males in Aboriginal cultures.

Empirical evidence based upon the oral accounts of contemporary Aboriginal women is also conflicting (Brodrigg, 1984). The diversity of opinions presented by Aboriginal women in the expert opinion survey further demonstrates this unresolved debate. The rapid transition occurring in Aboriginal societies once contact with European societies began, the absence of a validly documented historical record concerning the nature of gender relations, and the existence of an androcentric bias within the literature renders this subject inconclusive.

Despite the above theoretical uncertainties, the ideological component accompanying the colonization process cannot be entirely discounted, as the changes in the material practices described above appear nonetheless to have in some instances resulted in the depreciation of

Aboriginal women. This process was chiefly constituted through the imposition of European ideological forms - particularly in terms of the relationship of Aboriginal people to the state.

This is the view of the majority of experts who were surveyed, who indicated that the gender discrimination set forth in the Indian Act critically shaped this relationship by introducing patrilineage and limiting the influence of Aboriginal women in political participation. Clearly the legal constraints placed upon Aboriginal people through legislation such as the Indian Act, classically illustrate the attempt of the state to command Aboriginal societies into conformity with the dominant social norms. The isolation which Aboriginal women appear to experience from the recognized political process (such as Band councils) underline the widespread nature of this alienation. In this case, the restraints are differentially placed upon Aboriginal women, in an attempt to bring their influential role in local community life under male control.

It would, however, be erroneous to read the social and gender relations in Aboriginal societies directly from this, for such oppression also engendered group solidarity. Although for many years Aboriginal communities have appeared to be in massive social disarray, indigenous social forms have survived to present day. In some instances, there is documented evidence to suggest that the dislocation experienced by Aboriginal people undermined

the traditional social and cultural reference structure (see Shklynyk, 1983). On the other hand, the vitality of traditional cultures, despite the attempts at suppression on the part of the state suggests that traditional norms favouring greater equality between the sexes, may also still be operative. We therefore cannot assume that the European patriarchal form was evenly transferred, adopted or absorbed by various Aboriginal cultural forms and that this is the sole cause of spousal assault.

Critical to this debate is whether this imposition of foreign social control mechanisms effectively resulted in the adoption of patriarchal structures at the level of the family form. This remains a question for further empirical research. Such research would involve the definition of masculine and feminine ideologies in contemporary Aboriginal family formations and an account of how they have been historically constructed. Moreover, if the family form is a central location of gender oppression (as feminist materialism would lead one to believe) under what conditions has the ideology of patriarchy been created and reproduced? Although the solid impression gained from the Aboriginal respondents to expert opinion survey suggests that Aboriginal males who beat their spouses or partners have inculcated attitudes of superiority towards women, further research is required to document this specifically. The extent to which traditional cultural forms

and attitudes towards women are either still operative or re-emerging (after a period of suppression) is also an important factor to consider here.

On a final cautionary note, another question to consider is whether the phenomenon of Aboriginal spousal assault ought to be theoretically constructed as a 'women's issue' exclusively. The material disruption of Aboriginal societies cannot be discounted, for it changed the status of men as well as women in these cultures. Although the dominant cultural ideology views men as more powerful than women, among men of the dominant culture and Aboriginal men, this is, historically, not an equitable relationship but a hierarchical one. The pressures facing Aboriginal men in relation to the dominant culture (from which they are marginalized) and in relation to their own culture (where, perhaps traditional cultural reference points have lost meaning) need to be considered.

Similarly, the issue of self-esteem as it relates to Aboriginal women whose traditional position and strengths have been displaced through the process of colonization may influence their particular response to violence. What is required is a deeper investigation into how the marginalization process has affected the self-esteem and status of Aboriginal men generally, and whether this is a source of violence against Aboriginal women. Again, it is important to stress that such research cannot be conducted in isolation

from a broader investigation into Aboriginal ideologies towards women and Aboriginal women's attitudes about themselves.

In conclusion, the process of colonization imposed a politico-economic structural relations which simultaneously set course for the lived relations and ultimately sets Aboriginal cultures apart from the dominant structure. Because of their unique relation with the state politico-economic structure, the issue of violence against Aboriginal women cannot be constructed in isolation from the very fundamental material changes which were imposed upon the Aboriginal societies at large.

The theoretical questions which are raised above suggest the need for specific, localized studies, which could establish whether differences exist in the actual absorption of a patriarchal ideology within individual Aboriginal social structures and family formations and how this affects both consciousness and practices in relation to the existence of violence against Aboriginal women.

C. Implications for Practice

How relevant is the application of the mainstream feminist construction of the problem of spousal assault to Aboriginal societies? Generally, the mainstream experts have constructed the problem of spouse or partner

abuse according to the shared dilemmas which women face as victims of spousal assault. Experts have viewed the problem for individual women in terms of the external and internal constraints which preclude them from taking steps to overcome abuse (Loseke and Cahill, 1984). Usually discussed under the category of external constraints facing women are issues surrounding their economic dependency upon the male, which limit - or entirely thwart their ability to take action against the abuse (Loseke and Cahill, 1984, p. 299). Internal constraints refer to learned characteristics of femininity (such as emotional dependency upon the male; low self-esteem and traditional attitudes about a women's proper place in the home) and their accumulated experience as victims of male violence.

