

VICTIMOLOGY AND TRAUMA STUDIES:
BRIDGING PERSPECTIVES IN A LANDSCAPE OF PRACTICE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

University of Regina

By

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Regina, Saskatchewan

May 2019

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SUPERVISORY AND EXAMINING COMMITTEE

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Abstract

Victimology as a field of study remains largely undeveloped at Canadian degree-granting institutions. In 2019 there are no degree programs leading to major or minor concentrations in the academic study of victimology in Canada. There was one certificate program offered at the Université de Montréal where the language of instruction is French. The disciplinary maturity of victimology is likely to rely on a willingness on the part of stakeholders within a landscape of practice to work collaboratively and discriminately on program development, so that the pressing needs for education are met. Participants in the study, *Victimology and Trauma Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Landscape of Practice*, formed an intentional, transdisciplinary community to identify how an integration of diverse knowledge perspectives can broaden the field and provide a resource for possible program development. The inclusion of victims, advocates and experiential workers as participants was a priority of the study.

The literature review and the findings of the study are presented in ways that express the complexity of the data collected, the scope of victimology as a transdisciplinary field of study and are in accord with the principles of community-based research, namely: *Community relevance, research design, equitable participation and action and positive social change* at the community level.

A holistic analysis of interviews, conversations and survey results that are national in scope led to participant identification of priorities in victimology education development. The conclusions of the findings support the claim that through critical pedagogies and practices linked to social justice through adult education, knowledge can

be constructed and mobilized in ways that contribute to an axiological approach to victimology learning and knowing. The urgency is there. It is hoped the findings of the study can contribute to building a foundation upon which educational programs in victimology and trauma studies can be built.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the participants of this study who generously contributed their time, personal reflections, and dedication to a lengthy and complex study process. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the trust extended by victims and trauma survivors who, as participants, shared their stories in order to create to a deeper understanding of victim experiences. Thanks to all of you.

I would like to acknowledge Cindy Hanson, who as my supervisor guided me throughout this mentored doctoral program. Your constant support and insight, your personal commitment to the rights and needs of victims, were of great assistance.

I would like to acknowledge the support of my committee members, Abu Bocharie, Amber Fletcher, Paul Hart and Tammy Landau. Your review of my research proposal, my comprehensive exams and my dissertation, especially when distance and time constraints were challenging, were of great value. Thank you.

To Rebecca Stringer, I am grateful for your willingness to serve as the external examiner of my work. Your careful attention to detail, your insight and knowledge of victimology as a field of study, and the instructive approach evident in your response to the content of the thesis are refreshing and inspiring. Thank you.

I would like to thank the University of Regina for the financial support through a research fellowship award that helped sustain my work throughout the doctoral program. The fellowship made it possible for my work to continue.

To friends who gave me support and encouragement, you helped me to fulfill a personal commitment made years ago to make victim experiences more visible, and

better understood. These friends include: Jane, Susan, Rosalind, MK, and Mary. Thank you.

To my children, Matthew, James, Saje and Rhaeyn, and to my grandchildren, I acknowledge your constant love and support throughout the four-year doctoral process.

Finally, I want to acknowledge that having this opportunity is a privilege.

Dedication

This study is dedicated to the strengths of victims, activists, advocates, responders and educators who work for social change and justice.

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THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DISSERTATION

The literature review and the findings of this study are presented in ways that express the complexity of the data collected, the scope of victimology as a transdisciplinary field of study and are in accord with the principles of community-based research. Those principles are: 1) *Community relevance*, whereby “those most affected by the issue under study, gain voice and choice through the research process” (Taylor & Ochocka, 2017, p. 188); 2) *Research design* whereby academics and community members “collaboratively” define the problem, with “varying levels of engagement” and open communication about the roles, responsibilities, and inclusion of community members and the research team overall, and “a mix of interdisciplinary methodologies” (p. 188); 3) *Equitable participation* where there is respect for “local knowledge and contextual understanding, recognition of community expertise and knowledge, collaborative decision making throughout the process and opportunities for shared learning through evaluation (p. 188); and 4) *Action and positive social change*, stressing the application of research processes and results to the community.

Victimology is a complex field of study which has made significant gains in establishing disciplinary legitimacy around the world (World Society of Victimology, 2013). The complexity of the field is, in large part, due to the interdisciplinarity of academic knowledge contributions in theory and praxis. The inclusion of community-based, tacit knowledge perspectives grounded in the lived experiences of victims and the people who respond to and work with victims as participant collaborators, firmly anchors the scope of this study within a framework of transdisciplinarity (Hirsch Hadorn, et al.,

2008). As justification for the format of this dissertation, it will be useful to the reader to first understand the scope of victimology, as well as the transdisciplinarity of the field. Where interdisciplinarity identifies and links disciplinary perspectives, transdisciplinarity is often claimed to be a holistic approach with disciplinary involvement part of a more inclusive group of societal actors.

Section One is an extensive literature review, and in my view necessary to provide the reader with an understanding of the breadth and depth of victimology. I present a genealogical approach (Foucault, 1980) to the historical, paradigmatic and theoretical development of the field and discuss power and justice formations and the historical role of the victim. Attention is given to critical perspectives in victimology, recognizing abuses of power and social inequities as causal factors in victimization. I review the literature that looks critically at the implications of the victim-to-survivor construct (Mardorossian, 2002; McCaffrey, 1998; Stringer, 2014). I discuss the victims' movement (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014) as a social justice movement instrumental in making victims' rights more visible. Both the adult education movement and the victims' movement emerged from grassroots, community-based interests where the focus was on social justice and change through social learning and awareness. I explore the relevance of critical traditions in adult education pedagogy (Nesbit, 2013; Brookfield, 2016) and ways in which the development of victimology pedagogy may be informed by social learning theory (Wenger, 2013). In response to priorities identified by participants and speaking again to the scope of the field, I discuss the impact of victimization, specifically from the perspective of how trauma is processed neurobiologically (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014; Perry,

2017). I integrate discussion of the individual experiences of victimization with acknowledgment of the broad societal contributors that produce victimization (Marx Ferree, 2009), such as racism (Boyer & Kampouris, 2014), child maltreatment (Finkelhor, 2008), socioeconomic status, age, gender, and ability. I introduce challenges to the positivist position that victimology is, or should be, limited to an interest in criminal victimization (Karmen, 2016) and explore how a critical harm-based, trauma-informed perspective anchored in social justice and human rights can contribute to the maturity of the field.

In response to concerns that were identified by participants and emerged from the data, I reviewed relevant literature in order to support the findings. In Chapter Five: Empathy, Compassion and Vicarious Trauma, I discuss arguments in support of an ethic of compassion in social justice. I present evidence, particularly in neuroscience (Klimecki & Singer, 2012), that positions empathy and compassion development as crucial to avoiding caregiver burnout or empathic distress fatigue and present advances in the development of contemplative practice and the cultivation of compassion. In Chapter Six: Trauma-informed Interventions, I explore emerging practices and perspectives in trauma-informed interventions intended to support victim recovery (Malchiodi, 2015; Perry B, 2017). These include, for example, restorying (Corntassel, Chaw-Win-Is, & T'Lakwadzi, 2009), trauma narratives (Roberts & Erez, 2004), narrative victimology (Van Dijk, 2009) and victim impact statements (Wemmers, 2017). Additionally, I review the literature supporting expressive arts therapies (Lusebrink, 2016; Malchiodi, 2015; Perry, 2017) and animal-assisted interventions in trauma

recovery (O'Haire, 2015; Pacific Assistive Dogs Society, 2018; Yorke, Adams, & Coady, 2008).

The active collaborators in this study formed an intentional community within a victimological landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). A defining boundary for participation in the research was that collaborators have an interest in or awareness of the significance of higher education in victimology and trauma survivor studies. Moreover, the core collaborators as a whole were encouraged to share and benefit from a fluid and evolving state of participation with intellectual neighbors (Gramsci, 1989) and stakeholders at the community level.

There were three sources of data gathered for this study: discussions and conversations among core collaborators, one community meeting and a survey. Despite the challenges to data gathering when distance was a concern, the use of modern technology made meaningful conversations possible when face-to-face discussions were logistically difficult. A single, face-to-face community meeting was open to core collaborators and to the public. When it became evident that victim perspectives were lacking in the data collected and given how the democratic inclusion of community-based workers and victims was a priority of the study, a digital survey was developed with two streams of questions. The first stream was for victims and survivors, or those who identified as having someone close to them who has experienced victimization. The second stream was for professionals and volunteers who work with or respond to victims and survivors. Survey respondents identified as being Canadian or they were situated in Canada when the victimization occurred.

Section Two is a presentation of the study findings. In some instances, the quotes and conversations presented are quite lengthy and require a willingness on the part of the reader to engage. It was a priority of this study to create an opportunity to give voice to those most affected by victimization – namely the victims themselves, consistent with an ethics of voice (Riecken, Strong-Wilson, Conibear, Michel, & Riecken, 2004) and the principles of community-based research (Taylor & Ochocka, 2017). Therefore, the voices of those who work with and respond to victims as community-based, intellectual neighbours are shared in the most fulsome way possible. Editing of conversations is minimal to uphold the rights of victims to speak for themselves and to minimize problems of representation. As the evaluation and analysis of the data collected evolved, and the findings were written by the researcher, each individual participant was invited to make recommendations for changes and to clarify their contributions.

Arts-based processes that facilitate critical reflection are relevant as a methodological process for me as the researcher. The art-making, and the pieces created emerged as a de facto part of the ways in which I, as researcher/participant, engaged with and made sense of the collection processes, and the data itself. The relevance of arts-based processes in this research, and more broadly within the context of engaged theories and practices of healing and recovery, is discussed in Chapter Six. Due to the size limitations of the dissertation, except for one image of weaving in Chapter One, images of the art pieces created throughout the study are not included in the findings.

This is a lengthy and complex dissertation. There is no simple solution to the development of educational programs and courses in victimology and trauma studies without first having an understanding and knowledge of victimization and the diverse

needs of multiple stakeholder groups. This purpose of the study is to make a contribution to identifying priorities in victimology education.

SECTION ONE

CHAPTER ONE: VICTIMOLOGY AND TRAUMA STUDIES – BRIDGING PERSPECTIVES IN A LANDSCAPE OF PRACTICE

Victimology as a field of study remains largely undeveloped at Canadian degree-granting institutions. Research and victimology scholarship has contributed to the development of the field, such that victimology is an independent discipline in its own right. The complex transdisciplinarity of the field poses pedagogical challenges in the development of courses and programs relevant to stakeholders with diverse needs and interests. Adult education and victimology share similar roots in social justice movements. Adult education makes significant contributions to critical understandings of the social, historical, cultural, political, economic, and ethical contexts of education and therefore provides a pedagogical model for integrating knowledge and bridging perspectives identified through this study. This study identified stakeholder priorities in the development of victimology and trauma studies as a landscape of practice. The findings aim to create bridges whereby diverse perspectives are integrated in ways that broaden the field and provide a resource for possible program development using pedagogies and practices linked to adult education.

The Weave of the Study

The research study, *Victimology and Trauma Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Landscape of Practice (VSS-LoP)*, introduces and proposes an expansion of victimology

as a field of study in ways that take into account and recognize a developing theory of survivorship, by maintaining a victim-centred focus of interest. This study advances critical perspectives in victimology and trauma studies. Although criminal victimization at times dominates the field, the participants of this study take a broader perspective through the lens of a harm-based discourse. The study acknowledges the diversity of multiple regions from across Canada, the formal academic contributions to victimology and trauma studies from multiple disciplines and professions, as well as relevant nonformal learning through community-based knowledge sources, and informal learning that contributes to a public pedagogy of victimology and trauma studies. The following research questions arose from the literature:

1. What are the priorities identified by stakeholder/collaborators organized as an intentional community within a victimology and survivor studies - transdisciplinary landscape of practice that guide the development of pedagogical strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and survivor studies education in Canada?
2. How can the differing perspectives, needs and work practices of a diverse range of stakeholders including societal responders, policy makers, non-disciplinary knowledge sources, scholars, and interested learners, be bridged to help determine priorities in victimology pedagogy?

This study focuses on understanding more about the relevant education needs and work practices of a diverse range of social responders, policy makers, stakeholders,

interested learners and the victims themselves to bridge differing perspectives and determine priorities in victimology education.

The lived experiences of victimization, and the assemblage of stories of individual participants shared in this study are woven throughout this writing. Here, I use *weaving* as an arts-based expression of the processes, content, and production of this work.

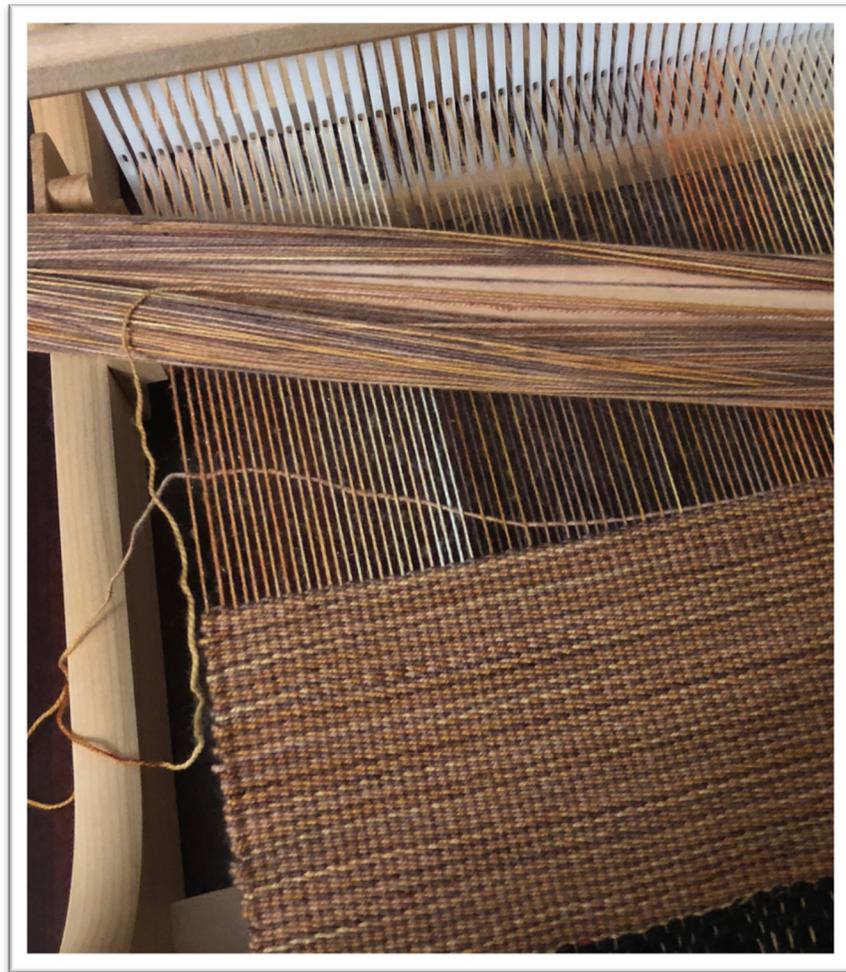


Figure 1 - The Weaving by Heather MacLeod

Analysis of the collected data takes into account regional needs, alongside socio/cultural factors such as gender, age, economic and cultural status and other

relevant concerns (Oxman-Martinez, 2005). There are hundreds of victims' services and agencies now in existence in Canada. Individuals from multiple disciplines respond to victims' rights and needs. Their knowledge and experience can inform priorities when developing victimology education.

The Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to advance the integration and creation of knowledge resources through the collaboration of stakeholders formed as an intentional community within a Victimology and Trauma Studies - Landscape of Practice (VSS-LoP) (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). The formation of the LoP is a methodological innovation on Wenger-Trayners' work. The collaboration may help guide the development of strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and trauma studies programs in Canadian institutions of higher learning. This university/community-based study includes transdisciplinary stakeholder representation of community-based interveners, and responders from various disciplines and professions including nurses, social workers, psychologists, scholars, and media. It is noteworthy that the study includes victims and victim advocates as participants. The research produced a data resource that identifies participant priorities and informs future program development initiatives. The resource bridges differing perspectives within a landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015).

Victimology Pedagogy

In Canada, individuals from multiple disciplines, professional practices, and community organizations respond to victims' rights and needs. These include police and paramedics, emergency-room nurses and doctors, social workers and victims' services workers, psychologists, lawyers, and government policy makers, yet there are few opportunities for front-line workers to contribute to knowledge creation and mobilization. Victims and trauma survivors rarely have opportunities to give voice to their needs and experiences. The dominant discourse in victimology study has, in the past, privileged criminal justice processes and largely excluded victims (Wemmers, 2017) as authoritative knowledge resources. The gap in the literature can be reduced when the principles of therapeutic jurisprudence are seen to encompass the needs and satisfaction of victims in justice processes while mobilizing victim-centred resources in the healing and recovery processes.

Critical traditions in adult education support the creation of opportunities for individuals and communities to grow and develop by understanding the social influences on the world in which they live, work and participate. Social justice traditions in adult education can inform fields of study that emerge from grassroots, community-based concerns, as is exemplified by the victims' movement of the 1980s in Canada (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014). An essential principle in adult education is the placement of prior learning and knowledge as the starting point of education for adult learners (Conrad, 2013). Accordingly, there is a risk when developing courses and programs that fail to consider the existing knowledge and expertise of stakeholders, including victims themselves.