The full dimensions of the external and internal constraints facing Aboriginal women have not been fully appreciated theoretically because the relationship between Aboriginal people and the Canadian state has not been given adequate consideration in the analysis of the spouse/partner abuse problem. In terms of the external constraints facing Aboriginal women in dealing with spousal assault, it is this relationship which determines the kinds of options they perceive open to them.

The evidence presented in this study suggests that the external constraints which abused women typically confront in taking action against spousal abuse are related to the marginality which they experience as mem-

bers of nations who have been denied self-determination by the Canadian state. The external constraints which they face if they decide to deal with their victimization are many. For many the external constraints relate to a broader form of economic and cultural dependency which has been fostered by their relationship to the dominant society - not simply a personal dependency or attachment to a partner per se. Thus, unless they are located within or close to an urban centre, they cannot readily avail themselves to support services without undertaking considerable financial and social expense. Because Aboriginal women appear to occupy the lowest rung in the socio-economic status hierarchy, often this does not present a viable option.

In the case of reserve or rural women, taking action may effectively result in self-banishment, loss of community and loss of legal rights. To speak out against intimate violence represents a threat to one's sense of collectivity as well as one's sense of individuality.

Moreover, the absence of support or shelters in which they feel that their particular cultural circumstances are taken into consideration poses yet another barrier. The opinions of the Aboriginal women surveyed suggest the importance of offering solutions which are relevant to the particular cultural and community circumstance of which its clients are a part. The lack of recognition among Canadian society of Aboriginal societies as unique self-determining entities, with attendant group rights and responsibilities,

does not appear to have permeated in a meaningful way to either the feminist movement's or the state's approach to the problem of spousal assault.

Aboriginal women also appear to fear further victimization - of themselves, their children and their spouses - by most of the federal and provincial criminal justice and social service mechanisms in place to deal with such problems. As the expert opinion survey revealed, the alienation which Aboriginal women have experienced at the hands of the Canadian criminal justice system and the social welfare system serves as an additional constraint which does not appear to be considered by the non-Aboriginal experts. Clearly the discrimination and lack of power experienced by Aboriginal men also needs consideration in the area of practice.

These systems reflect an institutional arrangement with the Canadian state which has regulated and controlled and ultimately fragmented the lives of Aboriginal people. Because of this relationship, Aboriginal women who are abused face unique dilemmas. Ironically, a major complaint among the feminist critiques of society's attitudes towards wife abuse is that social agencies and the justice system have sacrificed the women's safety in favour of maintaining the family unit. Aboriginal women, however, have not experienced this phenomena at the hands of these intervention agencies, because - it would appear - of their general perception of Aboriginal families

as pathological. Thus, their particular situation has either been ignored or if recognized, has resulted in the removal of their children to non-Aboriginal homes.

D.Solutions

In many respects, it is difficult to pinpoint specific solutions to the problem of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses or partners based on the data acquired in the course of this study, because it is clear that solutions must be defined from strengthened communities themselves. Thus the following represents only an outline of the broad parameters upon which solutions could be based.

In terms of long term solutions, it would appear that an effective resolution of the problem of spousal abuse lies in addressing the broader material and ideological components contributing to interpersonal violence of this nature in Aboriginal communities. Although we have not been able to identify the origins of spousal assault in any precise way, given the generalized approach utilized in this study, the indications derived are that this phenomenon is tied to broader external and internal pressures which have been brought to bear on Aboriginal communities as a result of the

colonization process. This process has produced unique pressures on Aboriginal men and women.

In this context, it would appear that the strengthening of Aboriginal community structures along traditional bases can have an impact on this issue. This is not to naively suggest that a return to traditional ways will miraculously eliminate violence against women. But it could provide a new basis for negotiating a more balanced spread of power in the sphere of gender relationships. The creation of meaningful roles and activities for Aboriginal men and women can contribute to the strengthening of self-esteem and the removal of strains which may contribute to violence of this nature.

On this basis, then, a consolidated approach to the issue of violence can be made at community and personal levels. The Aboriginal experts surveyed voiced concern that social control mechanisms be brought to bear on this issue, however the form which they suggested did not concur with the dominant approach in Canada currently. The dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system which Aboriginal people feel and experience suggests the need for greater innovation in the direction of alternative methods of dispute resolution compatible with traditional customs and norms. The development of indigenous community strengths - including family structures and elders- to provide direction and assistance to both Aboriginal men

who abuse as well as victims, could open more culturally appropriate paths for intervention and resolution.

Clearly there are number of practical issues to deal with. A major concern of the experts surveyed surrounds the general perceived low levels of recognition of spousal assault as a problem by Aboriginal men and Aboriginal associations and councils (which are viewed as male dominated). A major course of action which seems to flow from this is a need for a greater role for Aboriginal women in catalyzing community development and education to focus attention on this issue. The mobilization of support by Aboriginal women from within Aboriginal communities to deal with this problem can be the first step in this process.

In the immediate sense, clearly more funding is required to meet the present needs of Aboriginal women - and their children, as their personal safety is at stake. The general consensus among the Aboriginal respondents to the expert survey is that generalized shelters are not the answer, because they are not structured in a way which can adequately respond to the culturally unique circumstances in which Aboriginal women are situated; nor can they adequately attend to their needs as a distinct group. This suggests that a greater commitment needs to be made on the part of the federal/provincial funding structures to ensure that locally-controlled shelters can be created as important interim measures in solving this problem.

E. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has attempted to illuminate some of the critical flaws present in the feminist analysis of spousal abuse from the perspective of Aboriginal women. The feminist-materialist perspective has enabled a contextually integrative analysis which has shown that the experiences and needs of Aboriginal women who have been abused are distinct and require the creation of solutions which can respond to this. In many respects, it has perhaps raised more questions that it has answered. Fundamentally, this research has challenged both the universalistic approach to solving the issue of violence against women and the additive approach of mainstream feminism to the issue of race in the Canadian context. This has exposed a great need to concretely define and examine the ways in which the colonization process has affected the issue of class, race and gender in relation to the Aboriginal women of Canada.

REFERENCES

Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis (1983) "Contextualizing feminism - gender, ethnic and class divisions" Feminist Review 15 (November) pp. 62-75.

ARA Consultants (1985) Wife-battering Among Rural, Native and Immigrant Women. Toronto: Ontario Provincial Secretariat for Justice.

Allen, Robert S. (1982) Native Studies in Canada: A Research Guide. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Research Branch, Corporate Policy.

Asch, Michael (1984) Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution. Toronto: Methuen.

Barrett, Michéle and Roberta Hamilton (1987) The Politics of Diversity: Feminism, Marxism and Nationalism. Montreal: Book Center Inc.

Barrett, Michéle and Mary McIntosh (1985) "Ethnocentrism and socialist-feminist theory" Feminist Studies no. 20, pp. 22-47.

Baskin, Cindy (1982) "Women in Iroquois society" Canadian Women's Studies 4(2) Winter pp. 42-46.

Beechey, Veronica (1979) "On patriarchy" Feminist Review no. 3, pp. 66-82.

Berger, Hon. Thomas R. (1986) "The probable economic impact of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline" in J. Rick Ponting, ed. Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp.179-1984.

Beune, Preis (1983) "Cultural relativism and comparative criminology" Contemporary Crises 7, pp. 371-391.

Bland, Lucy, Rachel Harrison, Frank Mort and Christine Weedon (1978) "Relations of reproduction: approaches through anthropology" in Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women's Subordination. London: Hutchinson, pp. 155-175.

Blaunier, Robert (1969) "Internal colonialism and ghetto revolt" Social Problems 16 (Spring) pp.393-408.

Boldt, Menno and J. Anthony Long (1985) The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights. Toronto: University Toronto Press.

Boserup, Esther (1970) Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bowker, Lee H. (1984) "The effects of national development on the position of married women in the third world: the case of wife-beating" mimeo. Paper presented at the International Conference of the Research Committee for the Sociology of Deviance and Social Control, the International Sociological Association at the U.N. Latin America Institute for Crime Prevention and Treatment of Offenders, San José, Costa Rica.

Brittan, Arthur and Mary Maynard (1984) Sexism, Racism and Oppression. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Brodribb, Somer (1984) "The traditional roles of native women in Canada and the impact of colonization" The Canadian Journal of Native Studies IV (1) pp. 85-103.

Brown, Jennifer S. H. (1980) Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Brown, Judith (1975) "Iroquois women: an ethnohistoric note" in Rayna Reiter, ed. Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Burch, Ernest S. (1986) "The Caribou Inuit" in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. ed. by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp.106-133.

Canada. House of Commons, Special Committee on Indian Self-Government (1983) Indian Self-government in Canada: Report of the Special Committee. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (1982) The Elimination of Sex Discrimination from the Indian Act. Ottawa: INAC.

Canada. Health and Welfare Canada Native Drug and Alcohol Abuse Program (1984) "Direct services for battered native women in Canada" mimeo. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Canada. Status of Women Canada (1986) Final Report of the Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering. (11 volumes) Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1986.

Canada. Supply and Services Canada (1986) Native Women: A Statistical Overview. (prepared by Pamela White for the Social Trends Analysis Directorate and Native Citizens Directorate, September 1985).

Canada. Statistics Canada (1984) Canada's Native People. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services. (Cat. no. 99-737)

Canada. Statistics Canada (n.d.) "Native Peoples Tape/Microfiche Documentation: 1981 Census of Canada. mimeo.

Canada. Statistics Canada, Centre for Justice Statistics (1976) Homicide in Canada: A Statistical Synopsis, 1961-1974. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services. Cat. no. 85-505E.

Carby, Hazel V. (1982) "White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood" in The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain. London: Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, pp. 183-211.

Chambliss, William J. (1978) "Toward a political economy of crime" in Charles Reardon and Robert M. Rich, The Sociology of Law: A Conflict Perspective. Toronto: Butterworths, pp. 191-213.

Chilcote, Ronald and Dale Johnson (1974) Latin America: The Struggle with Dependency and Beyond. New York: Wiley.

_____ (1983) Theories of Development: Mode of Production or Dependency. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

Clark, Scott (1985) Native Victims in Canada: Steps Toward Appropriate and Effective Assistance. (prepared under contract to the

Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada) Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada Secretariat.