Critical traditions in adult education can contribute to challenging knowledge assumptions produced in a culture of positivism (Giroux, 2013). Those assumptions are sometimes erroneous and can even produce harm and secondary victimizations (Tamarit, 2010) while failing to protect victims (Mawby & Walkate, 2002). Moreover, I concur with authors Mawby and Walkate that it is vital to consider how concepts, assumptions and biases embedded in positivist perspectives (deeply entrenched in criminal justice processes) are constructed and may produce incomplete understandings of victimization, and the rights and needs of victims and trauma survivors.

Theoretical and Paradigmatic Perspectives

Across the spectrum of victimological literature, emotional responses to human experiences of victimization are influenced by divergent factors. If a sense of *'self'* is formed and defined within the paradigms, knowledges and social conditions of human existence, so then is the sense or meaning-making of victim experiences defined within those paradigms and knowledges. The findings from this study support the introduction of a critical theory of survivorship grounded in the societal construction and defining concepts of harm, and its prevention. Moreover, new and emerging theories of engaged healing and recovery are advanced in the discussion of the findings. Transdisciplinarity provides the integrative framework for inclusion of interdisciplinary, professional and community-based stakeholder needs, and includes the voices of victims.

Study Relevance

The purpose of this research was to identify priorities in the development of victimology and trauma studies as a *field of study*. Three preliminary document reviews and one microproject as a pilot study informed the direction and design of this study. First, a review of institutional documents from Canadian universities helps identify the availability (or lack thereof) of programs and courses in victimology and trauma studies today. Next, I conducted a review of existing victimology courses and programs offered by institutions from around the world, with a particular interest in familiarizing myself with curricula and syllabi when available. Thirdly, I reviewed victimology textbooks used as reference materials in the teaching of Canadian victimology courses. The purpose of the review was to establish how, and if, victimology theory is taught, whether new and emerging perspectives are included, as well as to determine the scope of the field of study. I completed a microproject as a preliminary pilot study¹. The findings from the microproject, supervised by Dr. Paul Hart, informed the direction of this study.

A key finding of the document review was that currently, there are no degree programs leading to major or minor concentrations in the academic study of victimology in Canada. In 2019 there was one certificate program in victimology offered at the Université de Montréal where the language of instruction is French. There are several programs in criminology, law and justice studies available through Canadian universities; however, they maintain a fundamental concentration on the criminal and justice processes, whereas victimology and trauma studies maintain a concentration and

¹ The microproject was undertaken as partial fulfillment of the doctoral course ED910 Advanced Studies in Educational Research.

focus on the victim. Canadian universities with programs in criminal justice, social justice and justice studies that offer single courses in victimology are few. The scope of underrepresentation of victims and victimization in educational programs available in Canada constrains the knowledge and ability of those who interact with and respond to victims and trauma survivors. Moreover, public education, often through media, is key to creating an informed public awareness of the rights and needs of victims, and the scope and impact of victimization.

Limitations of the Study

The collaborative scope of this study is ambitious, as is the scope of victimology and trauma studies as a field of study. Dussich (2014) predicts the future of victimology will reflect changes necessary in education in order to develop areas of specialization in victimology. Below he describes and defines some of the likely areas of interest.

Some of these will likely be: female victimization and recovery services; victimization and recovery services of the elderly; victimization and recovery of children with special needs; treating marginalized victims; new victimological theories; research methods for measuring prevention, victimization and recovery; rights and legal issues of victims; psycho-social protocols for victim injury and trauma; and evidence-based decision-making and program management. Then there will likely be the newer topics such as: victims of terrorism; victims of human trafficking; victims of internal armed conflicts; victims of cultural practices; victims of abuse of power; victims of disasters; victims of computer fraud; victims of religious prosecution; police as victims; victim outreach services; the victim's role in the evolving restorative justice concept; new triage techniques for psycho-social victim trauma; prevention of femicide; and victims of sexual harassment especially in the work place (Dussich, 2014, p. 498).

While this research is not intended to contribute to the development of this knowledge *per se*, that is an unintentional and perhaps inevitable outcome of the ongoing and evolving analysis of the data collected.

A Landscape of Practice as a Methodological Innovation

The study is grounded in a community-based action research model of university-community collaboration. It is based on an ontological worldview that affirms the empowerment of individuals and groups to collectively pursue knowledge formation that informs and benefits their own interests, not only those who are in hierarchical positions of privilege. The research design is influenced by a study involving the University of South Carolina (deHart, 2014) and a consortium of participants, as a “means of bridging divergent efforts and philosophies among practitioners and policy makers in this developing field, a university-agency partnership was established to convene and facilitate a multidisciplinary, nationwide initiative” (p. 421) reaching across the “geographic, philosophical, and disciplinary divides to forge a common ground in professional development, including a definition and mission for the field as well as three sets of model standards for serving victims and survivors” (p. 421). Certain methods used in the University of South Carolina study were adapted for this study.

The transdisciplinarity of victimology and trauma studies is such that it draws on knowledge and experience from diverse communities of practice and from across various geographical regions. The democratic inclusion of all participants, including those whose knowledge is informed by lived experience, was necessary since the intent of the research is to explore ways in which education can create or inform transformative social change. An ontological worldview of social justice is foundational to the choice of methodology for this study.

The conceptual model of “transdisciplinary communities of practice” (TCoP) introduced by Cundill, Roux and Parker (2015, p. 3) is bound to the dimensions of communities that mutually engage, in a joint enterprise, with a shared repertoire of materials (Wenger, 1998). For this study, the concept of the TCoP was extended and applied to Wenger-Trayners’ (2015) more expansive notion of a “landscape of practice” (p. 15) or LoP. The Victim and Trauma Studies –Landscape of Practice (VTS-LoP) is the model for an intentionally formed community where the core participants are individuals who have access to and maintain relationships with various intellectual and experiential neighbors. They include experts from relevant academic disciplines; organizations, groups or associations whose practices are responsive to the needs and experiences of victims and survivors; who apply an intersectional lens to understanding the dimensions of victimization. The invitation to converse among participants of a VTS-LoP helped identify gaps and ways to bridge those gaps in victimology theory development, practice, and knowledge creation and mobilization.

Terms and Definitions

The following key terms and definitions are foundational to the concepts and context of use in this study. The glossary is not intended to be an all-inclusive glossary of terms. Some of the definitions are fluid, yet they will provide the reader with an overview of terms that are later explored and expanded upon more fully.

Critical Theory of Survivorship. There is evidence to suggest that the implied optimism of individual survivorship aligns with theories and political practices that situate responsibility for recovery and resilience within the individual and may even

reinforce paradigms of victim-blame. Within a contemporary discourse of survivorship claims assert a strengths-based perspective of agency, resistance (Stringer, 2009; Wade, 1997), resilience and recovery and includes the spaces in-between victim and trauma survivor. Karmen (2016) encourages the development of “survivorology” as “an area of concentration within victimology that accentuates the positive” and “operationalizes” the concepts of resiliency and recovery (p. 37), yet there is little evidence of critical analysis that explores this apparent shift in perspectives. A critical framework for conceptualizing theories of survivorship may embrace the spaces between victim and survivor. Such a framework may, in addition to acknowledging the needs and experiences of survivors, situate causal or complicating factors in the structures and situations that create opportunities for victimization and harm.

Critical Victimology. The development of critical perspectives in victimology is grounded in a complex understanding of how the intersection of societal influences and structures are relevant as causal factors in victimization and trauma. Among these intersecting social structures and endemic processes are gender, race, ability, and economic status. Critical victimology can contribute to how victimization and survival are understood, regardless of the typology of the crime or victim experience (Landau, 2014). Victimology as a field of study can benefit and mature through a sustained critical analysis of the societal contributors to victimization (Spencer & Walkate, 2016).

Critical Harm-based and Trauma-Informed Discourse. A critical, trauma-informed (Malchiodi, 2015), harm-based discourse helps to make visible a broad range of harm and injuries that are embedded in power and social structures (Muncie, 2000). Positivistic approaches to victimology that limit the focus of study to acts defined and

codified by criminal law, such as theft, assault, murder and homicide, vandalism and property damage and so on, fail to take into a broad range of harms that are the result of societal factors such as racism, colonialism, poverty, sexism and so on. Positivistic approaches to victimology face challenges while attempting to isolate causal factors in victimization since "every crime is embedded within a complex social web" (O'Connell, 2008, p. 96). O'Connell claims what is of primary concern as victimology develops is whether the victim is at the centre of interest, and that the safeguard for victimology development is whether the foci of investigative interest are on victims and survivors. I suggest it is, likewise, essential to maintain a focus on justice for victims.

Social Inequality and Victimization. Social inequality is frequently a causal or complicating factor in victimization, victim resilience and recovery. Theoretical or methodological approaches to victimology at times fail to take into account the local, embedded context of social inequality. When victimization is approached from a reductionist perspective – even when that perspective acknowledges well-established categories of inequality – it is possible, and even likely, that only a small part of the problem is understood. Social inequality and victimization can be viewed through a human rights lens. Multiple studies have concluded that victimization is more likely to impact vulnerable groups and individuals in society who, through social inequality attributed to categories of class, race, age, gender, health and disability, sexuality and so on, experience victimization disproportionately to what society does as a whole (Davies, Francis, & Geer, 2007).

Social Learning Theory. Learning itself, according to Etienne Wenger (2013), is a trajectory into a community-of-practice and a relationship between the social world and

the individual. Early observation of this learning model by researchers led them to conclude that learning is not accomplished primarily through the direct mentor-apprentice relationship but is more likely to occur as a result of engaged interaction with others in the field. Wenger described the concept of a living curriculum in the world as a community-of-practice with specialized knowledge and experiences, which at the same time may inadvertently create boundaries of inclusion, or exclusion. Wenger's early stages of construction of a social learning theory were intent on capturing how human "knowing is embedded in the practical experiences of the world" (2013, 12:52/1:09:54). In order for learning to occur, according to Wenger, the domain of knowledge must first be meaningful to the members of a community. It must consist of knowledge of practice which contributes to a community in positive ways that advance the collective interests of the group. Identity is closely aligned with learner motivation and a sense of becoming as a member of the community. Meaning, and becoming are therefore, essential parts of Wenger's theory. Learning can be transformative and therefore meaningful.

Therapeutic Jurisprudence. Therapeutic jurisprudence is a conceptual framework that emerged as a way of examining whether processes in law and legal procedures can be therapeutic or anti-therapeutic. The interest arose out of practices and processes in mental health law such as the involuntary commitment of mental health patients (Wexler, 2014). Despite the broad, interdisciplinary interest that has extended into virtually all areas of law and justice, the application of principles of therapeutic jurisprudence to "crime victims' participation in criminal justice" (Erez, 2010, p. 6) proceedings is a relatively recent development.

Victimology. Victimology is a transdisciplinary field of study focused on harm, trauma, victimization, victims and survivors of crimes, victims, and survivors of non-criminal victimizations including human rights violations (Quinney, 1972), and the societal relationships and responses to victimization (Landau, 2014). Victimology places victims and survivors at the centre of interest (O'Connell, 2008). Victimology as a field of study integrates the “histories, domains and regimes of competence” (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015) of academic disciplines such as criminology, sociology, social work, women and gender studies, law and more.

Researcher Ontological Position

In this study, I am positioned as a researcher/facilitator and as a participant. I am a survivor of childhood maltreatment and trauma. Despite being raised with the privilege of a lifestyle aligned with that of white, upper-middle-class professionals, I was homeless between the ages of 16 and 18, living on the streets of Toronto. As a vulnerable girl, I experienced gendered violence, often sexualized in nature, as I struggled to survive. I continued to exist on the streets until I had my first son and was able to access supports to get off the street. My background includes living in the margins as a single mother of four sons, living in poverty, living with complicated health problems as the outcome of childhood maltreatment and as a consequence of attempts at chemical sterilization imposed on me at the age of 15.

I survived the streets of Toronto with Greek students and intellectuals, men who had fled their country to escape the militarism and dictatorship of the Junta. Many had participated in the uprising at the Athens Polytechnic. These were angry intellectuals who recognized my vulnerability and shared what they had with me. They insisted I

learn to think critically, and politically. Although gender was not necessarily included in their analysis, class and privilege was. I listened and learned to question my assumptions and enculturation. Remarkably, more than 40 years later, the conversation that began on the streets of Toronto is continued today. Through social media and technology, and perhaps through synchronicity and providence, I was able to reconnect with one man whose understanding of colonialism and trauma became pivotal to my ability to synthesize the findings of this study and present them in satisfactory ways.

I am, now, an older white woman whose lived experiences in the margins intersect with the opportunity to pursue my interests at a graduate level of study. I recognize the privilege of having access to higher education. At times I find it challenging to acknowledge how my socioeconomic status changed as my access to education increased. I continue to ground myself in my lived experience in the margins and in my learned ability to engage in critical evaluation. My passion for the possibilities for growth and change through adult education stems from an awareness of some of the barriers to access many people encounter. Those barriers include financial constraints, geographical location and limited access to brick and mortar facilities, and personal responsibilities and constraints that overshadow the desire to learn in conventional settings, particularly for women, mothers, and girls.

I am a textile artist who understands the value of artistic expression in my healing journey and trauma recovery. Through critical evaluative practice and arts-based processes, I have come to realize more fully the challenge of integrating lived experience with formal knowledge in holistic and non-hierarchical ways. Throughout the study, there were times when my personal trauma was triggered, requiring thoughtful

integration of my experiences with the overall flow and contributions of all other participants. Applying approaches in art therapy to the process allowed me to continue to engage in my healing and recovery process, while also being attentive to how others engaged in healing and recovery processes.

As a researcher/facilitator and participant in this study, I reject the limitations of labeling any participant, including the researcher/participant, with indweller or outdweller membership. Avoiding assumptions is salient to how the research process was informed and impacted by differing axiological and epistemic positions, insights, and interests – to the weave of the study. According to Corbin Dwyer, and Buckle (2009), there is a third space “between” (p.60) indweller and outdweller positions, relevant to all participants:

Perhaps, as researchers we can only ever occupy the space between. We may be closer to the insider position or closer to the outsider position, but because our perspective is shaped by our position as a researcher (which includes having read much literature on the research topic), we cannot fully occupy one or the other of those positions (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 61).

The commitment to the democratic inclusion of all participants, including those whose knowledge is informed by lived experience, is necessary when the intent of the research is to create social change. Riecken et al. (2004) call for an "Ethics of Voice" (p. 2) in participatory action research whereby all participants, including the researcher/facilitator as a participant, make their opinions and positions clear and visible in the study. I concur with Riecken et al. and assert that bias can be avoided by being aware of, and acknowledging those various positions.

Outline of the Dissertation

Section One includes an introduction to the study and a review of relevant literature. Chapter Two provides a genealogical account of key concepts in victimology and trauma studies, paradigmatic perspectives and emerging theories. Chapter Three is a review of the literature supporting the integration of adult education as a pedagogical approach to victimology education, social justice, and transformative learning. In Chapter Four, I discuss the impact of victimization through the lens of a harm-based discourse, beyond the limited scope of criminal victimization. The literature review delves into the embedded context of gendered victimization with attention given to domestic violence and human trafficking of women and girls in Canada. I follow with a discussion of the scope and the impact of child maltreatment, and the importance of a trauma-informed approach to working with victims of child maltreatment. Chapter Five explores problems of vicarious trauma in caregivers and responders followed by a discussion of contemplative practices in mindfulness as a way to improve the capacity for empathy and compassion. The relevance of this chapter becomes evident in the presentation of findings in Section Two. In Chapter Six, I review emerging trauma-informed theories and approaches to healing and recovery. The scope of the chapter includes a focus on victim narratives and therapeutic justice, neurosequential approaches to therapeutic interventions including art therapy and animal-assisted interventions. This is an effort to express the inter/transdisciplinary range and scope of possible therapeutic interventions. In Chapter Seven, I expand on transdisciplinarity as a framework and explain the formation of an intentional landscape of practice (community) as a methodological innovation for the study. Transdisciplinarity, as a framework, was

essential to how the study was conducted. I follow this discussion with a review of the methods and processes applied to participant recruitment, ethical considerations, the collection of data, and data analysis. Here I situate myself as a researcher/participant.

Section Two is a presentation of the findings of the study and is organized according to priorities that emerged from the study. They are: 1) the societal construction and defining concepts of harm and victimization; 2) a critical theory of survivorship; 3) trauma-informed perspectives and practices of engaged healing and recovery; 4) priorities in education and learning in victimology and trauma studies and lastly, 5) the Epiphany, an identified need for the development of an axiology of victimology. I discuss the findings of the study and how they support, refute or inform the literature and the field of victimology and trauma studies. The final chapter presents recommendations and priorities for future research and the development of learning opportunities in victimology and trauma studies. It is a call for action.

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A Genealogical Account of Key Concepts

Victimology is an inter/transdisciplinary field of study focused on victimization, victims and survivors of crimes, victims and survivors of non-criminal victimizations including human rights violations (Quinney, 1972), and the societal relationships and responses to victimization (Landau, 2014). Victimology places victims and survivors at the centre of interest (O'Connell, 2008). Paul Elliot Rock (1994) defined victimology as a “*rendez vous science*” that is “loosely integrated” and interested in all matters that relate to victims rather than being “unified by one common theory, practice, profession or institution” (p. xvi). The historical and contemporary contributions made by various disciplinary perspectives, including, but not limited to, criminology, sociology, psychology, law, justice and legal studies, medicine, and women and gender studies create a rich resource upon which victimology as a field of study can develop.