Clinnard, Marshall and D.J. Abbott (1973) Crime in Developing Countries. New York: Wiley.

Connelly, Patricia (1986) "On Marxism and feminism" in Michèle Barret and Roberta Hamilton, eds. The Politics of Diversity: Feminism, Marxism and Nationalism. Montreal: Book Center Inc., pp. 241-248.

Cumming, Peter. (1986) "Canada's north and native rights" in Bradford W. Morse, ed. Aboriginal Peoples and the Law: Indian, Metis and Inuit Rights in Canada. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, pp. 695-744.

Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives: Report of the International Feminist Workshop held at Stony Point, New York April 20-25, 1980.

Dobash, R. Emerson and Russel P. (1979) Violence Against Wives: a Case Against the Patriarchy. New York: Free Press.

_____ (1984) "The nature and antecedents of violent events" British Journal of Criminology 24(3) July, pp. 269-288.

Eisenstein, Zillah (1984) Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crisis in Liberal America. New York, Monthly Review Press.

Engels, Friederich (1972) The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, edited by Eleanor Leacock (originally published in Germany in 1884). New York: International Publishers.

Etienne, Mona and Eleanor Leacock, eds. (1980) Women and Colonization. New York: Praeger.

Fitzpatrick, Peter (1983) "Law, plurality and underdevelopment" in David Sugarman, ed. Legality, Ideology and the State. Toronto: Academic Press, pp.159-182

Frank, André Gunder (1972) Lumpen-bourgeoisie: Lumpen-Development: Dependence, Class and Politics in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press.

French, Laurence (1979) "The need for qualitative interpretations of criminal justice research - the American minority situation" Crime and Justice 7(8), pp. 209-213.

Frideres, James S. Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Fritz, Linda (1984) Native Law Bibliography. Saskatoon, University of Saskatoon, Native Law Centre.

Gaucher, Robert (1977) "An Historical Analysis of Native/ Non-Native Homicide in Canada" Ottawa: unpublished.

Gerber, Linda M. (1979) "The development of Canadian Indian communities: a two-dimension typology reflecting strategies of adaptation to the modern world" Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 26(4) pp. 404-424.

Gerson, Judith M. and Kathy Peiss (1985) "Boundaries, negotiation, consciousness: reconceptualizing gender relations" in Social Problems 32(4) April, pp. 317-331.

Green, Susan L.(n.d.) An Analysis of Victims' Needs in the NWT Victims' Needs Assessment Study. Ottawa and Yellowknife.

Hall, Stewart and Phil Scraton (1981) "Law, class and control" in M. Fitzgerald, C. McLennan and J. Pauson, eds. Crime and Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 460-497.

Harrel-Bond, Barbara E. and Sandra Burman, eds. (1979) The Imposition of Law: Studies in Law and Social Control. New York: Academic Press.

Haveman, Paul, et al. (1984) Law and Order for Canada's Indigenous People. (prepared under contract for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada) Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada Secretariat, . Ref. No. 1984-7.

Hemingway, P. et al.(1983) An Opinion Study Concerning Causes and Solutions of Problems Related to Canadian Indians and Crime Using a Quasi-clinical Method.(prepared under contract for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada) Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada Secretariat.

Hormann, Denise (n.d) "Violence - a community concern" (Notes from a workshop given by Denise Hormann) Juneau, Alaska: unpublished.

Innis, H.A. (1975) The Fur Trade in Canada. Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press.

Jamieson, Kathleen (1978) Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus. Ottawa, The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

----- (1981) "Sisters under the skin: an exploration of the implications of feminist-materialist perspective research" Canadian Ethnic Studies 13 (1): pp. 130-143.

----- (1982) Native Women in Canada: A Selected Bibliography. (prepared in conjunction with the Regional Workshop on Women in the Canadian Economy held at Simon Fraser University, September 11, 1982) Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Jayewardene, C.H.S. (1976) Crime and Society in Churchill. Ottawa: Department of Criminology.

Johnston, Patrick (1983) Native Children and the Child Welfare System. Toronto: Canadian Council for Social Development in association with James Lorimer Co.

Jordan, Deirdre F. (1986) "Education as the reclaiming of identity: rights and claims of Canadian Indians, Norwegian Sami and Australian Aborigines" in J. Rick Ponting, ed., Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 243-259.

Kazi, Hamida (1986) "The beginning of a debate long due: some observations on 'ethnocentrism and socialist-feminist theory'" Feminist Review no. 22, pp. 87-91.

Kellough, Gail (1980) "From colonialism to economic imperialism: the experience of the Canadian Indian" in John Harp and John Hopley, eds. Structured Inequality in Canada. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, pp. 343-377.

Kuhn, Annette and Anne Marie Wolpe; eds (1978) Feminism and Materialism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lachapelle, Caroline (1982) "Beyond barriers: native women and the women's movement" in Maureen Fitzgerald, Connie Gruberman and Margie Wolfe, eds. Still Ain't Satisfied: Canadian Feminism. Toronto: The Women's Press.

LaPrairie, Carole Pitcher (1984) "Native women and crime" Perception 7(4) pp. 25-27.

_____ (1984) "Selected criminal justice and socio-demographic data on Native women" Canadian Journal of Criminology (April) pp. 161-169.

Leacock, Eleanor (1980) "Montagnais women and the Jesuit program for colonization" in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds. Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives. New York: Praeger, pp. 25-42.

----- (1981) "Women, development and anthropological facts and fiction" in Eleanor Burke Leacock, ed. Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 310-316.

----- (1986) "The Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula" in R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 140-170.

Lees, Sue (1986) "Sex, race and culture: feminism and the limits of cultural pluralism" Feminist Review no. 22, pp. 91-102.

Lithman, Yngve Georg (1984) The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Loseke, D.R. and S.E. Cahill (1984) "The social construction of deviance: experts on battered women" Social Problems, 31(3) February, pp. 296-306.

Macleod, Linda (1980) Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle. Ottawa: The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

MacQueen, Ken (1983) "Métis dispute population total" Ottawa Citizen (February 3, 1983) p. 46.

McGrath, Shirley M. (1986) "Spousal assault amongst the Dene: a historical perspective on a present-day problem" Mimeo, presented at the National Student Conference on Northern Studies, November 17, 1986.

McLaughlin, Audrey (1983) An Analysis of Victims/Victim Witness Needs in Yukon. Whitehorse: n.p.

McDonough, Roisin and Rachel Harrison (1978) "Patriarchy and relations of production" in Annette Kuhn and Ann Marie Wolpe, eds., Feminism and Materialism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., pp.11-41.

McIntosh, Mary (1978) "The state and the oppression of women in Annette Kuhn and Ann Marie Wolpe, eds., Feminism and Materialism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., pp. 254-289.

McKechnie, Gail (1986) Native North Americans: Crime, Conflict and Criminal Justice. 3rd ed. Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, Northern Conference Resource Centre.

Morrison, R. Bruce and C. Roderick Wilson, eds. (1986) Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Morse, Bradford (1976) "Native people and legal services in Canada" McGill Law Journal 22, pp. 504-540.

Mushanga, Tibamanga Mwene (1977/78) "Wife victimization in East and Central Africa" Victimology 2 (3/4) pp. 479-485.

Native Para-judicial services of Quebec (1985) Violence Against Women: a right to freedom and respect. Montreal: Native Para-judicial services of Quebec.

Niethammer, Carolyn (1977) Daughters of the Earth: the Lives and Legends of American Indian Women. New York: Collier Macmillan.

North West Territories (1985) Task Force on Spousal Assault (prepared for the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women). Yellowknife, North West Territories.

Nova Scotia Native Women's Association (1985) "Crisis Centre Needs Assessment Project - Final Report" (submitted to Health and Welfare Canada, Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program)

O'Brien, Mary (1979) "Reproducing Marxist man" in L.M.G. Clark and L. Lange, eds., The Sexism of Social and Political Theory: Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Opekokew, Delia (1986) "Self-identification and cultural preservation: a commentary on recent Indian Act amendments" Canadian Native Law Reporter (2) pp. 1-25.

Paper, Jordan (1983) "The forgotten grandmother - Amerindian women and religion: colonized in North America" Canadian Women's Studies 3 (2) Winter pp. 49-51.

_____ (1984) "The post-contact origin of an American Indian high God - the suppression of feminine spirituality" American Indian Quarterly Winter.

Parmer, Pratibha (1982) "Gender, race and class: Asian women in resistance" in University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain. London: Hutchinson in Association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, pp. 236-275.

Patterson, E. Palmer (1972) The Canadian Indian: A History since 1500. Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan.

Patton, Micheal Q. (1978) Utilization-focused Evaluation. Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications.

Pierre-Aggamaway, Marlene (1983) "Native women and the state" in Joan Turner and Lois Emery, eds., Perspectives on Women in the 1980's. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, pp. 66-73.

Ponting, J. Richard and Roger Gibbins (1980) Out of Irrelevance: A socio-Political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.

Ponting, J. Richard (1986) "Assessing a generation of change" in J. Richard Ponting, ed. Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 394-409.

Ramazanoglu, Caroline (1986) "Ethnocentrism and socialist-feminist theory: a response to Barrett and McIntosh" Feminist Review no.22, pp. 82-86.

Reasons, Charles E. (1977) "Native offenders and correctional policy" Crime and Justice 4(4), pp. 255-266.

Ritrani, May (1978) Development as if Women Mattered: an Annotated Bibliography with a Third World Focus. Secretariat for Women in Development of the New Trans Century Foundation, occasional paper no. 10.

Safia Mirza, Heidi (1986) "The dilemma of socialist feminism: a case for black feminism" Feminist Review no.22 pp. 103-105.

Shkilnyk, Anastasia (1985) A Poison Stronger than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Siggnar, Andrew J. (1986) "The socio-demographic conditions of registered Indians" in Richard J. Ponting, ed. Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 57-83.

Smart, Carol (1984) Ties that Bind: Law, Marriage and the Reproduction of Patriarchal Relations. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Spitzer, Steven (1975) "Toward a Marxian theory of deviance" Social Problems 22, pp. 638-651.

Stearns, Mary Lee (1981) Haida Culture in Custody. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Sumner, Colin, ed. (1981) Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment. London: Heinemann.