There is little evidence in the literature of an investigation into the significance of survivor experiences, although what does exist suggests survivorship has implications beyond individual lived experiences, in part perhaps due to a shift away from a focus on the *negative* and on experiences of oppression (Hockett & Saucier, 2015). There is a need for future research to explore this critical shift in perspectives and to critically acknowledge the social implications in notions of survivorship. It is significant to this discussion to recognize that not all victims become survivors. Some victims do not survive at all.

The historical and theoretical transitions in victimology as a field of study are evident in the societal changes that have occurred over recent years, changes that prioritize the rights and needs of victims and survivors. Early theoretical development and research methodologies in victimology focused on the limited predictive value of identifying victim populations, along with types, trends, and patterns in victimizations (Karmen, 2016). These early positivist methodologies, often referred to as traditional or conventional victimology, gave little attention to the critical analysis of economic and socio-cultural causal factors in victimization, leaving a gap in understanding and responding to the rights and needs of victims and survivors (Landau, 2014).

The Emergence of the Victims' Movement

Robert Mawby and Sandara Walkate (2002) introduced critical perspectives in victim and survivor studies by advocating a move away from a legacy of positivism. These developments occurred alongside the formation of the victims' movement and corresponded to the emergence of victim advocacy groups, women's shelters, and rape crisis centres. The victims' movement led to calls for reforms in the treatment of victims. Both Canada and the United States made legislative changes, including 69 recommendations contained within a report by the *US President's Task Force on Victims of Crime* (1982). By 1983, following recommendations by the *Law Commission of Canada* and the *Canadian Association for Prevention of Crime*, changes were made in the *Criminal Code of Canada* in response to gender-based concerns in cases of sexual assaults and the way victims participated in justice processes (Department of Justice, 2007). Many countries participated in making changes, starting by signing the 1985 *UN*

Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuses of Power (United Nations General Assembly, 1985). According to a timeline of events compiled by the *Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime* (2006), at least 75 changes took place that advanced awareness, policy, and law in the direction of recognizing victims' rights and needs between 1983 and 2005. The *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights* was enacted in 2015, giving victims of crime distinct legal rights in criminal justice processes for the first time in Canadian history (Government of Canada, 2015). The shift in focus toward the needs of victims is consistent with the commitment to providing victims' services at government and community levels, with more than 900 providers across Canada (Munch, 2015).

The field of victimology expanded to include government, justice systems and processes, community agencies and responders from multiple disciplines and jurisdictions. According to some victimologists, victims are nevertheless “the ‘forgotten party’ in the criminal justice system” (Wemmers, 2009, p. 395) yet they comprise *one-third* of the criminal justice paradigm, along with offenders and justice processes (Growette Bostaph, Brady, & Giacomazzi, 2014). The demand for educating providers in victims' services is significant, yet there is no evidence of dedicated victimology programs and corresponding research plans from Canadian degree-granting institutions. A report by the *Policy Centre for Victim Issues* acknowledges “the paucity of research on the issue of professionalization of victim services” (McDonald, 2017, p. 24), and recommends further research, suggesting development of a “nationalized, computerized (i.e., online, distance learning) training program that jurisdictions could access with standard elements, for example, a module on the Criminal Code” (p. 31). The World

Society of Victimology (WSV) published calls for the development of university education in victimology and for justice professionals to be educated through courses on victimology and victim rights (2000). Landau (2014) describes the “emergence of a dynamic field within the academic world” (p. 9) which expanded to include government, justice systems and processes, community agencies and responders from multiple disciplines and jurisdictions. Victimology courses, including some degree programs with a focus or major in victimology, are offered in Africa, Asia, Europe, the USA, and Latin America. In Canadian institutions, however, there is little evidence that the field of study is continuing to develop at a pace commensurate with the need.

Victimology theory provides contextual frameworks for understanding how victimization (criminal and non-criminal) is defined and responded to socially and culturally; the impact of victimization on individuals and the larger community; the role of victims in criminal justice and various formal justice procedures; and the power structures and relationships that create the conditions in which abuses and victimizations occur. Although victimology is sometimes still referred to as a sub-discipline of criminology since this is where the attention to victims is the most significant, the scholarly contributions from various disciplines and communities of practice advanced theoretical development in this field to the extent that victimology achieved disciplinary status as a distinct field of study.

A Genealogical Approach

Foucault's definition of genealogy is "a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects" (1980, p. 117). Genealogy is

a method of explaining what is happening now, in the context of knowledge origins. The telling of a story of origins is purposeful, and motivated by a need to account for contemporary shifts in epistemology and ontology. Such an account does not suggest an incontrovertible or all-encompassing narrative of events and interpretations, nor is the purpose of this chapter to do so. Rather, this is a genealogical account of the eventual exclusion of victims as parties to judicial processes, despite formalized affirmations of victims' rights. I discuss transformative events and problems in the representation of the rights and needs of victims in relation to historical justice system positions and interactions. Certain events and discursive notions of justice and victimization are contextualized in a discussion of dominant contemporary and emerging theoretical paradigms and perspectives.

Power and Justice Formations and the Historical Role of the Victim

The English common law tradition was introduced in Canada by colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Department of Justice, 2017). Dominant power and justice formations had systematically reduced the participation of victims in formal justice processes and procedures through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England, whereby private injury to individual victims was converted to a public wrong (Young, 2001, p. 6) and victims became *witnesses for the state*. The relevance of the change in the status of victims is still in evidence in Canadian law and justice system processes today. Although some victims' rights are entrenched in the Canadian Victims Bill of Rights (Government of Canada, 2015), victims are not formal parties in criminal proceedings (Ministry of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, 2016).

According to historical records of justice and civilization, there is evidence of community concern with the cost of crime and personal injury to victims. The Code of Hammurabi 1754 BCE, The Torah 600-400 BCE, the Sumerian Code 2100-2050 BCE, and Roman law 754-449 BCE all provide examples of early enforcement of compensation given to victims (Delgado, 2000). The oldest known written law is the Code of Hammurabi of ancient Babylonia from 1728 – 1686 BC (Dussich, 2015), which contained distinct descriptions of punishments for offenses against individual victims, concerned with property and agriculture rights, marriage rights, slavery, murder and theft, and women’s rights (Saha & Saharay, 2010). Victims were able to claim restitution for any damage or loss on their own behalf, and the responsibility for making restitution was placed on the offender and their extended family (Colorado, 2010). The strong sense of kinship in matters of private vengeance also carried the potential for violent and bloody outcomes (Schafer, 1977). Despite the revenge and retaliation often exacted on behalf of victims, this period of history has been described as the “golden age of the victim” (Kirchoff, 2010, p. 99). Over time, the participation of the victim changed as the larger community participated in prosecution and shared in the collection of the compensation or punishment if the accused failed to pay (Schafer, 1977). As populations became less nomadic and survival was bound intrinsically to the land or territory a people occupied, ownership of that land was linked to power and the authority of the state. The state (on behalf of the King of England) became increasingly involved in making decisions about what forms of restitution and compensation were permitted, however, the victim was the primary actor in the prosecution of offenders responsible for causing personal injury (Langbein, 1978).

The formation of the feudal system in England was the foundation for state rule under British common law. England's land was divided into at least seven kingdoms and each kingdom was divided again into counties with smaller land holdings known as *hundred*. The land holdings were owned and governed by the Catholic Church of England (which carried enough political and economic influence to hold title to about half of all hundreds) or by private landlords or sub-chiefs, all held under the larger Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Feudal conflicts over land traditionally owned by clan-based groups eventually changed the nature of allegiance from family and kin, to allegiance to the landlord or owner. As landlords increased their holdings in ways that resulted in the significant influence of power, disputes previously settled according to family or community customs were now heard in the "hundred courts" (Barlow, 2014, p. 9). These courts made decisions according to their owners, either the Church or the Feudal lords and aristocracy. Rule of the land was in actuality the rule of the land owners.

In the history of English law, changes that took place after the invasion by the Normans in 1066 (Tucker, 1991) formalized justice processes that led to the development of Common Law through the introduction of the King's Peace (Young, 2001). The new role of the state, initially on behalf of the King, brought with it the opportunity to collect and keep compensation that would previously have gone to the victim. The role of the victim changed dramatically to that of a witness for the state. The protections afforded by the King's Peace effectively "converted the private injury into a public wrong" (p. 6). The Normans campaigned to persuade the public - generally the peasants - to substitute compensation for the satisfaction they could experience through the criminal prosecution of offenders. Increasingly, incentives linked to the arrest and

prosecution of offenders of alleged crimes resulted in a shift in focus away from the personal injury of a victim.

The collection of fines and restitutions ordered by the early forms of court created a viable source of revenue for the state and in the form of awards to private prosecutors - restitution that would have been given to victims of personal injury otherwise. In the absence of restitution, there was little incentive to victims for prosecuting personal injury until well into the 19th century. The account presented here is in no way a comprehensive review of early formalization of English Common Law (see Tucker (1991) and Barlow (2014) for a more detailed account), however the transition of private injury into public wrong and the status of the victim in justice processes is explained, in part, by this genealogy of events. Across the span of time between the Norman invasion of 1066 and into the nineteenth century, the prosecution of criminal injury served primarily as a financial incentive for prosecutors motivated by the collection of fines and penalties (not the collection of restitution or compensation by and for victims), and satisfaction derived from the assessment of criminal guilt by a judge in the early courts of law.

In feudal times, wealth was determined by land ownership. Large land holdings supported large herds of sheep, leading to the accumulation of stockpiles of wool and the production of textiles. When textile production increased through the use of machinery, and water, steam, and coal could produce power, England grew at a speed beyond what neighbouring European countries were capable of (Frank & Plucknett, 2010). The trend toward public crime control was also in place by the nineteenth century (Spitzer & Scull, 1977). There were large, urban populations like the City of London, but there were no official police forces until 1822 when the first Metropolitan Police Force formed with

approximately 1000 members (Bentley, 1998). By the end of the nineteenth century, policing was extended to include rural counties, as well as urban centers. Policing in Canada was modelled after the City of London's Metropolitan Police although Canada faced challenges due to the vast and geographically challenging landscape that led to the formation of "frontier policing" (Ontario Provincial Police, 2017, par. 5) efforts.

The state subsequently appointed prosecutors with the intention to produce a less corrupt system than what was in place when fines, incentives, and bonuses were paid to anyone who took the initiative to prosecute a crime (Bentley, 1998). The entire system of justice utilized actors who had no personal stake in the justice process beyond what they were paid to do as agents of the state, with the subjective cooperation of the people.

The role of the victim as an active participant in justice processes almost entirely disappeared, along with any real hope or interest in restitution or compensation for their injury. Foucault (1977) claimed that the fundamental advantage of offender and state-focused notions of justice are embedded in political and economic power relations. He argued that the state and its subjects demonstrate 'theatrical' performativity of the administration of justice through justice processes. The advantage is akin to the promises made to peasants under protection of the King's Peace, whereby the performativity of justice processes substitutes compensation for personal injury for the satisfaction individuals may experience through the criminal prosecution of offenders. Normative and performative subjectivity, as demonstrated by the cooperation of the peasants in court proceedings, is a critical component in the social construction of justice processes and the theories of justice that evolve from those practices (Weems, 2014). The resulting "neglect of the victim" (Rock, 2015, p. 37) and focus on crime and offenders dominated

academic interests until the 20th century in substantive ways. Victims were arguably the "forgotten persons" (p. 5) in the criminal justice system under Canadian common law (Markesteyn, 1992). In contemporary criminal justice proceedings victims are not active participants, however some progress has been made in recognition of their rights and needs².

It is nevertheless essential to challenge existing assumptions that English common law integrated into the Canadian state brought order to a developing nation. First Nations law was well established when settlers arrived, with long-standing social and political customs and conventions that continue today. Uribe explains:

First Nations Law is based on the teachings and behaviour of respected individuals and elders, and a story is more important than food to stay alive. Those stories expressed in communities represent their wisdom in conflict resolution. In this sense, these narratives precede the Common law. These traditions and stories are similar and different from case law precedent. They are similar to legal precedent because they provide reasons for the establishment of principles. Both Common law cases and Aboriginal stories record the way disputes were resolved in the past. First Nations stories are interpreted by wise individuals and presented in the best way to solve the dispute. They differ as well in form and content than those Common law cases, as First Nations use oral tradition, in case modifications are made to the story. This means that the context is dynamic and is always changing, although the main components of the story do not change. As well, the content differs because each First Nation has a rich culture, different from Western values (Uribe, 2006, p. 4).

The rights, needs, and participation of victims in First Nations law and justice processes were not changed and eroded within those systems, so much as they were ignored when Indigenous peoples were forced to assimilate under colonial law.

Aboriginal law was ignored. The discussion of victims' rights, needs and participation in

² The *Canadian Victims' Bill of Rights*, enacted in 2015 (Government of Canada) formalized a commitment to protecting victims' right to information, the right to protection, the right to participation and the right to restitution. The Victim Impact Statement is currently a significant component in victim participation in justice processes.

justice processes was usually confined to spaces that did little to challenge existing power structures. According to Foucault (2012), a characteristic feature of repression is that discussion is absent in discourse as though "there was nothing to say about such things, nothing to see, and nothing to know" (Part One, par. 5).

To redress the legacy of Indian residential schools and advance reconciliatory processes in Canada, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada produced a report (2015) with calls to action toward reconciliation. The report identifies serious and ongoing concerns affecting Indigenous peoples and their representation within Canadian justice system processes³.

The Victims' Rights Movement

The origins of the victims' rights movement and the re-emergence of the victim in justice processes are evident in some of the political actions that occurred throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in countries like the United States and Canada. For example, feminist groups included the Suffragettes who advocated first for equality and voting rights for women, later shifted focus to victims' rights for women who suffered from domestic and sexual violence. Despite the relative invisibility of victims in justice processes other than as witnesses for the state, Dale Spencer and Sandra Walkate (2016) point out that there were changes that came about during World War II (1939-1945) and in the postwar era. Victimology emerged in the post-World War II era as a response to the atrocities of the Holocaust and as a corrective to criminology. In relation to the

³ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Call for Action, published in 2015, includes 23 specific recommendations in Legacy reconciliation in the area of justice.

former, in the wake of the mass extermination of Jews, homosexuals, disabled persons, and other groups, there became a need among Western states and survivors to make sense of why the Nazis chose the groups they did and to question the genesis of genocide more generally. This questioning began from the standpoint of trying to understand what it is, particularly, about a given victim that makes them more prone to victimization and how such groups or persons contribute to their victimization (Spencer & Walkate, 2016).

During this timeframe, attorney Benjamin Mendelsohn began his academic research on victim relationships to offenders and in 1947 formally presented the first use of the term ‘victimology’ at an academic conference in Romania (Dussich, 2015). In 1948, Hans Von Hentig published *The Criminal and His Victim*, followed 20 years later in 1968 by Stephen Schafer’s *The Victim and His Criminal – A study in functional responsibility*. The interest in victims and victimology continued to grow, and as did concern for the protection and compensation of vulnerable people, and victims of violent crimes.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the State increasingly put into place structures to protect people who were ‘at risk’ as well as those who were suffering deprivations of one kind or another (as we have argued, this was a trend that in many respects originated in the nineteenth century, see Wiener 2004). Fry’s campaigns eventually led to the system of Criminal Injuries Compensation for the victims of violent crime in the 1960s, for example (Kearon & Godfrey, 2018).

The victims’ movement in Canada became active in the early 1980s and led to calls for reforms to the treatment of victims. Many countries participated in making changes, starting with signing the 1985 *UN Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuses of Power* (Young, 2001). Both Canada and the United States made legislative changes, including 69 recommendations contained within a report by the 1982 *US Presidential Task Force on Victims of Crime*. By 1983, the

Canadian Association for Prevention of Crime made 79 recommendations of its own, including a shift in the participation of victims in the justice process (Brockman & Rose, 2010). Like other reports of this nature, the recommendations were not without problems or disagreement within the justice system.

In Canada, as in Europe and the United States, feminist groups advocated on behalf of women and children who were victims of sexual assault or domestic violence (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014). The political activities of the women's movement are credited with legislative reforms regarding sexual assault and other gender-based crimes. The activism of feminists led to concrete changes, including the establishment of the first shelter for battered women in Canada in Toronto in 1973. A year later, the Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre opened, yet both of these organizations operated independently of funding from the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system was often the site of secondary victimization for women who "were being re-victimized by police and the courts" (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014, p. 4). Moreover, the work of these early pioneers led to a deeper understanding of the victim's experience of trauma⁴.

Important sources of information focused on understanding the experiences of victims of crime are victimization surveys. These include the National Crime Victimization Survey conducted in the United States since 1973 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2017), and the Crime Survey for England and Wales conducted in the United

⁴ It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed account of the role of the Victim's movement in Canada. The reader is encouraged to read *An Exploration of the Victims Movement in Canada* (2014), produced by Victims of Violence and the Canadian Centre for Missing Children for more information.

Kingdom since 1981 (Kantar, 2015). Worldwide, there are other victimization surveys that contribute to victim knowledge. More recently Canada implemented the General Social Survey – Victimization with the first survey conducted in 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2019) as part of the General Social Survey. The comprehensive Canadian survey was conducted by telephone interview, exploring questions such as victim perceptions about their communities, isolation, time spent at home alone, perceptions about police and criminal courts. Moreover, the survey collected information regarding the histories of spousal violence (emotional, financial, physical or sexual). A full list of survey questions can be reviewed on the Statistics Canada website (2017). The survey allowed victims to participate directly in giving voice to their experiences and concerns.

According to Ezzat Fattah (1989), the political activism associated with the victims' movement created multiple problems that can produce opportunities for greater victim participation yet may not always serve the victim or the justice process. Some of his concerns are stated here:

At the First National Conference of Victims of Crime (held in Toronto, 1985) the victim movement was called the growth industry of the decade. In the United Kingdom it is considered the fastest-developing voluntary movement. Victim groups and associations are mushrooming all over North America and Europe. Inevitably, this fantastic growth had a significant impact on victimology. Victimology meetings are no longer scholarly meetings where the findings of scientific research on victims are presented and discussed, they have become a forum for political and ideological rhetoric. They mirror the transformation of victimology from an academic discipline into a humanistic movement, the shift from scholarly research to political activism... Willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, victim lobbyists are playing into the hands of the neo-conservatives and the neo-classicists and are helping propagate the ideas and philosophy of right-wing criminology. In such a climate, scientific inquiry into victim-offender interactions and the victim's contribution to the genesis of crime is likely to be summarily dismissed as an attempt to blame the victim (Fattah, 1989, p. 59–60).

Fattah argues that there is a danger of stigmatizing victims and of creating victim stereotypes and ultimately delaying the natural healing process. Nevertheless, advocates for greater victim participation argue that the best remedy for possible secondary victimization is to define a victim's right to participate. According to criminologist Howard Zehr and social work professor Mark Umbreit (1982), crime can be devastating because it makes our vulnerability evident and undermines a sense of control in our lives. In order for victims to feel a restored sense of that control and psychological wholeness, Zehr and Umbreit insist victims should be given a voice and listened to.

Victims' rights to have their voices heard should not be confused with the court's right under the Canadian Criminal Code to compel a victim-witness to testify. Moreover, under Section 705 of the Criminal Code (Minister of Justice, 2019), the court has the power, at the discretion of the trial judge, to issue a material witness warrant. Under Section 706 the judge may go so far as to jail a witness if they have been subpoenaed to testify, are believed to have material evidence to give, and fail to appear or refuse to answer questions in court.

Although this provision in law is intended to be used only under extraordinary circumstances, victim-witness statutes have resulted in the incarceration of victims in Canada. For example, in June 2015 a vulnerable and homeless Indigenous woman who was a victim of sexual assault, Angela Cardinal (pseudonym) was taken into custody and detained for five nights at the Edmonton Remand Centre in Alberta (CBC News, 2018). The details of what she was subjected to are appalling. After being transported from the jail in the same prisoner van with the man accused of assaulting her, Cardinal was forced to testify while wearing shackles. When the media revealed the story, Alberta Justice

Minister Kathleen Ganley ordered an investigation into the events. A 32-page independent report (Campbell, 2018) contained 18 recommendations, condemning the decision of the Crown prosecutor who incarcerated the victim. In response to the report, Ganley issued a statement to CBC News (2018) saying, “Angela's story is a crucial reminder that we must do better, not only in her memory, but for all victims who come into contact with the justice system” (par. 15). Ganley went on to say, “When victims come forward to tell their story, we need to ensure they are not only heard, but that they are treated with courtesy, compassion and respect throughout every step towards justice” (par. 16). Involving victims’ services can help with identifying the supports a victim may require to participate in justice processes in ways that are meaningful and satisfactory to the victim. A truly victim-centred approach to justice will also be trauma-informed and sensitive to victims’ rights and needs.

Van Dijk (2009) discussed how victim narratives, written by the victims themselves, are a way to share personal experiences of victimization and provide opportunities to explore the “implications of the victim label” (2009, p. 8). These narratives may serve to challenge the climate of anti-victimism (Cole, 2007), by demonstrating “the recently discovered phenomena that are called 'victim resilience' (Bonnano, 2004) and 'post traumatic growth' (Zoellner and Maercker, 2006) (p. 10).” Van Dijk claims that proportionately, more people experience, unexpectedly, personal growth and inner strength than the number of people who suffer from stress disorders after victimization. Van Dijk’s analysis of eleven high profile victim narratives or autobiographies led to the conclusion that there is a need for research into the experiences of “ordinary victims” (p. 25). He concludes with the assertion that “Such

research would probably not only strengthen and expand the body of victimological knowledge but also contribute to the development of less stereotypical notions of victims in society” (p. 25). It is hoped that the victim narratives included and later discussed in this study contribute to this body of knowledge.

The Emergence of Victimology Theory and ReEmergence of the Victim

The Canadian and American victims' rights movements challenged the deeply embedded social and institutional repression and denial of victims' rights. The impact of the *Victims' Rights Movement* on the development of victimology as a distinct field of study is discussed in more detail later in this paper. The emergence of victimology theory does not follow the direct course of a single discipline. Karmen (2016) claims that “Victimology is an interdisciplinary field that benefits from the contributions of sociologists, psychologists, social workers, political scientists, doctors, nurses, criminal justice officials, lawyers, spiritual leaders, and other professionals, volunteers, advocates, and activists” (p. 18).

Interdisciplinarity is a framework that is useful for identifying and analyzing the ways in which knowledge from at least two disciplines is integrated and then informs or challenges discourse and is likely to produce *new* insights and understandings that contribute to finding solutions to complex social problems (Zuri, 2012).

Transdisciplinarity as a synthesis process assists researchers in recognition of assumptions and biases inherent in the formation of disciplinary knowledges and power structures. Moreover, transdisciplinary synthesis in victimology allows researchers to “examine and substantiate the appropriateness of the methodological, theoretical, political, and moral assumptions” (p. 1) that are foundational to various justice

processes, and to evaluate how knowledge and assumptions are situated within certain paradigms. Analysis of how positivist, critical and interpretive traditions in victimological research are representative of those assumptions and serve to uphold existing paradigms and power structures is instructive for educators and learners.

Paradigmatic Perspectives and a Legacy of Positivism

Patti Lather suggests that "paradigm mapping can help us recognize both our longing for and a wariness of an ontological and epistemological home" (Lather, 2017, par. 6). She cautions the researcher that the purpose of mapping is not to establish a sense of identification with a particular paradigm, or even to close the distance between theories and knowledges, but to contribute to the understanding of the fluid and transformative nature of the paradigms themselves as conceptual. Victimology examines contentious notions of victim responsibility. Conventional victimology often positions victimization in the binary terms of guilty offenders and innocent victims who may share some responsibility for events, based on their actions and interactions. This perspective is consistent with criminal law and traditional justice processes. The knowledge assumptions embedded in positivist epistemologies are founded on authoritative positions that are closely aligned with political, historical and colonial, patriarchal, and institutional interests. They are embedded in law and government operated social controls such as the criminal justice system. The positivist approach is unconcerned with substantively investigating these power structures and relationships.

The early study of victimology, often credited to Benjamin Mendelsohn in the early 1940s, was unconcerned with victims' needs as much as it was concerned with the

relationship between victims and offenders and questions of shared responsibility (Dignan, 2004). The development of victimology as a social science produced a collection of data that has contributed to a greater understanding of victims and victimization, specific groups of victims and victim experiences, victimization risk assessment, social-cultural victimization, institutional victimization, lifestyle factors and the phenomena of recurrence of victimization and secondary victimization (Quinney, 1972). The value of victimology and trauma research is often assessed by determining its predictive value in crime prevention, and in an improvement of victim services. However, the interest in victim responsibility ignited concerns about ‘victim blaming’ for many. For example, early and contemporary positivist theorists, interested in investigating the notion of victim responsibility, produced typologies of victims and their behaviours. Mendelsohn's typology of victims was intent on exploring the *degree of responsibility* or culpability a victim has for harmful events (Burgess, Regehr, & Roberts, 2013). Mendelsohn developed a victim typology identifying six levels of victim types (Burgess, Regehr, & Roberts, 2013). Later, von Hentig's typologies had traits and characteristics of victims that were based on *classes* of victims and *psychological types* of victims (Dignan, 2004). Von Hentig identified considerations such as age, mental status, ethnicity, and minority status, as well as psychological characteristics that may impact victim actions and responses, positioning these within the individual rather than in a broader, intersectional social context. Von Hentig's and Mendelsohn's typologies also served the interests of the criminal in deferring responsibility in justice processes – especially where type 2, the *Victim with Minor Guilt* suggested shared responsibility for crime and victimization, as well as creating the potential for victim-blaming.

Contemporary victimology theories embedded with positivist assumptions include lifestyle theory developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1980) and routine activities theories by Cohen and Felson (1979). Lifestyle and routine activities theories have, however, led to research that helps identify commonalities in demographics where the convergence of time, space and opportunity for targeted victims and offenders to come together, and are significant elements of victimization.

Nils Christie (1986) challenged the notion that victim typology was reliable as a predictor of victimization. Christie's position was that every victimization is a social construct and each incident is experienced uniquely, depending on the intersection of various factors such as culture and socioeconomic status. According to Christie, the qualities of the 'ideal victim' are those that enable them to readily gain public sympathy as blameless and deserving of the victim status. Christie characterized the 'ideal victim' as weak; respectable or involved in respectable activity; responsible and not doing anything to contribute to their own victimization; victimized by an offender who is large and 'bad' and who is also unknown to the victim; and the victim with the social capital to make claims of victimization successfully without opposition by other claims-makers.

Miller and Holstein (1997) suggest the 'victim' label assumes or implies the individual has been unjustly injured or harmed by the 'offender' or 'victimizer' and that this implies innocence on the part of the victim. They argue that a victim identity frees individuals from responsibility. Zeus Leonardo (2013) challenges this narrow notion of responsibility saying that minority children for instance, who suffer from poverty (arguably a non-criminal form of victimization) "created their own predicament, even as they may help reproduce it, is like saying that the impoverished life of the slave is his

own doing" (p. 604). The positivist approach to victimology theory remains focused on remedies to social problems that place the individual - victim and offender - at the center of problem-solving efforts. Walton (2005) emphasizes how even recent efforts to address bullying at schools, for example, focus interventions on helping victims and offenders to correct or change their behaviours rather than on looking at larger associations like "race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality" (p. 70).

Dell and Kilty (2012) extend Christie's notion of the ideal victim relative to the intersection of many of those larger associations as they relate to Aboriginal women and argue,

Aboriginal women victims of violence do not fit with Christie's conceptualization of the ideal victim (Dell, 2001; Razack, 2000), which is imbued with racist and classist notions of who is socially accepted as a victim in a patriarchal and predominantly white society (p. 4).

Contrary to the social construct of an ideal (deserving) victim, Dell and Kilty situate the Aboriginal woman who is a drug-user as the 'ideal or expected' offender.

We begin this article by situating the Aboriginal woman drug user in Canada as the 'expected offender' based on the intersection of her gender, race, and class and by illustrating how given this expectation, she is conceptualized as deserving of punishment. This particular woman is antithetical to the Western ideal victim identity, as she is non-white and often poor. We suggest that strengthening Aboriginal women's cultural identity can potentially disrupt this expected identity at both the individual and social system levels. To do this, it is imperative to understand how women see themselves – as a victim, a drug offender, and an Aboriginal woman. Likewise, it is important to gain an understanding of whether, and how, they interpret themselves as deserving of punishment (p. 2).

Balfour (2008) further describes how a continuum of victimization-criminalization is of particular concern to Aboriginal women, "one that is situated in historical, cultural, economic, and political practices that deny Aboriginal women their dignity and respect,

autonomy, and self-determination, thereby contributing to their endangerment” (p. 105). Dell and Kilty (2012) situate the lived experiences of victimization in the lives of Aboriginal women in the context of “the history of state-imposed colonization” (p. 4-5) and “despotic government actions” (p. 5). The victimization-criminalization continuum of Aboriginal women, in particular, is contextualized as sequelae to historical oppressions.

The devastating relationship between the historical control of Aboriginal peoples and their current disadvantaged position is well documented (Dua, 1999; LaPrairie, 1995; Reasons and Pavlich, 1995). Not as well established are explanations of the impact of historical oppression as it relates to Aboriginal women and their coming into conflict with the law (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2003). What is known, however, is that the effects of violence and colonization impact Indigenous women’s lives in a multiplicity of ways, including their criminalization (Monture-Angus, 1999: 78), as research suggests that the “most common pathways to crime involve survival efforts that result from abuse, poverty, and substance abuse” (Bloom et al., 2003, p. 8) (Dell & Kilty, 2012, p. 4).

A typology of victims largely fails to take into account social location and situates victimization (primarily) as individual acts with the responsibility for those acts placed on individual offenders. Moreover, social location may also influence how state institutions like the criminal justice system and police services respond to victims who are socially constructed as less than ideal, or whose survival efforts include behaviours that are constructed as criminal (Balfour, 2013). Balfour supports claims of contemporary state-sanctioned victimization⁵ by citing studies of family violence courts in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Toronto, Ontario.

⁵ According to David Kauzlarich state crime victims can include “[i]ndividuals or groups of individuals who have experienced economic, cultural, or physical harm, pain, exclusion, or exploitation because of tacit or explicit state actions or policies which violate law or generally defined human rights”

[...]researchers found that police were more likely to counter-charge low-income and racialized women when responding to domestic violence calls (Comack et al., 2000; Pollack et al.,2005). In another study of Aboriginal women’s experiences of domestic violence on reserves, McGillivray and Comaskey (1999) found police often disregarded women’s calls for help, and band councils would force women to recant their testimony against their abuser: The failure of the criminal justice system to protect Aboriginal women living in reserve communities was attributed to the disregard that police show for Aboriginal women, as well as to the power of chiefs and band councils to force women to recant their testimony. Moreover, many of these women were themselves charged by the police for domestic violence when they attempted to defend themselves against their abusers (McGillivray and Comaskey, 1999, cited in Comack and Balfour, 2004: 157). Thus, Aboriginal women’s victimization appears to be more serious on reserves, yet police resources were less effective, and reserve governance seemed dismissive of women’s needs for safety (2013, p. 94).

The impetus for the ongoing development of victimology theory is motivated by the recognition that victims and victimization is socially constructed. Societal responses and associations both construct and reflect emotional actions/reactions and contribute to how victims and victimizations are defined. Louk Hulsman (1986), discussed problems associated with the social construction of crime and, consequently, of criminal victimization across the span of his career as a professor in law. As a social construction of time and place, criminalized events are not universally interpreted as such and can change according to societal responses. For example, acts or behaviours that have changed in status in Western society include abortion, drunk driving, domestic violence, homosexuality, race or ethnic bias, and sexual assault, and more recently physician-assisted dying⁶. Hulsman suggested that an *interpretation* of victimization will be

(Kauzlarich D. , 1995, p. 39). State crime may also include “crimes of omission or the broader category of socialized harm (e.g., institutionalized classism and racism” (Kauzlarich D. M., 2001, p. 178)

⁶ Liberals' assisted-dying bill is now law after clearing final hurdles. (Tunney, 2016)

impacted by whether the experiences are considered to be socially problematic, to what degree, and by whom.

Critical Perspectives in Victimology

Critical approaches in victimology are grounded in a complex intersectional framework of societal influences and structures relevant to victimization. Among these intersecting markers are “socio-economic status, race, class, gender, sexualities, ability, geographic location, refugee and immigrant status” combined with “broader historical and current systems of discrimination such as colonialism” and “the efforts of marginalized women and men to bring about change” (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2006, p. 5). Feminist contributions to critical theory advanced an understanding of how, for example, some traditional and cultural practices can contribute to the oppression of women. Globally, gendered violence is rampant. It is imperative to understand how the social conditions that produce and maintain violence against women exist within gendered, hierarchical and most often patriarchal “terrains of power” (Hunnicut, 2009, p. 565) intersect.

Criminologist Pamela Davies (2010) acknowledges the "legacy of positivism" (p. 65) as a problematic perspective on the study of crime and victimization. She explains how some critiques of positivist theoretical approaches are based on interest in public spaces and visible crimes, and ways in which theorists have argued that lifestyle choices on the part of victims produce risk and consequently, culpability. There is little evidence of political or structural analysis in the positivist approach and gendered analysis is often a simplistic one based on unreliable data sources and collection practices. Feminist

theory demanded the inclusion of the victims' perspectives and analysis of patriarchal power structures and has, according to Davies, reframed the understanding that criminality and the victimization of women is produced by unjust, institutionalized oppression. Moreover, men have generally been viewed as victimizers with little consideration to the vulnerability of some men as victims. Davies posits that masculinity theory, like femininity theory, informs a “gender-wise” (p. 134) understanding of offending and victimization by examining how men and boys approach risk-taking behaviours. A critical approach to gendered victimization, including sexualized violence, can ground the ability to better understand fear, risk, vulnerability, and harm.

Critical perspectives in victimology recognize abuses of power and social inequity as causal factors in criminal victimizations and non-criminal victimizations. Some natural disasters, for example, are incidents that are beyond the control of humans, and not directly caused by human abuses of power (there are obviously exceptions to this). Nevertheless, in the interest of supporting the survival and recovery of victims a critical analysis of policy regarding emergency response, responder priorities, and the establishment and delivery of supports and services can be of great value. The disparity in social status can produce quite different societal responses to individuals who experience similar events.