----- (1979) Reading Ideologies: an Investigation into the Marxist Theory of Ideology and Law. London: Academic Press.

Svenson, Frances (1979) "Imposed law and the manipulation of identity: the American Indian case" in Sandra Burman and Barbara E. Harrel-Bond, eds. The Imposition of Law: Studies in Law and Social Control. New York: Academic Press, pp. 69-87.

Taylor, I. Paul Walton and Jock Young (1973) The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Tierney, K. (1982) "The battered women movement and the creation of the wife beating problem" Social Problems 29 (February) pp. 207-220.

Trivedi, Parita (1984) "To deny our fullness: Asian women in the making of history" Feminist Review (17) July, pp. 36-50.

United Nations. Secretariat (1986) "Case Study for Item 2 - Canada". (a background paper prepared by Ms. Diane Wood, Status of Women Canada for an Expert Group Meeting on Violence in the Family with Special Emphasis on its Effects on Women, held at Vienna, 8-12 December, 1986). Mimeo.

Ursel, Jane (1977) "The nature and origin of women's oppression: Marxism and feminism" Contemporary Crises 1, pp. 23-36.

Van Kirk, Sylvia (1980) "Many tender ties": Women in Fur Trade society, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer.

Verdun-Jones, Simon N. and Muirhead, Gregory K. (1979/80) "Natives in the Canadian criminal justice system: an overview" Crime and Justice 7/8 (1), pp.3-21.

Watkins, Mel (1979) "From underdevelopment to development" in Mel Watkins, ed. Dene Nation a: Colony Within. Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press, pp. 84-102.

Weber, Max (1942) The Methodology of the Social Sciences. translated and edited by Edward Shils and Henry A. Finch. New York: Free Press.

Weiler, Richard and Associates (August 14, 1985) "Wife Battering Assignment" mimeo. (prepared under contract for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Ottawa.

Whipp, Kathleen (1986) "Traditional and Current Status of Indian Women: Keys to Analysis and Prevention of Wife-battering on Reserves". Ottawa: unpublished paper, Carleton Univeristy, School of Social Work.

Wilson, Elizabeth (1983) What is to be Done about Violence Against Women? Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Yawney, Carole. (1984) "From Uncle Tom to Aunt Jemima: towards a Global perspective on violence against women" Canadian Women Studies 6 (1), pp. 13-15.

APPENDIX A

LETTER SENT TO RESPONDENTS

Dear

My name is Wanda Jamieson and I am a graduate student at the University of Ottawa, Department of Criminology. Presently, I am undertaking a thesis concerning violence against Aboriginal women in Canada. I am focusing on the issue of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses or partners.

There are two purposes of this study. The first goal is to describe the nature of violence which affects Aboriginal women. Secondly, I want to examine the practical solutions which contemporary Aboriginal women feel could address this important issue.

Accordingly, I would appreciate your cooperation in answering and returning the enclosed questionnaire. The questionnaire should take only a short time to complete, but please feel free to add any additional comments or thoughts.

A stamped, addressed envelope is included for you to use in returning this material.

Questionnaires are being sent to key Native women's organizations and transition houses across Canada. The individual responses received will be held confidential and you will not be personally identified in the analysis.

Should you wish to obtain a summary of my results, please indicate on the attached sheet.

Additionally, I would like to request from you any information your organization has, such as policy statements and project descriptions which concern violence against Aboriginal women in your community.

I realize that you may have many demands upon your time, however I am hoping that you will be able to fill out this questionnaire in the interest of clarifying the needs of Aboriginal women in this area.

Sincerely,

Wanda Jamieson

VIOLENCE AGAINST ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN CANADA

QUESTIONNAIRE

Most of the questions which follow have been designed to permit you to answer in the format you feel is the most appropriate. In some cases where indicated, please place a check mark (✓) to the left of the appropriate answer.

If you have any questions about the questionnaire, please call me (collect) at 613-232-4372.

Please return the questionnaire to me using the attached stamped and addressed envelope.

If you have any additional material which would be helpful (such as position papers, research on violence against women) I would appreciate receiving copies.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Questionnaire # _____

1. a) Approximately how long has your organization been formally in operation?

b) Upon whose initiative was your organization started? (please specify e.g. Aboriginal women's group, community group, band council, federal government, etc)

c) What is your mandate?

2. Currently, how severe do you think the problem of Aboriginal male violence against their spouses/partners is in the community(ies) of your provincial/territorial area:

Urban Areas:

Large Urban areas (pop. 100,000+)

__ not at all severe

__ somewhat severe

__ very severe

Medium Urban Areas,
(pop. 10,000-99,999)

__ not at all severe

__ somewhat severe

__ very severe

Rural Areas (pop. less than 10,000):

Areas usually accessible by
rail/road

__ not at all severe

__ somewhat severe

__ very severe

Isolated areas, not
accessible
by rail/road

__ not at all severe

__ somewhat severe

__ very severe

Please explain any urban or rural differences:

3. If applicable, approximately for how long has Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners been a problem in the areas identified above? Why?

4. Please describe the type(s) or kind(s) of violence which Aboriginal women commonly experience from their Aboriginal spouses/partners. (e.g. physical assault, sexual assault, emotional abuse, etc., or a combination [please specify]).