Looking Critically at the Implications of the Victim-to-Survivor Transition

The discourse of survivorship is often claimed to reflect a strengths-based perspective of agency, resistance (Stringer, 2009; Wade, 1997), resilience and recovery and includes the spaces in-between victim and survivor. In a concerted effort to avoid the

pitfalls of “victim feminism” (Murphy, 2012, p. 21), the discourse of agency attributed to third-wave feminism in Faulkner and MacDonald (2009) shifts the focus away from the embedded, existing social practices, discourses, and institutions that intersect and contribute to the marginalization and oppression of women, to one of individual agency and emancipatory choices. Meghan Murphy suggests that *choice feminism* as an empowerment discourse posits that “every individual is free to choose and that choice is empowering, no matter what the choice actually is” (p. 21). There is then an assumption that individuals can and will have access to the resources that empower personal agency and autonomy. This argument is criticized as naïve and insensitive to many of the challenges and the real obstacles facing marginalized and disadvantaged women in Canada and around the world as evidenced in the subjugation and violence experienced globally by hundreds of thousands of women.

The characterization of *victim feminism*, as applied to the feminisms of the 1990s and beyond, was advanced by conservative and moderate liberal feminists such as Christine Hoff Sommers (2015) whose contention is that the earlier objectives of first and second wave feminisms focused on political objectives as a social movement, and are no longer relevant (Stringer, 2009). Moreover, some claim that a victim identity for women is disempowering, failing to inspire a sense of agency for “women to be strong, capable agents” (p. 24). Victim feminism, according to neo-liberal perspectives, is wrongfully concerned with women as an oppressed class, since most of the earlier, political equity objectives of feminism were realized – at least for those in positions of relative privilege. The dichotomy of victim/bad and survivor-agent/good persists, building on concepts introduced by Stringer (2014). The notion of individual agency as

survivors is expected to liberate women from the oppression of self-blame, shame and vulnerability that many victims experience, yet, some questions that remain as to how the survivor-agent identity impacts recovery and creates transformational change socially that can help prevent future victimizations (Stringer, 2014).

Does a discourse of survivorship-agency and victim-blame help to disguise inequity by situating victimization within the individual and not in within societal structures? Mardorossian (2002) suggests that the term *victimization* itself has changed and that it is now thought to be a state of suffering within the individual's psychological inner world, rather than an occurrence that is imposed from external influences. Dawn McCaffrey (1998) explains how the terms 'victim' and 'survivor' are themselves contentious. One set of meanings literally defines a victim as someone who did not survive, using the murder victim as an example. Survivor then means, quite literally, that the individual survived. In the second set of meanings, the terms convey distinct self-identities and responses to victimization, where the victim is associated with an agency of self-blame and the survivor with an agency that moves beyond self-blame. The concern is not one of agency and a "renunciation of agency and responsibility" (Stringer, 2014, p. 74), instead the concern is how the victim fails to move beyond the act of self-blame, to recognize how they have been victimized. The meaning of survivor subverts "the experience of victimization" by "refusal to cooperate with the idea that they themselves" (p. 74) and others like them are responsible for the victimization.

Stringer argues how notions of survivorship and resilience may contribute to neoliberal victim theory by failing to make informed distinctions between agentic self-blame and self-responsibility, and by situating resistance to threats of harm in the agency

of the individual without critically considering how agency is constituted. Moreover, Stringer insists that intersectional feminist theory and politicization is crucial to the challenge of victim-blame and anti-victimism (Cole, 2007) generally. Survivorship may acknowledge an acceptance that victimization occurred and reflect the ability to place the event(s) in a context that enables a victim to move forward. However, when the discourse of survivorship silences victims and inhibits the ability to give voice to their experiences and situate the event structurally rather than primarily within themselves (creating the potential for a form of invisible self-blame), there may be a risk of secondary victimization to those who are not yet ready, willing or able to engage that perspective. They are not wrong, or weak. Emi Koyama (2011)) argues how reclaiming the language of victimhood affirms acceptance of vulnerability as a source of strength.

I argue that feminist anti-violence movements and communities must embrace unproductive whining and complaining as legitimate means of survival in a world that cannot be made just by simply changing our individual mentalities. We must acknowledge that weakness, vulnerability, and passivity are every bit as creative and resilient as strength and activeness. And I think we can start that by reclaiming “victim” and “victimhood” and resisting the heteronormative “victim to survivor” discourse of the trauma recovery industry that imposes compulsory hopefulness and optimism in the service of neoliberal capitalist production (Koyama, 2011, par. 12).

There is evidence to suggest that the implied optimism of individual survivorship aligns with theories and political practices that situate responsibility for recovery and resilience within the individual and may even reinforce paradigms of victim-blame. An intersectional feminist framework for developing theories of survivorship that embraces the spaces between victim and survivor and situates causal factors in the structures and situations that create opportunities for victimization can contribute to perspectives that reduce the risk of continued victimization of individuals. The eagerness with which the

survivor identity is embraced, and the victim identity rejected, is suspect in the absence of sustained critical analysis.

Emerging theories that take into account difficult knowledge (Lehrer, Milton, & Patterson, 2011), such as a critical theory of survivorship, revisit some of the same questions asked by early critics of victimology theory. There is a need for future research which includes, for example, an investigation into how the interests of victims and survivors, and more broadly of society, are met by promises of greater participation in justice processes. Other questions include, how can the discourse of survivorship support the ability of victims to give voice to their experiences, and situate the event structurally rather than solely within themselves? Victimology, as a framework of study with attention to these questions and others, can uniquely contribute to identifying solutions to complex social problems.

Summary

As stated previously, victimology is a “rendezvous science” that is “loosely integrated” and focused on all matters that relate to victims rather than being “unified by one common theory, practice, profession or institution” (Rock, 1994, p. xvi). The multiple disciplinary contributions to victimology theory are evident, making it challenging to produce a comprehensive acknowledgment of theory in a linear or historical manner. The impetus for knowledge creation based on the lived experience of victims emerged from various groups and actions within the victims’ movement over many decades. The nuanced complexities of knowledge formation and mobilization which are foundational to the development and praxis of victimology theory, are ever expanding. Although criminology was long considered the ‘home’ discipline of

victimology, as the field expands and increasingly includes non-criminal victimizations, it becomes evident that victimology has achieved a disciplinary status of its own. At the very least, victimology is arguably a distinct field of study. The complexity of the field is often perceived as a barrier to its development, yet transdisciplinarity as a methodology can assist in a synthesis of knowledge and an awareness of how concepts and assumptions are situated within certain theoretical paradigms, disciplinary knowledges and power structures. Analysis of how positivist and critical traditions in victimological research are representative of those assumptions and serve to uphold power structures can be instructive.

As to the genealogy of this account, the excursion through the development of victimology as a field of study reflects not only the assumptions, biases, and perspectives of the early pioneers in the field, it reflects on a time historically when victims were largely invisible. This account identifies the power structures that substituted restitution for damages for real harm experienced by individuals for the concept of law-breaking and the collection of penalties enforceable by the state. The suffering experienced by victims eventually attracted the attention of academics, although early interests were in assessing victim culpability through their activities or victim typologies. Over time, it was the suffering of victims that mobilized advocacy groups to demand change, drawing into question the role of societal structures and the social construction of victims as causal contributors to victimization.

The sustained interest by academics in the development of a critical approach to victimology, alongside the victims' movement, produced legislative changes intended to create greater opportunity for victim involvement in justice processes, although there are

limits to how enforceable some of those changes are. It is at this juncture that a genealogical exploration of victimology theory can help determine whether the apparent developments in victimology and trauma studies produced real change for victims.

CHAPTER THREE: VICTIMOLOGY AND ADULT EDUCATION

For the purpose of this discussion, my position as a researcher is aligned with the critical traditions and emancipatory adult education as presented by Paulo Freire, especially in *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 2014). I maintain a focus on the pedagogical principles and praxis relevant to the focus of this study, rather than providing a broad and exhaustive review of theories of adult education. I acknowledge that tensions exist between emancipatory principles that recognize how inequity and inequality can be understood and social change for the good achieved, and the principles of liberal (neoliberal) adult education that assumes democratic equality as in the context of institutional priorities. I suggest ways in which adult education, and in particular transformative learning theory that builds on the work of Mezirow (1991) can make significant contributions to the formation of victimology pedagogy.

According to Mclean and Carter (2013) adult education and university extension is the historical site of social justice activism, oriented toward informing citizens and fostering understanding of oppressive social and economic conditions. University extension and the “adult education *movement*” (p. 278) was conceived of as a “pedagogy of social justice” (p. 278) and community development. Contemporary changes and evolutions in adult education evident in the transition by universities from extension departments to continuing education, and adult education toward lifelong learning are positioned in discourses of a knowledge economy (Gibb & Walker, 2013). The adult education movement, like the victims’ movement, is therefore founded on a set of unyielding social purposes, fueled by passion and outrage, and rooted in a concern for

the less privileged (Nesbit, 2013). Victimology is a field of study with roots in the victims' movement (Karmen, 2016).

Critical Pedagogy. When considering the priorities in the development of educational programs and courses, it is challenging to maintain a critical stance to avoid teaching and learning (victimology) epistemologies that privilege perspectives of “instrumental rationality” (Giroux, 2013), responsive primarily to criminal justice processes. Critical pedagogy as developed by Giroux, “draws attention to the ways in which knowledge, power, desire, and experience are produced” (p. 4).

Pedagogical tools that facilitate *awareness* of the influences of various onto/epistemological perspectives and assumptions embedded in the concepts and structures of victimology and trauma studies can help create transformative learning experiences for students and practitioners in the field. Critical evaluation and an examination of ideas and practices by “asking questions that challenge hegemonic assumptions and ideologies” (English & Mayo, 2012), social orthodoxies (Nesbit, 2013) and dominant discourses may also lead to contesting what counts as knowledge (Welton, 2013). For this study, the following description of critical reflection by Stephen Brookfield (2016) is shared.

Critical reflection calls into question the power relationships that allow, or promote, one set of practices to be defined as technically effective. It assumes that the specifics of particular practices have embedded within them the struggles between unequal interests and groups that exist in the wider world. For reflection to be considered critical it must have as its explicit focus the uncovering, and challenging of power dynamics that frame our decisions and actions. It also attempts to challenge hegemonic assumptions; those assumptions we embrace as being in our best interests when in fact they are working against us. This is what makes critical reflection truly critical (p. 3).

Critical evaluation as an iterative step in a research cycle can help create assurances that both researchers and participants develop an awareness of potential problems and take into account the ways in which the research may be affected by power relations, internalized bias and assumptions.

Diffractive Practice. Reflective practice is, according to Cher Hill (2017), “grounded within an individualistic ontology” (p. 7) of “cause and effect relationships” (p. 1). Hill proposes that there may be something ‘more-than reflection’ that builds on Barad’s (2007) notion of diffractive practice.

Becoming diffractive involves shifting the gaze from individuals to human and more-than-human entanglements, and attending to the emergence of phenomena and to how differences are produced and made to matter. The goal of the diffractive practitioner is not to determine cause and effect relationships but rather to observe how particular entanglements become agential, co-constituting reality. The diffractive practitioner moves away from cognitive reflections of self and other to engage their bodymind sensibilities (Lenz Taguchi, 2012), intra-acting with forces and flows within educative assemblages, becoming-with the world (Hill, 2017, p. 7).

Victimological knowledge assumptions are situated within the context and the communities in which they are produced and lie predominantly within the onto/epistemological paradigms of criminal justice systems worldwide. A sustained critical or diffractive analysis grounded in philosophical principles of democratic inclusion can support the abilities of victims and survivors, and their communities “to connect immediate, individual experiences with their underlying structures” (Nesbit, 2006, p. 7) while at the same time acknowledging false assumptions of democratic equality whereby victims have no formal role as actors in justice processes. Fleming acknowledges Mezirow’s (2003) position that people in desperate situations cannot easily participate in democratic discourse.

If one wants to change established and repressive social institutions (as distinct from emancipations from a neurotic or subjective repression) we require more than a change of consciousness. We require a long and difficult course of political action. Adult education must include the facilitation of both individual and collective action in its mission (Mezirow, 1985, p. 149). 'Perspective transformation is a group process' and the interactions of discourse place it firmly in the domain of the social rather than the individual (Mezirow, 1991, p. 185). The influence of is absorbed into transformative learning theory and this moves this theory of education significantly closer to a critical theory of education. (Fleming, 2018, p. 128).

Collective action necessarily requires a synthesis of knowledge from individual victims, people who work with and respond to victims to assure their rights and needs are met, and from academics with disciplinary knowledge and interest in victimization and harm. Victimization occurs within various relational and material entanglements (Montforte, 2018). It follows then, that victimization is more than a dualistic relationship between the actor (criminal or offender) and the acted-upon (victim). Victimization occurs within constructed material conditions whereby access to various material resources, physical ability, vulnerability, age, gender, power relations, and poverty and other life circumstances are examples of the complex entanglements that produce victimization.

Adult education may contribute to the development of an approach to victimology pedagogy and education which is capable of bridging existing gaps by facilitating learning through critical analysis. Moreover, adult education can facilitate transformative social learning and collective action by facilitating awareness of the influences of various onto/epistemological perspectives and assumptions embedded in the existing concepts and structures of victimology.

Theoretical Foundations and Formations in Adult Education

Within the theoretical framework for learning rooted in principles of adult education, is the recognition that the domains of adult learning may occur in different settings, often with different objectives or subjectivities as the case may be (Fleming, 2018). The definitions suggested by Rubenson (2007) are accepted for the purpose of this discussion.

Formal learning: learning typically takes place in an education or training institution, is structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and leading to certification. Formal learning is intentional from the learner's perspective.

Nonformal learning: learning that is not provided by an education or training institution and typically does not lead to certification. It is, however, structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support). Nonformal learning may be provided in the workplace and through the activities of civil society organisations and groups. It can also be provided by organisations or through services that have been set up to complement formal systems, e.g., arts, music and sports classes. Nonformal learning is intentional from the learner's perspective.

Informal learning: learning resulting from daily life activities related to work, family or leisure. It is not structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and typically does not lead to certification. Informal learning may be intentional but in most cases it is non-intentional (or incidental/random) (Rubenson, 2007, pp. 21-22).

Traditional, critical perspectives in adult education emerged from grassroots, community-based concerns for social justice and contribute to critical understandings of the social, historical, cultural, political, economic, and ethical contexts of education (Nesbit, 2013). In Canada, early examples of adult education grew out of community-based concerns which can be traced back to the early 20th century. For example, and the Antigonish Movement in Northeastern Nova Scotia involved people who turned to learning in order to understand what was going on, to adapt to it, and to shape change Tuckett (2015). It is work that can secure change at the level of individuals and

communities. The victims' movement, likewise, is a grassroots movement whereby citizens identified and brought forward community-based concerns focused on the rights and needs of victims of crime to create change.

Critical traditions in adult education support the capacity of communities and individuals to grow and develop by understanding the social influences in the world in which they live, work and participate. This is of particular relevance to the ways in which the experience of victimization and the identity of victims and survivors are socially constructed and understood. The knowledge, or lack thereof, reproduced in positivist approaches to victimology and trauma studies can work toward preserving the status quo that is embedded in justice systems and existing paradigms. Alternatively, by integrating the principles of a pedagogy of social justice and community-based development, knowledge can be constructed and mobilized in ways that contribute to challenging hegemonic and oppressive ways of knowing and acting (Brookfield, 2016, p. 28). Power is located in epistemological privileging, the hierarchy of certain ways of knowing that are hegemonic and interested in constructing and reproducing that which maintains the status quo. A democratic worldview of education affirms the empowerment of individuals to *collectively* integrate various knowledge formations that inform and benefit their own interests and contributes more broadly to social justice.

Another goal of adult education relates to citizenship education which aims to increase participatory democracy in existing sites and structures (English & Mayo, 2012). Nesbit discusses how adult education pays "a keen attention to the specific sites, locations, and practices, where such purposes are made real in the lives of Canadians" (Nesbit, 2006, p. 17). These sites may, or may not include learning situated in

classrooms but are likely to be situated within the community and in various workplace settings. Adult education that engages in critical consciousness building can support learner understandings of democracy and provide opportunities for engagement in non-hierarchical educational relationships and diffractive practices (Hill, 2017). The learning itself may be experienced as transformative action.

Social learning theory

Etienne Wenger (2013) looked to an apprenticeship model of learning to reflect on and observe the phenomenon of social learning. Learning itself, according to Wenger, is a trajectory into a community-of-practice and a relationship between the social world and the individual. Early observation of this learning model led researchers to conclude that learning is not accomplished primarily through the direct mentor-apprentice relationship but is more likely to occur as a result of engaged interaction with others in the field. Wenger described the concept of a living curriculum in the world as a community-of-practice with specialized knowledge and experiences, which at the same time may inadvertently create boundaries of inclusion or exclusion. Wenger's early stages of construction of social learning theory were intent on capturing how human "knowing is embedded in the practical experiences of the world" (2013, 12:52/1:09:54). Learning, according to Wenger, the *domain* of knowledge must first be *meaningful* to the members of a community. It must consist of knowledge of *practice* which contributes to a *community* in positive ways that advance the collective interests of the group. *Identity* is closely aligned with individual learner motivation and a sense of becoming as a member

of the community. Meaning, and becoming are therefore essential parts of Wenger's theory. Learning can be transformative and therefore meaningful.