5. If you consider Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners to be somewhat or very severe in your provincial/territorial area, how well recognized is this as a problem by the following persons:

	not at all	somewhat	very
Aboriginal women in general:	--	--	--
Aboriginal men:	--	--	--
Other Aboriginal organizations, associations	--	--	--
Local Band Councils	--	--	--
Elders	--	--	--

Additional comments (e.g. if there are differences, how do you account for them):

6. In your opinion, what is the most important cause or causes of Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

7. In your particular communities, are there any agencies or services which Aboriginal women and their children can go to when their spouses/partners abuse them? -- yes -- no

If yes, please briefly describe them. If no, why not?

15-
B. In your opinion, is the existing service network in your area meeting the needs of Aboriginal women who are abused by their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

-- yes --no

Please explain your reasons:

9. What, in your opinion can be done with Aboriginal men who abuse their spouses/partners to change their behaviour?

10. Overall, are you satisfied with the response of the governments listed below to Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners?

(If no, generally what kind of action can be taken by these governments to eliminate Aboriginal spouse/partner abuse of Aboriginal women?)

Band Government/Tribal Councils: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

Provincial Government: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

Federal Government: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

11. Should the following list of groups/agencies have a role in helping to eliminate Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

If yes, please specify their role (e.g. community awareness, women's advocacy, shelters, safe houses for abused women, etc.)

If no, please indicate your reasons:

The Family yes no:

Elders yes no:

Community Organizations yes no:

Aboriginal² Women's Groups/Organizations yes no:

Social Service Agencies yes no:

Criminal Justice System yes no:

Other (specify) _____ yes no:

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire. Please
add any other comments which you feel are important to
consider:

VIOLENCE AGAINST ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN CANADA

QUESTIONNAIRE

Most of the questions which follow have been designed to permit you to answer in the format you feel is the most appropriate. In some cases where indicated, please place a check mark (✓) to the left of the appropriate answer.

If you have any questions about the questionnaire, please call me (collect) at 613-232-4372.

Please return the questionnaire to me using the attached stamped and addressed envelope.

If you have any additional material which would be helpful (such as position papers, research on violence against women) I would appreciate receiving copies.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Questionnaire # _____

1. a) Approximately how long has your organization been formally in operation?

b) Upon whose initiative was your organization started? (please specify e.g. Aboriginal women's group, community group, band council, federal government, etc)

c) What is your mandate?

d) In the past year, approximately what percentage of your project's female clientele were of Aboriginal origin?

__ less than 10%

__ 10% to 25%

__ 26% to 50%

__ 51% to 75%

__ 76% to 100%

e) Of this Aboriginal female clientele, approximately what percentage came to you because they were victims of violence by their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

f) Please indicate approximately what percentage of your Aboriginal female clients were from large urban, medium urban, rural (accessible) and rural (isolated) areas:

Large Urban Areas (population = 100,000 +): _____ %

Medium Urban Areas (population = 10,000-99,999): _____ %

Rural Areas (population less than 10,000, usually accessible by rail/road): _____ %

Rural Areas (population less than 10,000, isolated - not accessible by rail/road): _____ %

2. Currently, how severe do you think the problem of Aboriginal male violence against their spouses/partners is in the community(ies) of your provincial/territorial area:

Urban Areas:

Large Urban areas (pop. 100,000+)

- not at all severe
- somewhat severe
- very severe

Medium Urban Areas
(pop. 10,000-99,999)

- not at all severe
- somewhat severe
- very severe

Rural Areas (pop. less than 10,000):

Areas usually accessible by
rail/road

- not at all severe
- somewhat severe
- very severe

Isolated areas, not
accessible
by rail/road

- not at all severe
- somewhat severe
- very severe

Please explain any urban or rural differences:

3. If applicable, approximately for how long has Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners been a problem in the areas identified above? Why?

4. Please describe the type(s) or kind(s) of violence which Aboriginal women commonly experience from their Aboriginal spouses/partners. (e.g. physical assault, sexual assault, emotional abuse, etc., or a combination [please specify]).

5. If you consider Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners to be somewhat or very severe in your provincial/territorial area, how well recognized is this as a problem by the following persons:

	not at all	somewhat	very
Aboriginal women in general:	--	--	--
Aboriginal men:	--	--	--
Other Aboriginal organizations, associations	--	--	--
Local Band Councils	--	--	--
Elders	--	--	--

Additional comments (e.g. if there are differences, how do you account for them):

6. In your opinion, what is the most important cause or causes of Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

7. In your particular communities, are there any agencies or services which Aboriginal women and their children can go to when their spouses/partners abuse them? -- yes -- no

If yes, please briefly describe them. If no, why not?

B. In your opinion, is the existing service network in your area meeting the needs of Aboriginal women who are abused by their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

-- yes --no

Please explain your reasons:

9. What, in your opinion can be done with Aboriginal men who abuse their spouses/partners to change their behaviour?

10. Overall, are you satisfied with the response of the governments listed below to Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal spouses/partners?

(If no, generally what kind of action can be taken by these governments to eliminate Aboriginal spouse/partner abuse of Aboriginal women?)