Victimology and Trauma Studies in Formal Education

The demand for educating providers in victims' services is clear yet missing from the literature. This absence is evidence of dedicated victimology programs and corresponding research plans from Canadian degree-granting institutions. The *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights* was enacted in 2015, giving victims of crime clear legal rights in criminal justice processes for the first time in Canadian history (Government of Canada, 2015). The shift in focus toward recognizing the needs of victims is consistent with the commitment to provide victims' services at government and community levels, with more than 900 providers across Canada (Munch, 2012). That number is no doubt exponentially higher now.

In 2016, a preliminary review of Canadian degree programs in criminal justice, criminology, sociology, justice studies, and social work located only 12 formal courses (out of 96 related degree programs) in victimology and victim studies; just 12.5% of all programs⁷. In contrast, Growette Bostaph, Brady, and Giacomazzi (2014) found that 64% of parallel American degree programs included formal courses in victimology and victim studies. The International Victimology Institute at Tilburg University

⁷ In 2016 I completed a comprehensive review of institutional documents from Canadian universities to help identify the availability (or lack thereof) of programs and courses in victimology and trauma studies today. The review was conducted to determine the scope of this field of study. The review was undertaken as partial fulfillment of the doctoral course ED910 Advanced Studies in Educational Research at the University of Regina.

(INTERVICT) offers study opportunities at Bachelor levels, with unique graduate programs at Masters and Doctoral levels (Tilburg University, 2019).

INTERVICT promotes and executes interdisciplinary research that can contribute to a comprehensive, evidence-based body of knowledge on the empowerment and support of victims of crime and abuse of power (par. 1).

INTERVICT aims to develop and implement a large scale interdisciplinary research programme in order to make significant contributions to the body of international victimological knowledge. The interdisciplinary approach of the research programme ensures that proper research is performed into all aspects of victimization, which will ultimately contribute to preventing or reducing instances of criminal victimization across the world and to limiting the effects of such victimization on victims and their families including economic costs, pain and suffering (par. 3).

INTERVICT maintains that despite a short disciplinary tradition, victimology is internationally established with “many hundreds of researchers active in this field” (par. 5). In addition to several refereed academic journals, there are national and regional societies around the world, including the *American Society of Victimology*, the *Tokiwa International Victimology Institute* in Japan, and the prominent *World Society of Victimology*.

The *World Society of Victimology* (WSV) is an organization with an international scope whose staff, services, equipment, computer servers and other technology used to maintain their website are geographically located in Canada. Several Canadian victim services organizations are members of the *World Society of Victimology*. The WSV (2013) made the following recommendations in support of its mission to encourage the development of university education:

- convince law schools and others involved in the training of criminal justice professionals to include courses on Victimology, victim rights and issues, and convince those who certify qualifications, such as bar

associations, law enforcement and judicial bodies to require this knowledge

- encourage university courses and degree programs on Victimology, including victim assistance, victim rights, crisis response, restorative justice and victimisation prevention
- develop standards for curricula and disseminate (par. 6)

When evaluating pedagogical approaches to victimology education and scholarship, a significant marker is the degree to which victimology theory is included and prioritized in student learning (Zaykowski and Campagna, 2014). Their study explored the relation of victimology theory in undergraduate textbooks to determine if victimology theory is represented.

The purpose of the study was to understand how much space in textbooks was dedicated to theoretical frameworks and what theories were most widely represented. In addition to these questions, we were also interested in how theories were presented. Findings from this study revealed that theory was not always a major component of textbooks, and theoretical discussions varied across different textbooks. The most widely represented theories were victim precipitation, exposure/opportunity theories, and social learning/cultural theories. Theories were presented predominantly in their original frameworks from the 1940s through the 1970s. Little discussion was presented for “newer” theories like the adaptation of self-control to explain victimization (Piquero et al., 2005; Pratt et al., 2014; Schreck, 1999; Turanovic & Pratt, 2014) and recent developments on older theories (Jennings et al., 2012). Theories were also frequently presented in a way that lacked critical insights including connections to the recent empirical literature (p. 462).

One valuable and more recently published textbook which contributes to the exploration of critical victimology theory is Dale Spencer and Sandra Walkate’s *Reconceptualizing Critical Victimology: Interventions and Possibilities* (2016). Theory provides a framework for learners to think critically when seeking to understand the social phenomenon of victimization, and to “recognize what the theory is able to explain, and what it is not, and why” (Zaykowski & Campagna, 2014, p. 463). Theory provides a

lens and a framework to help learners understand the complexity of victimization, recognize the causal contributors to victimization, to understand victim impact better, and to develop the skills and insights necessary to critique victim policy.

Training and Professionalism

Many university continuing education programs are focused on professional credentialing and the rise of the ‘knowledge worker’ and ‘knowledge economy’, with a primary interest in economic growth and the labour market (Gibb & Walker, 2013). The interest in the professionalization of the victims’ services worker is no exception. In the report *The Professionalization of Victim Services in Canada* by Susan McDonald (2017), a study was conducted to collect “different opinions around professionalization of victim services in Canada” (par. 20.) McDonald acknowledges there are both potential costs and benefits to consider when assessing the value of professionalization of victims services workers. Canada appears to be far behind our neighbours to the south in terms of education, or even formal recognition of victims services workers as a bona fide occupation. The US Justice Department’s Office for Victims of Crime (OVC), describes the occupation of victim assistance as "a full-fledged advocacy and service field dedicated to meeting the physical, financial, and psychological needs of victims and their families" (Beatty, et al., 1998). The OVC supported the development of victim services program standards, pre-service and continuing education for practitioners; has supported the development of standards in order "for the victim assistance field to become a recognized profession" (p. 183); and has recommended the development of a code of ethics in collaboration with universities, agencies with regulatory authority, and

professional associations currently offer varying aspects of credentialing in victim services in the United States. Little formal, post-secondary education in this field exists in Canada (McDonald, 2017)

The benefits of professionalization, or at least so far as the benefits of education in victimology and trauma studies in this discussion are concerned, may be realized by both workers and the victims they interact with and support. Workers in the criminal justice system are largely aware of the priority of services for offenders.

Comparisons to the fields of probation, parole, and criminology were often made. Respondents spoke about the discrepancies in terms of training, salary, job security, and benefits, as well as the integral role of these professionals in the criminal justice system, which, to victim advocates, already appears offender-oriented (McDonald, 2017, par. 28).

The respondents in the McDonald (2017) study state that an increase in recognition of victims' service workers as professionals may lead to greater credibility with police, judges and other services, could lead to more stable funding of victims' services programs, and greater job equity with wages more consistent with their peers.

Victims Services Workers and Volunteer Training Programs – Nonformal Learning

In Canada, victims' services resources are often police-based and rely heavily on volunteers who, though well-intentioned and may contribute in unique ways to meeting the needs of victims, do not have formal training that would educate them as to the complexities of victim impact, and of the criminal justice system. In a critique of the culture of volunteerism, for example, it is evident volunteers have the potential to cause secondary victimization. Harm prevention is a primary consideration when assessing the

urgency of the need for victimology education. For example, a study with victims of sexualized violence found negative interaction with community responders is associated with poor health outcomes and is “hurtful in its own right” (Campbell, 2001, p. 1253). Researchers concluded that “perfunctory” (p. 1254) instruction on issues of violence to women offered by police academies and medical schools is insufficient. They recommended that instruction be provided about “the beneficial and detrimental effects” (p. 1254) of responder interactions and the potential impact on victims. When responders have insufficient education in the needs and experiences of victims, the risk of doing harm and creating secondary victimizations through negative interactions increases (Tamarit, 2010). Negative interactions include “victim blaming, insensitive remarks, debasement, and minimization of the harm caused by the victimization” (Orth, 2002, p. 314). The findings shared in Section Two overwhelmingly validate these concerns.

Gibb and Walker (2013) insist there are problems when trying to form standardized knowledge resources that can be shared with a vast number of people across various regions and material conditions. Documentation of ‘best practices’ and standards in knowledge goes beyond merely increasing access to knowledge. These efforts are also intended to reduce the cost of knowledge sharing, in many instances relying on technology for distribution. They argue that “much of what people need to know as they work in the knowledge economy is tacit, emerges through their work practices and relationships, and is difficult to codify” (p. 264). It is troubling for adult educators concerned with equity and emancipatory learning to understand how untrained victims services volunteers can take on these necessary social roles.

Informal, Incidental and Experiential Learning

Victim advocates and experiential workers are uniquely prepared to offer assistance to victims, especially when help is needed to navigate new systems and solutions. Although some experiential workers formalize their learning through training programs and programs leading to certificates, diplomas or degrees, their tacit knowledge is where their credibility lies. For example, a report by the Justice Institute of British Columbia, (2006) refers to experiential workers as individuals with specialized knowledge when they say, ‘experiential’ is used to describe individuals who have experience being sexually exploited as a youth or working in the sex trade as an adult. Experiential people may or may not be currently involved in the sex trade (Justice Institute of BC, 2006). Experiential workers are able to make contact and establish trust because of the common ground shared with victims while working at the community level.

Summary

I suggest that the emancipatory principles of social justice in adult education can be integrated with critical perspectives in victimology and trauma studies. Social movements in adult education movement and the victims’ movement share similar histories of having emerged from grassroots, community-based interests. The priorities identified by both movements include calls for social reform which arguably, must come through education and community engagement. The victims’ movement led to calls for reforms in the way victims were treated and can be credited with the push to advanced awareness, policy, and law in the direction of recognizing victims’ rights and needs.

In order to advance victimological scholarship, including theoretical development and research in the interest of positive and fundamental social change, institutions of higher learning can respond the priorities identified by communities, professionals, scholars and policy makers by making courses and degree programs with a focus on victimology and trauma studies available to motivated learners. There are historical contexts to take into account if society is to investigate the causal factors in victimization, and also the conditions that can support the healing needed by victims and survivors in the recovery process. When victims are placed at the centre of interest in victimology research and education, the voices of victims, experiential workers, and advocates, as contributors to knowledge creation, is made possible through adult education. In so doing, victimology and trauma studies as a distinct and dynamic field of study is enriched.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF VICTIMIZATION

Theoretical and methodological approaches to victimology and trauma studies at times fail to take into account the local, embedded context of social inequality (Miller & Holstein, 1997). When victimization is approached from a reductionist perspective – even when that perspective acknowledges well-established categories of inequality – it is possible that only a small part of the problem is understood. Moreover, difficult knowledge can challenge existing social norms discussed here as:

the knowledge that does not fit, it therefore induces a breakdown in experience, forcing us to confront the possibility that our lives and the boundaries of collective selves may be quite different from how we normally, reassuringly think of them (Lehrer et al. 2011, p.8)

This discussion begins with an introduction to the concept of victimization as a harm-based, rather than crime-based discourse. It is followed by an exploration of the theoretical and methodological frameworks of social inequality and intersectionality as viewed through a human rights lens. As examples of the scope of victimization, including victimizations that may not be always be responded to by the criminal justice system, I then discuss gendered victimization and child maltreatment, both of which impact millions of people globally, making a case for the urgency of need moving forward with the priorities identified by participants in this study.

Criminal Victimization

According to the *General Social Survey of Statistics*, in 2017, there were “350,457 victims of police-reported violent crime in Canada (968 per 100,000 population)”

(Statistics Canada, 2018, par. 7). Physical assault was the most common form of violence, followed by sexual assault and robbery. Current reports by the *Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics* fail to include data relating to multiple victimizations among those Canadians who reported to the police. However, data collected in 2014 suggests:

[m]ost Canadians who had been victimized reported only a single incident. However, more than one-third (37%) of victims reported having been the target of at least two victimization incidents in the preceding 12 months. (Perreault, 2015, p. 5).

When individuals experience several incidents of victimization, this is referred to as multiple victimization (Lussier, Wemmers & Cyr, 2016). Re-victimization for victims of childhood sexual abuse in particular, can exacerbate existing symptoms of trauma and strain adaptive coping mechanisms, often leading to hypervigilance or avoidance as a coping mechanism (Ford & Delker, 2018). Significantly, this strain affects information processing and risk assessment in future scenarios when symptoms are present. Symptoms of strain adaptive coping mechanisms also include substance abuse and other high-risk behaviors such as prostitution (Fortier, et al., 2009). At the same time, many victims demonstrate resilience and are able to recover with an ability to move forward while some victims will find it challenging to move forward and will be at risk for the development of posttraumatic stress disorder and acute stress disorder (Hill, 2009). Hill suggests that one reason trauma and crime are so devastating is that they reveal human vulnerability, undermining a sense of control over life events.

A Critical Harm-based and Trauma-Informed Discourse

Traditional, positivist perspectives in victimology embrace the stance that victimology is the study of crime victims, the measurement of the impact of

victimization, the causal factors and nature of victimizations, relying on scientific methods to facilitate research (Karmen, 2016). Fattah (1989) and the World Society of Victimology agree that the discipline should be focused on the scientific study of victims of crime (O'Connell, 2008). However, over recent decades many have argued for a broad, more inclusive view of victims and victimization and sustained critical analysis of the societal contributors to victimization (Spencer & Walkate, 2016).

An approach to victimology that limits the focus of study to acts defined and codified by criminal law, such as theft, assault, murder and homicide, vandalism and property damage and so on, fails to acknowledge a broad range of harms that are the result of societal contributors such as racism, colonialism, poverty, sexism and so on. Scientific, positivistic approaches to victimology face challenges in attempting to isolate causal factors in victimization since "every crime is embedded within a complex social web" (O'Connell, 2008, p. 96). O'Connell claims what is of primary concern as victimology develops is whether the victim is at the centre of interest, and that the safeguard for victimology development is whether the foci of investigative interest are on victims and survivors. However, placing the victim at the centre of interest as a shift away from placing the criminal, criminal acts and criminal justice processes, may not alone address the problems associated with a victim/criminal binary approach to understanding harm. Moreover, despite the formal definitions of criminal acts in law, the interpretation of an act as a crime is dependent on a series of processes and societal constructions involving police, the discretionary judgements of various actors in courtroom processes (defence lawyers, crown prosecutors, judges), media portrayal of the incident (or lack thereof), and the perception of risk within the broader community or

general public. Consequently, some acts or events will be considered crimes and others will not (Muncie, 2000). John Muncie argues that criminal acts may not be what poses the most significant threat to society.

[p]overty, malnutrition, pollution, medical negligence, breaches of workplace health and safety laws, corporate corruption, state violence, genocide, human rights violations and so on all carry with them more widespread and damaging consequences than most of the behaviours and incidents that currently make up the 'problem of crime' (Muncie, 2000, p. 3).

Muncie suggests that a harm-based discourse helps to make visible a broader range of harm and injuries that are embedded in power and social structures. The decentering of crime and the criminal and a focus on victims (O'Connell, 2008) helps assure that victims and victimization are not merely adjuncts in a binary relationship with the criminal and criminalization. A discourse of harm can increase recognition of some of the most socially damaging types of victimizations, beyond what is currently acknowledged by criminal justice processes and the public perception of victimization that is shaped by media. The concept of harm may also alter the discourse of victimization and make clearer the complexity of the material and emotional consequences experienced by victims and the broader community (Muncie, 2000). Moreover, a shift away from a focus on individual offenders and criminal acts, toward recognition of the broader societal factors that are likely to result in collective victimization, such as poverty, racism, gender inequity and so on, may produce positive changes necessary to achieve social justice. Significantly, this may also create opportunities to better understand the victimization/criminalization continuum that occurs in the context of social inequality and inequities.

Social Inequality and Victimization

In 1990, human rights activist Charlotte Bunch encountered resistance because of her focus on the human rights of women. One such objection advanced the dismissive notion that gendered discrimination, inequality and the victimization of women should be viewed as secondary, after political “larger issues of survival” (Bunch, 1990, p. 488). Bunch countered this view by maintaining that the oppression of women *is* political, as evidenced by threats to the lives of women and girls in ways that continue to be relevant today.

The most pervasive violation of females is violence against women in all its manifestations, from wife battery, incest, and rape, to dowry deaths, genital mutilation, and female sexual slavery. These abuses occur in every country and are found in the home and in the workplace, on streets, on campuses, and in prisons and refugee camps. They cross class, race, age, and national lines; and at the same time, the forms this violence takes often reinforce other oppressions such as racism, "able-bodyism," and imperialism (Bunch, 1990, p. 488).

Bunch additionally identified such practices as sex-selective abortion when the fetus is female, the maltreatment of girl children sometimes leading to maiming or death, and violence against adult women all over the world. More than 25 years later, in conversation with Riane Eisler, editor-in-chief of the *International Journal of Partnership Studies*, Bunch shared a retrospective view of her work.

Coming to see women’s rights as human rights in the late 1980s was really coming full circle for me, back to human rights. While working with women’s groups globally, and especially in Latin America and Asia, I began to ask why issues like sex tourism, sexual torture of political prisoners, and rape in war were not understood as human rights issues. Why were victims of such gender-based abuses not given refuge? This led to my exploration of a feminist perspective on human rights and my work over the past 25 years for women’s human rights (Reisler, 2016).

Rachel Johnstone is a professor at law who raised concerns over the problem of a “public and private divide” (Johnstone, 2006, p. 152) and the failure on the part of the

state to intervene when women's rights are violated in private relationships, in their homes, and in their communities. Johnstone maintains that human rights codified in laws of the public sphere fail to serve those who cannot access them. Moreover, human rights law may be unable to adequately respond to, and enforce women's rights, if the lack of change over past decades is a reliable indicator. Although various human rights treaties and committees were struck, Johnstone reminds us that "having treaty bodies merely declare the rights of women and outline the states' responsibilities for ensuring their enjoyment is not enough in itself" (p. 158). Johnstone acknowledges that feminist discourse has been impactful at the United Nations where women's rights and human rights in more general terms are concerned, but she nevertheless maintains that "arguments centered on rights rather than justice are not the only valid arguments, nor even the best arguments in every circumstance" (p.185). In accord with Johnstone, I suggest that the ability to make structural changes at the societal level in response to social inequality and inequity requires more than a recognition of categories of injustice or codification of human rights in law. It requires a committed willingness to critically examine power structures, power relations and privilege, and the relational complexity of situated inequalities and disadvantage, alongside a willingness to evaluate societal responses.

Intersectionality and Gendered Victimization

In order to determine how an intersectional approach, rather than a social inequality perspective might contribute to the development of victimology and trauma studies I maintain this discussion within the context of gendered victimization, giving

attention to interpersonal violence and human trafficking of women and girls in Canada. Intersectionality was developed as a feminist framework largely through the contributions and insights of an American civil rights activist and law professor, Kimberlé W. Crenshaw. However, as discussed by Levac and Denis (2019), the analysis of race, class, and gender began much earlier.

Without necessarily using the term ‘intersectionality’, feminists in various countries (for example, in the UK (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1983), Canada (Juteau-Lee & Roberts 1981) and the USA (Collins 2015) had begun independently during the late 1970s and early 1980s to critique the assumption that all women are white, middle-class and heterosexual (Denis 2008). The term ‘intersectionality’, introduced as a metaphor by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, has been widely adopted. Crenshaw used it initially to discuss race and social class in relation to sex/gender, especially in the context of legal rights. Dimensions of the concept found across contemporary literature are synthesised as inequality, social context, complexity (Collins & Bilge 2016; Scott & Siltanen 2017), with the former adding relationality, power and social justice (p. 4).

In addition to raising concerns that categories of social inequality such as race and class fail to capture their complex interconnectedness, Crenshaw (2012) noted that the categories are often identified as negative and can impact the identity of marginalized individuals in negative ways. The intersection of class, race, and gender are linked to history, identity (both group and individual), and context and are impacted or influenced by social structures and institutions, politics, and various local conditions (Crenshaw, 2012). Here, Crenshaw describes what intersectionality as an approach or framework for investigation offers:

...intersectionality transcends an exclusive focus on identity or mere categorization, the lived experiences of racially marginalized women and girls are shaped by a range of social and institutional practices that produce and sustain social categories and infuse them with social meanings (Crenshaw, 2012, p. 1426).

An intersectional lens of analysis strengthens the ability to better recognize how oppressive practices are embedded in socio-cultural, economic and other social systems. Those practices are impacted by racism, sexism, ageism, heterosexism, colonialism and other distinctions in which power relations are evident. Although it is useful to understand some of the relevant traditional and cultural practices that contribute to the oppression of women for example, it may be of greater significance to recognize the rampant prevalence of gendered violence globally, and to understand how the social conditions that create and maintain violence against women are embedded in gendered, hierarchical and patriarchal terrains of power (Flax, 1993). The need for discussion and theorizing of gendered violence is clear when the realities faced by women globally are reviewed. Moreover, the integration of theory with practice requires critical investigation of existing structures and assumptions.

It is useful to define the concept of frames and framework when advancing this discussion. In the interest of making visible the complex relationships and interactions that produce dimensions of social inequality, framing is a methodology which can create a structure or frame for understanding, and giving meaning to, the interconnectedness of the practices, beliefs, relationships, social structures and institutions that influence the lives of individuals and groups (Marx Ferree, 2009). Like categories of social inequality, frames or frameworks “are not isolated concepts, but connections to other concepts that provide the meanings of words in-use, framing is relational and intersectional. Frames are ideas captured in a web of meanings in which self-references and cross-references are inherently multiple” (p. 5). How then, can framing as a concept, be integrated with intersectionality as a way of understanding victimization? Marx Ferree alerts to the

problem of isolating race, as an example, from the multiple interactive dimensions of inequality.

In the interactional definition of intersectionality, “race” takes its operational meaning in any given situation in part from the multiple institutions in play (such as family or nation) and in part from the other dimensions of inequality that are also engaged in giving meaning to each other and to the institutional context. This is what Walby (2007) means by avoiding the “segregationary reductionism” that places class, race and gender each into just one key institutional “system” (economy, state or family) and instead looks for the interpenetration of meaning and action in systems that are not “saturated” by one concept alone (p. 6).

Likewise, the vulnerabilities that contribute to victimization do not exist in isolation. A solutions strategy aimed at preventing and reducing victimization, and providing support in the recovery from harm, must consider the multiple dimensions of representation individuals and social groups interact with and through. Examples of multiple dimensions, including categories of social inequality, are given in the case studies that follow.

There are volumes of studies examining categories of social inequality that intersect along gendered lines and contribute to violence against women. These are not merely add-on dimensions in what Wolhuter, Olley and Denham (2009) describe as a gender-plus analysis. The causal and complicating dimensions that influence the status of women and the increased vulnerability to victimization are interactive, as explained here by Marx Ferree (2009):

In such a complex [social] system, gender is not a dimension limited to the organization of reproduction or family, class is not a dimension equated with the economy, and race is not a category reduced to the primacy of ethnicities, nations and borders, but all of the processes that systematically organize families, economies and nations are co-constructed along with the meanings of gender, race and class that are presented in and reinforced by these institutions separately and together. In other words, each institutional system serves as each other’s environment to which it is adapting (p. 85).

A foundation of gender inequality worldwide is arguably grounded in the economic disparity between men and women, and the intrinsic ways in which inequality is upheld by social and economic structures and systems. Statistically, women own less property, earn less as waged labourers, and have less political and economic power than men (Burn, 2011). According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), gender equality is evaluated by three criteria: education, employment, and entrepreneurship. Based on data collected from 34 countries for 2017, an ongoing gender wage disparity continues to be a significant reality with rates as high as 34.62% in Korea and as low as 1.55% in Romania. In Canada the average for 2017 was 18.17% (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development , 2018).

The relevance of economic disparity to occurrences of gendered violence is recognized, for example, in a case study review of risk factors associated with intimate partner violence in China. Wang, Parish, Lauman and Luo (2009) found that “women with fewer economic resources are more likely to be hit by their male partner, which is in part because these women cannot afford to leave violent relationships” (p. 777). Moreover, another consideration appears to be whether women are able to control the money they earn. If the status of the man is threatened by the woman earning close to or more than he does, the risk of violence against the women may increase (Hunnicut, 2009). Here, gender and economic disparity intersect in ways that are complex. It is not gender alone that produces vulnerability and a greater risk of violence. Nor does wage equity necessarily reduce the risk of violence.

Economic vulnerability, status, and control in power relationships, and gender intersect in complex ways that increase and complicate the risk of violence against

women. Depending on where in the world women live, their access to education, and the intersection of multiple factors that contribute to their marginalization, the disparity can be glaring. The capacity to earn and the gendered wage gap may be further impacted by cultural and traditional gendered scripts that determine what forms of labour women will engage in, their access to higher education, and their social roles and behaviours. The traditional roles and social expectations of women in childbearing and as mothers are longstanding.

The justice system model of societal response to domestic violence and “coercive control” (Libal & Parekh, 2009, p. 1479) fails to reduce the incidence of assaults because it does not affect the structural changes necessary to address what is at the root of women’s vulnerability to violence and harm. An intersectional approach to victimology recognizes that violence against women is a category of crime (Sev'er, 2002), the dimensions of which are rooted in oppressive societal and cultural terrains of power such as feminized poverty (Monzini, 2005) and racism (Native Women’s Association of Canada, 2014). However, there are ongoing social justice concerns that may benefit from a broader societal consideration and evaluation of societal responses. For example, Morgaine (2011) reports that participants in a study on domestic violence in the United States were hopeful that a human rights framework, rather than a justice system response, could support coalition building and engage both individuals and communities in education efforts.

Another possibility for a shift in practice may be through restorative justice measures, where the participants include the accused, the victim(s), friends and family, and members of the broader community, all of whom engage in a process hoped to

“resolve conflict, facilitate healing for victims and rehabilitation for offenders, and to strengthen communities and work toward preventing future dysfunction” (Goldberg, 2011, p. 17). When violence against women is socially characterized by "under-acknowledgment and minimization of the extent and nature of gendered violence, pervasive victim blaming, and systemic and individual failures of accountability" (Randall, 2013, p. 465), it is understandable that some victims are skeptical of justice processes as a framework for resolution. Randall, like O’Connell (2008), argues that “any restorative justice model for crimes of gendered violence must begin from a position of being victim-centred, while still incorporating a focus on victims, offenders, and the community” (p. 467). Although Randall does not explicitly identify intersectionality as a framework for this inclusive model, it is possible that an intersectional approach can provide the methodological approach necessary to meet the objectives described.

To move past theory building and make social inequality theory relevant to the societal practices that are capable of contributing to a victimology solutions strategy, a more nuanced approach to deeply complex social issues is required. This includes a shift in perspective on the victimization/criminalization or victim/criminal continuum away from a focus on individual acts and categories of inequality, to one that is concerned with a broader discourse of harm and reparation. What follows are examples of gender-based violence. These examples were selected to demonstrate the importance of a harm-based discourse.

The Trafficking of Humans - Women and Girls

The *International Labour Office* (2017) (ILO) published a report with a typology of human trafficking based on the *2017 Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage Report*, claiming that in 2016 an estimated “40.3 million people” (p. 9) are in modern slavery, including 24.9 million in forced labour and 15.4 million in forced marriage. Moreover, women and girls are “disproportionately affected by modern slavery, accounting for 28.7 million, or 71 per cent of the overall total” (p. 9).

The business of forced sexual exploitation and trafficking generated profits of more than US\$30 billion and more than half of that was generated by human trafficking. According to Siddharth Kara (2009) labour and debt bondage accounts globally for trafficked humans who are working in the sugar cane, rice, coffee and cocoa industries; brick kilns, carpet weaving and other industries, and in agriculture.

Paola Monzini (2005) describes major trends and changes in human trafficking and sexual exploitation as a “global boom” (p. 24) in countries like Britain, transitional and developing countries in East-Central Europe like the Balkans and Hungary, Australia and Japan and even Canada. The borders and boundaries of commercial sex are increasingly invisible with the internet availability of pornography and easy access to information related to “sex tourism” (p. 24) that caters to the desires of consumers. The scope of international involvement has led to “anti-trafficking legislation in the last decade as a global response to combat human trafficking” (RCMP Criminal Intelligence, 2016, p. 4) in approximately 121 countries. A working definition of human trafficking developed by the community partners involved in a “service and capacity review for victims of sexual exploitation and human trafficking in Nunavut” (Roos, 2013, p. 13) is shared here:

Human Trafficking: Human trafficking involves the process or elements of criminal activities, which may include any part of luring, recruiting, confining or transporting an individual for the purpose of forced labour, sex work or organ trafficking. The offender may use a variety of methods such as coercion, deception or abuse of power to force and manipulate vulnerable individuals for the material gain of the offender. The offender is most often found to be a family member, a friend, domestic partner, criminal organization or individual with street gang affiliations (Roos, 2013, p. 13).

Sexual exploitation in the context of human trafficking is defined as:

Sexual Exploitation: For the purposes of human trafficking, an offender exploits another person sexually if they cause the vulnerable individual to provide, or offer to provide, sexual activities or services through coercion, threats of force, fear, deception, or abuse of a position of trust or authority. Sexual exploitation of vulnerable individuals by offenders may include the coercion, abuse of power or authority to demand sex in exchange for drugs, food, shelter, protection or other basic necessities of life (Roos, 2013, p. 13).

In Canada, human trafficking, although rarer than in countries that occupy primary roles in the global market, occurs, nevertheless. Benjamin Perrin (2010) reports:

Domestic sex trafficking is a systematic national criminal enterprise whose practitioners target a large pool of vulnerable individuals, many of them homeless, sexually exploited youth, children in protective care or from dysfunctional families, all of them Canadian (Ch. 5, par. 3)).

A comprehensive report by the Alliance Against Modern Slavery, authored by Gabriele, Sapoznik, Serojtdinov and Williams (2014) describes the City of Toronto “as a hub for a number of human trafficking routes” (p. 21). The authors report claims there were 551 charges in human trafficking made in Ontario between 2011 and 2013. Canada was the destination target for trafficked women from as many as 18 different countries around the world, but it was also a transit country responsible for the supply and transit of women and girls to various locations, including points within Canada.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) consider Canada to be a source or origin (Sethi, 2007) country in the trafficking of humans in the sex trade:

Intelligence suggests that Canadian women from Niagara, Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver are being transported to the United States for prostitution in strip clubs and escort agencies. Sex workers have been documented being driven to cities in the U.S., via private vehicles by individuals operating as pimps. Destinations have most commonly been reported as Fort Lauderdale and Miami, Florida, New York and Las Vegas, Nevada (RCMP Criminal Intelligence, 2016, p. 27).

Despite problems with reliable data collection and the lack of clear information regarding the extent of trafficking for the sex trade in Canada, what is clear is that there is a problem of perception which creates the impression that victims are only brought into Canada from other countries, the “nameless, faceless ‘Others’ outside of our borders” (Roos, 2013, p. 15), and misrepresents the dimensions of what is occurring domestically. According to the RCMP (2016), 68.5 percent of all trafficked victims in Canada are exploited sexually and approximately 63 percent of the victims identified in a 2016 report were Canadian citizens, predominantly women and girls between the ages of 15 and 24.

Force, as an explicit element in human trafficking and sexual exploitation, is evident in the relationships between vulnerable victims and their traffickers. There are indeed occurrences of physical violence and forced confinement at the hands of organized traffickers who operate under slick facades of legitimacy (Roos, 2013). However, the activities of the sex trade are often hidden in private spaces and behind closed doors, the “prostitution taking place indoors” (Farley, 2005, p. 954) and the “clandestine” (Roos, 2013, p. 18) nature of participating in an illegal criminal activity increases the fear and strain experienced by the victims. According to Roos, most Canadian victims and survivors encountered in one study “were ‘brought into the trade’

at ages of between 13 and 16 years old by a family member, boyfriend or a ‘friend’” (p. 18).

Among survivors there were commonalities that they were forced to work an average of 8 years, but often more, through control, violence, threats, fake identification, addictions, abortions and criminal affiliations. Many were the product of the foster care system or homeless, with family backgrounds rooted in cycles of poverty, violence and conflict. Hence, there are complex socio-economic conditions and processes behind the forced smiles and poses in the sex industry. Everyone has a unique yet similar story to share, if we listen (p. 18).

When investigating human trafficking as a global enterprise, an intersectional lens may produce a broader inclusion of existing interactions and relationships. The element of force required to be considered a case of human trafficking according to Canadian criminal law (Government of Canada, 2016) may be subject to interpretation by police and other actors in criminal justice processes. It is crucial that the actors and responders in these cases have insight into how force can be applied without physical restraint or overtly violent acts, such as through threats or by withholding food.

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

Race and class intersect in complex ways that privilege the ‘white’ societal view of prostitution, while at the same time introducing broader questions that probe the impact of inter-generational colonialism and racism as a continuum of forced sexual exploitation of Indigenous women and girls. Yvonne Boyer and Peggy Kampouris (2014) conducted a study in consultation with organizations and individuals working with, or having knowledge of, human trafficking of Aboriginal women and girls. A significant number of participants were involved in law enforcement. Some participants objected to how “everything that is sex work is being thrown into the human trafficking pot” (p. 15).

Questions of consent, pivotal to criminal code interpretations of force, may exist along a continuum. One participant argued that “the terminology avoids the issues of sexual exploitation and the reasons behind it” (p. 14). Another perceived problem with the terminology of human trafficking is that it creates a context for the exploitation of Indigenous women that fails to take into account the “historical imprint of colonization” (p. 15). Boyer and Kampouris echo the findings reported by the *Native Women’s Association of Canada*, that identify root causes of sexual exploitation as:

the impact of colonialism on Aboriginal societies, the legacies of the residential schools and their inter-generational effects, family violence, childhood abuse, poverty, homelessness, lack of basic survival necessities, race and gender-based discrimination, lack of education, migration, and substance addictions (Native Women’s Association of Canada, 2014, p. 11).

The continuum of consent extends to include the high number of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada. Aboriginal girls “willingly leave” their homes and communities and are often “manipulated and lured by sex traffickers” (Boyer & Kampouris, 2014, p. 35). Many of these women and girls are reported as missing, yet they are “viewed as runaways, or simply fall off the radar” (p. 35).

Indigenous victims and survivors, advocacy groups and researchers have made significant contributions to the discourse surrounding human trafficking in Canada. Boyer and Kampouris (2014), the *Native Women’s Association of Canada* and others have expressed and documented their concerns over how the trafficking and sexual exploitation is understood. Moreover, the significant inter-generational impact of colonialism and residential schools has created so many of the systemic vulnerabilities the traffickers capitalize on. Here, an intersectional approach to investigating and

responding to the trafficking and sexual exploitation of Indigenous women and girls is crucial.