Band Government/Tribal Councils: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

Provincial Government: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

Federal Government: __ yes __ no If no, recommended action:

11. Should the following list of groups/agencies have a role in helping to eliminate Aboriginal male violence against their Aboriginal spouses/partners?

If yes, please specify their role (e.g. community awareness, women's advocacy, shelters, safe houses for abused women, etc.)

If no, please indicate your reasons:

The Family __ yes __ no:

Elders __ yes __ no:

Community Organizations __ yes __ no:

Aboriginal Women's Groups/Organizations __ yes __ no:

Social Service Agencies __ yes __ no:

Criminal Justice System __ yes __ no:

Other (specify) _____ yes __ no:

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire. Please
add any other comments which you feel are important to
consider:

Codebook listing - VIOLENCE

Variable # 1 - organization location

Start column = 1 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=lge urban south
2=lge urban north
3=med urban south
4=med urban north
5=rural acc south
6=rural acc north
7=rural rem south
8=rural rem north
=missing

Variable # 2 - organization founding date

Start column = 2 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=1980+
2=1970-1979
3=1960-1969
4=other
=missing

Variable # 3 - organizational founders

Start column = 3 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=aboriginal women
2=women non-spezif
3=other
=missing

Variable # 4 - mandate orientation

Start column = 4 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=advocacy a. women
2=service a. women
3=service women
4=other
=missing

Variable # 5 - percentage of clients of aboriginal orig

Start column = 5 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-75%
4=76-100
5=not applicable
=missing



Variable # 6 - percentage of aborig clients victims
Start column = 6 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-75%
4=76-100%
5=not applicable
=missing

Variable # 7 - percentage a. clients from lge urban area
Start column = 7 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-75%
4=76-100%
5=not applicable
=missing

Variable # 8 - percentage a. clients from med urban area
Start column = 8 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-75%
4=76-100%
5=not applicable
=missing

Variable # 9 - percentage a. clients from access rural
Start column = 9 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-76%
4=76-100%
5=not applicable
=missing

Variable # 10 - percentage a. clients from remote rural
Start column = 10 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=25% or less
2=26-50%
3=51-75%
4=76-100%
5=not applicable
=missing

Variable # 11 - severity of violence in lge urban areas
Start column = 11 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all sever
2=somewhat severe
3=very severe
=missing

Variable # 12 - severity of violence in med. urban areas
Start column = 12 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all sever
2=somewhat severe
3=very severe
=missing

Variable # 13 - severity of violence in access. rural
Start column = 13 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all sever
2=somewhat severe
3=very severe
=missing

Variable # 14 - severity of violence in remote rural
Start column = 14 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all sever
2=somewhat severe
3=very severe
=missing

Variable # 15 - emergence of problem
Start column = 15 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=contemporary
2=historical
3=other
=missing

Variable # 16 - kinds of violence a. women experience
Start column = 16 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=physical assault
2=emotional/psycho
3=sexual assault
4=combination 1,2,3
5=combination 1,2
6=other
=missing

Variable # 17 - recognition by aboriginal women as prob
Start column = 17 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all
2=somewhat
3=very
4=other
=missing

Variable # 18 - recognition by aboriginal men as problem
Start column = 18 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all
2=somewhat
3=very
4=other
=missing

Variable # 19 - recognition by abor. councils, assoc.
Start column = 19 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all
2=somewhat
3=very
4=other
=missing

Variable # 20 - recognition by band councils, assoc.
Start column = 20 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=not at all
2=somewhat
3=very
4=other
=missing

Variable # 21 - recognition by elders as problem
Start column = 21 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=somewhat
2=somewhat
3=very
4=other
=missing

Variable # 22 - causes of violence
Start column = 22 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=trad. attitudes
2=attitude change
3=other
=missing

Variable # 23 - existence of services
Start column = 23 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 24 - do services meet needs of aborig. women?
Start column = 24 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 25 - satisfaction with band govt/tribal assoc
Start column = 25 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 26 - satisfaction with provincial government
Start column = 26 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 27 - satisfaction with federal government
Start column = 27 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 28 - should family play a role in solution
Start column = 28 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 29 - should elders play a role in solution
Start column = 29 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 30 - should community organizations play role
Start column = 30 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 31 - should aboriginal women's group play rol
Start column = 31 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 32 - should social service agencies play role
Start column = 32 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

Variable # 33 - should the criminal justice system play
Start column = 33 Number of columns = 1 Type = Numeric

1=yes
2=no
=missing

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

A number of variables also contained fields for respondents to comment or elaborate on their responses. These additional fields were analyzed qualitatively. The variables were:

Variables 11-14, relating to the severity of violence against Aboriginal women in various location settings:

Variable 15, relating to the emergence of Aboriginal violence against Aboriginal women as a problem;

Variable 22, relating to the causes of Aboriginal male violence against Aboriginal women;

Variables 23 and 24, relating to the existence and appropriateness of services for Aboriginal women;

Variables 25-27, regarding the respondents satisfaction with governmental responses to the violence directed at Aboriginal women;

Variables 28-33, regarding the role of various individuals, groups and agencies in eradicating this type of violence

Finally, question 9, relating to what action could be taken to change the behaviour of Aboriginal men contained complex responses which were not amenable to quantification. Thus they were qualitatively examined and interpretively categorized according to strategic orientation.