Solutions to human trafficking and sexual exploitation are most often focused on remedies available through law enforcement and the provision of supports and services by ‘front-line’ organizations and government. The ongoing funding needs related to providing supports and services remains a concern, often determined by political decisions centred on budgeting priorities (Sev'er, 2002). The limited resources available to victims of gendered violence are largely due to inadequate funding of women’s shelters and other social services, and a poor understanding of the need for supports that are flexible and responsive to the intersecting challenges faced by those requiring exit strategies (Native Women’s Association of Canada, 2014). For example, NWAC insists that many victims come from backgrounds where there is insufficient education and job skill development to sustain women and girls as they transition out of the sex trade. They argue for services that go beyond merely helping victims to get away from their traffickers:

To help these women and youth escape the cycle of sexual exploitation, they need training in viable alternatives for income. It is not enough to protect women and girls from pimps and traffickers; the conditions of growing up in poverty and without a full education must also be addressed for lasting difference. As such, these organizations provide programs that specifically facilitate these women and girls’ transition to another lifestyle. This can include life skills, substance abuse counselling, and therapy, to name a few (Native Women’s Association of Canada, 2014, p. 25)

The education and training of law enforcement and other actors in justice processes (including defense lawyers, prosecutors and the judiciary) is a priority according to police participants in the Boyer and Kampouris (2014) study. The participants agreed that formal education on human trafficking can help police services develop a more

specialized approach to responding to victims, especially in the case of front-line officers who are likely to have opportunities to interact with sex trade workers. The officers agreed that education could help with earlier identification in trafficking cases.

In conclusion, efforts to improve the status of women by defining static categories as a lens for understanding the structural foundations of oppression and victimization will not necessarily create the hoped-for changes in terms of social justice. There is ongoing evidence of rampant inequality, discrimination and the oppression of women worldwide corresponding to alarming rates of gendered violence. A failure to recognize the intersection and relational implications of the political, economic, cultural and legal status of women and to effect social change at that level unquestionably accounts for a lack of improvement or increase in safety in the lives of many women and girls worldwide. While viewing the intersectionality of factors like race, religion, sexual orientation, colonialism, age, and class as significant dimensions in the oppression of women, it is nevertheless a fact that women are oppressed and subjected to gendered violence and coercive control.

Victimization is more likely to impact vulnerable groups and individuals in society who, through social inequality attributed to categories of class, race, age, gender, health and disability, sexuality and so on, experience victimization disproportionately. Isolating static categories such as gender or race with often negative social meanings can nevertheless help bring to light some aspects of oppression. However, when victimization is approached from a reductionist perspective – even when that perspective acknowledges established categories of inequality – it is possible, and even likely, that only a small part of the problem will be understood. A safeguard for avoiding problems

of universalizing or generalizing in intersectional approaches to research, is to give attention to the local, embedded and material context of victim experiences.

A discourse of harm within an intersectional framework may broaden the possibility of recognizing some of the most socially damaging types of victimizations and the causal factors grounded in social inequality. The concept of harm may alter the discourse of victimization and make clearer the complex material and emotional consequences experienced by victims without minimizing the institutional and structural relationships that exist. Moreover, a shift away from focus on individual offenders and criminal acts, toward recognition of the intersection of societal factors that lead to the collective victimization of groups of people, such as poverty, racism, gender inequity and so on, may help inform the actions and practices that create positive social change.

Child Maltreatment and the Impact of Trauma

The overwhelming number of children likely to have adverse childhood experiences in Canada, and worldwide, is alarming (Statistics Canada, 2016). Recent statistics confirm that a significant number of school-age children have experienced violence, abuse, neglect, bullying, and other adverse childhood experiences (ACE). In smaller communities and in vulnerable populations, the incidence of trauma can be greater than 30%, much higher for example, when statistics include teenage girls who are sexually violated. The vulnerability of children is exacerbated by their dependency on adults. Children do not have the ability to remove themselves from threatening situations. Although this study integrates adult education with victimology, the section on child maltreatment highlights two things. First, when children are traumatized the

impact can last well into adult life. Secondly, the caregivers and responders who interact with child victims are better able to do so when they have a sound knowledge of the impact of victimization, the causal factors and best practices in interventions.

When trauma-inducing adverse childhood events are experienced at sensitive times of growth and development the neurological activity and architecture of the brain is affected in ways that can impact learning, the ability to process information and complicate the development of prosocial relationships with peers, teachers and others. Moreover, children who have experienced trauma have an elevated risk later in life for mental health problems, substance abuse, physical health challenges and later involvement in the criminal justice system both as offenders and victims (Perry, 2017). I discuss, in fundamental terms, how trauma reactions are processed at the time trauma occurs from a *neurosequential development* perspective. Acknowledging how trauma is processed neurobiologically is consistent with acknowledging the broad social and structural contributors to victimization, and the sequelae or impact of trauma. Finally, I argue for the inclusion of trauma-informed principles practice in teacher education and the classroom, in collaboration with a team of helping professionals for whom victimology and trauma studies education is valuable.

Defining Trauma

The pioneering work of psychiatrists Bruce Perry and Bessel van der Kolk over recent decades has advanced an understanding of how trauma and adverse experiences are processed by the brain. Malchiodi (2015) defines trauma as “an experience that creates a lasting, substantial, psychosocial, and somatic impact” (p. 4) that can be “single

occurrences such as an accident or witnessing an injury to another or several experiences that become traumatic in their totality” (p. 4). Perry, when asked in an interview how he defines trauma, provided this explanation:

Despite using that word all the time, the psychiatric field still debates how to define it. Is trauma an external event? Is it the way we experience that event? Is it the long-term changes in emotional and physical functioning that follow the event?

I define trauma as an experience, or pattern of experiences, that impairs the proper functioning of the person’s stress-response system, making it more reactive or sensitive (Supin, 2017, p. 5).

Malchiodi, citing the work of Perry (2009), suggests a framework for understanding the impact of trauma rests in understanding that it is “an autonomic, physiological, and neurological response to overwhelming events or experiences that creates a secondary psychological response” (2015, p. 3). Stress-responses are adaptive and dynamic responses to change or potential threats and can produce elevations in heart and respiration rates, raised cortisol levels, the release of glucose (Perry, 2016). Moreover, activation of the stress-response can be positive, and according to Perry can build the capacity to manage challenges.

Predictable, controllable, and moderate activation of the stress-response system has been shown to build our capacity to manage challenges. When a child has the opportunity to challenge herself in the presence of supportive adults, it builds resilience. It’s the dose, the pattern, and the controllability that determine whether the stress is adaptive or harmful (p. 4).

Researchers with the *Center on the Developing Child*, Harvard University, suggest ‘toxic stress’ occurs in children who are exposed to prolonged adverse experiences including “physical or emotional abuse, chronic neglect, caregiver substance abuse or mental illness, exposure to violence, and/or the accumulated burdens of family economic hardship” (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014, par. 4). However,

serious stress can be buffered by relationships that are supportive and positive, making the stress responses temporary.

The Neurobiology (Mind-Body Connection) of Trauma

Key parts of the brain and nervous system develop at different times and stages throughout a child's life.

Neurodevelopment is a sequential process; the successful neural organization in one phase of development depends on adequate organization in the preceding phases. This sequential neural development progresses through a succession of sensitive periods in which the crucial neural organization in any given phase is shaped by the nature, timing, and pattern of specific experiences. The result of this complex dynamic process is the progressive maturation of the central nervous system and the autonomic nervous system (Perry, 2017, p. 41).

Complex networks are established in each region of the brain. The lower regions (brainstem and diencephalon) control fundamental life support such as heart rate regulation while connecting with functions that occur in higher brain regions (limbic and cortex) such as “emotional, social, and cognitive functioning” (p. 41). Multiple networks interact in an orchestra of endocrine, immune, and nervous system responses to sensory input. These responses will essentially affect a child's “physical, motor, social, emotional, and cognitive functioning and are key mediators of the variety of stress responses such as the “arousal” response and dissociation” (p. 41). Adverse childhood experiences are known to interrupt the normal development of the brain.

When adverse events occur at critical times of growth, the structure and architecture of the brain itself can be affected. In fact, the disruptions can result in changes that may not easily be reversible. During periods of stress, particularly toxic

stress, integrated neural and endocrine responses occur, triggering a cascade of events (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014).

Stress-related neuroendocrine alterations in response to early adversity include hyper- or hypo-activation of the stress system and may persist or worsen in later life, acting as biological vulnerability factors for the development of later disease. A key effect of stress during foetal life, childhood, and adolescence is that it programmes the developing brain, especially brain structures involved in stress reactions, such as the prefrontal cortex, the hippocampus, and the amygdala, to hyper- or hypo-react to ensuing stressors. Critical periods of brain development represent time-windows of elevated synaptic plasticity, mediating vulnerability, or establishing resilience to stress (Pervandou, 2017, p. 1).

The scope and magnitude of developmental disruption due to traumatic events can be seen to result in an increased risk of functional dysregulation. For example, sleep disruptions, a state of hyperarousal or hypervigilance, hyperactivity, general avoidance, intrusive memories, cognitive deficits as seen in language development delays, delays in gross and fine motor development, attention, and memory problems. Early child maltreatment can result in chronic dysregulation of brainstem and diencephalon mediated processes such as heart rate, blood pressure, and other processes associated with stress-response (Perry, 2017).

The architecture and hierarchy of the brain (essentially bottom-up) are such that the developmental impact of trauma may occur in areas not involved in language and memory storage. Therapeutic interventions, often derived from adult models of intervention, that rely on cognitive-behavioural meaning-making through language-mediated interventions alone are unlikely to produce the desired changes in children. According to the literature, language problems are pronounced among children from preschool through teenage years who have experienced maltreatment.

As most play therapists have observed, when affect maintains the upper hand, the “talking cure” is apt to fail, as interpretive methods are ineffective with primal passions. The reality is that children suffering from complex trauma issues will first need interventions to organize and regulate overly sensitized lower-originating neural networks and, later, interventions targeting cortically originating networks. These cortically targeted cognitive interventions will help integrate memories and experiences into a verbally coherent, understandable, and manageable set of recollections; yet this cannot occur if the child (or adult) is too dysregulated to access or effectively use his or her cortical systems (Perry, 2017, p. 42).

When traumatic events occur and the trauma remains unresolved through appropriate interventions, victims are at risk of repeated incidents.

The Sequelae of Victimization

David Finkelhor, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Crimes Against Children Research Center at the University of New Hampshire, contributed significantly to *developmental victimology* theory (2008). Finkelhor points out that there are special concerns for the effects of crime on children, saying “victimization has enormous consequences for children, derailing normal and healthy development trajectories” (p. 9). He agrees with concerns raised by Margolin and Gordis (2000) that victimization can also “affect personality formation, have major mental health consequences, impact on academic performance, and also is strongly implicated in the development of delinquent and antisocial behavior” (Finkelhor, 2008, p. 9).

Despite notorious problems with a failure to report incidents involving child abuse and neglect, there were an estimated 85,440 substantiated child maltreatment investigations in Canada in 2008 (14.19 investigations per 1,000 children) (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2008). A lack of substantiation or problems with the progress in an

investigation meant that many of the reports were incomplete or not included in the results. Maltreatment was defined by five major categories: physical abuse; sexual abuse; neglect, emotional maltreatment and exposure to intimate partner violence. In the *Public Health Agency of Canada* report, sexual abuse contained nine forms: penetration, attempted penetration, oral sex, fondling, sex talk or images, voyeurism, exhibitionism, exploitation, and 'other sexual abuse' (p. 30).

According to developmental victimology theory, the revictimization of a sex trade worker (who is raped when she is unable to assert 'no' to the offender) could be part of the *sequelae* to her earlier childhood victimization (Finkelhor, 2008). In fact, over the past 70 years and since the beginnings of early psychiatry and psychology, the re-enactment of trauma has been well documented (van der Kolk, 2005). Van der Kolk thoroughly explores the implications of unresolved trauma both in children and adults and the engagement in behaviors and patterns that seem to re-enact the original trauma. This is especially likely when there is a failure to engage appropriate therapeutic and supportive measures for victims - at the time of the incident. Otherwise, there is a risk of unresolved trauma.

Van der Kolk and a team of researchers posed a distinct framework for approaching childhood trauma, as follows. Therapeutic interventions for children will need to reflect an understanding of the regulatory systems involved in trauma stress-response if they are to offer effective strategies.

Developmental Trauma Disorder

There are apparent differences in the way trauma impacts adults and children, due in part to the capacity of children and youth to store or make sense of trauma in a contextual framework, and the resulting developmental interference (van der Kolk B., 2005). Children whose development is affected by repeated exposure to trauma (violence in the home, maltreatment, sexualized violence, lack of safety etc.), especially in the first 10 years, are likely to exhibit a cluster of symptoms and unsettling sequelae to the trauma. These can include later concerns with substance abuse and other risky behaviours, depression and suicide attempts. Children who have experienced trauma often have a survival-based response to a perceived threat which is neurobiological and not only psychological. This can be disruptive to a child's ability to emotionally regulate, especially when the traumatic memories are not able to be expressed through language to make sense of them, or to be externalized in other sensory ways. Currently, children's symptoms of trauma are often diagnosed within a range of 'co-morbid' possibilities such as ADHD, oppositional-defiance disorder, or attachment disorder as examples. When the co-morbid diagnosis is the primary tool helping professionals have for providing treatment, the unresolved developmental trauma can continue to impact the child or youth for years beyond when the trauma occurred.

Developmental trauma disorder (DTD) (van der Kolk B., 2005) was proposed as a valid category in the *Diagnostic Manual of Mental Disorders* with the American Psychological Association and was first introduced by Bessel van der Kolk in 2005. DTD was further developed by a consortium of child psychiatrists and psychologists in hopes of inclusion in the 2011 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual Of Mental Disorders,

Fifth Edition (DSM-V) (van der Kolk B. A., 2009). To date, the team has been unsuccessful in making their case for inclusion. The criteria put forward for diagnosing DTD includes exposure to chronic or multiple incidents of trauma in relation to others based on how the child experienced events. The child will have ongoing problems with emotional regulation, medical or other physical problems (somatic) and developmental problems. Social relationships, the ability to trust and anticipation that further harm may occur are likely to impact identity and sense of self. When there is a clear and inclusive diagnosis of DTD, the approach to treatment can be holistic and provide appropriate, individualized responses to the needs of the child and the people with whom the child is attached. This is likely to include professionals like social workers and teachers.

Summary

It is insufficient to simply name a victim as such, or to attribute certain characteristics to victims, without questioning how they became labelled as a victim in the first place and what the contributing social factors may be. This includes developing an understanding of the suffering of victims, and the full impact of the victim experience. Accordingly, awareness of prior incidents of victimization such as previous childhood sexual abuse provides nuanced insights into the contributing factors beyond having predictive value. This information can be helpful in gaining insight into victims' needs. However, even in the absence of prior trauma, adults may also suffer the impact of traumatic events. First responders like police, firefighters, paramedics, and emergency room personnel are among the professionals who are vulnerable to suffering from vicarious trauma, a factor in empathy fatigue or so-called burn-out.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMPATHY, COMPASSION AND VICARIOUS TRAUMA

It became evident through an analysis of the findings that it is necessary for this work to review what is known and understood about empathy and compassion. Sympathy, empathy, compassion, pity, mercy, commiseration and altruism have some similarity in meaning although there are significant distinctions. Here, the discussion is limited to empathy and compassion and an attempt to clarify the distinctions between the two. Empathy is essentially a construct of how one might imagine the pain, discomfort or suffering another is feeling, with an awareness that the experience is not being directly shared at that moment (Nussbaum, 2001). Previous, similar experiences may enhance the ability to imagine vividly. There are both cognitive and emotional aspects of empathy (Spreng, 2009). While the cognitive aspect of empathy may be primarily involved in the process of imagining what another person or group is experiencing, the emotional ability to experience empathy appears to function as a precursor to what motivates compassion and leads to action that may reduce the perceived suffering of another (p. 62). The third aspect of empathy is prosocial concern or the desire to help others as a synthesis of arousal by cognitive and or emotional processes (Zaki, 2012). Compassion then, for the purpose of this discussion, refers to actions of a group or an individual based on perceptions of suffering in another, with hopes or intentions of reducing that suffering.

Social Justice and an Ethic of Compassion

The media provides exposure to social justice concerns and has become increasingly graphic and prolific with shocking scenes of social justice violations,

images that reflect cruelty and suffering, and commentary that describes atrocities (Hoijer, 2004). Awareness of the suffering of others is constructed for public consumption by journalists and photographers. At the same time, “social media fueled by big data has been blamed for creating deep political polarization” (Williamson, 2016, par. 1).

The post-truth spread of misinformation twinned with the magnification of political and social polarization via social media platforms and algorithms is at the core of a new public pedagogy of political mis-education. Public pedagogy is a term used to refer to the lessons that are taught outside of formal educational institutions by popular culture, informal institutions and public spaces, dominant cultural discourses, and public intellectualism and social activism. Big data and social media are fast becoming the most successful sources of public pedagogy in the everyday lives of millions around the world. They are educating people by sealing them off into filter bubbles and echo chambers, where access to information, culture, news, and intellectual and activist discourse is being curated algorithmically (par. 24).

The overwhelming nature of the steady stream of stories that describe human (or animal) suffering may ultimately serve to desensitize the viewer in an effort to essentially turn away from it (Hoijer, 2004). The constant barrage of horror may do little to evoke the hoped-for compassionate response. Another possibility is that emotion may interfere with compassion when the viewer becomes conflicted between attributions to the cause of the suffering (perception of the victims), and a need to ascribe blame or responsibility that includes the victim as a participant in the creation of their own condition. In other words, when classic ‘*victim-blaming*’ occurs.

There may be another barrier to the ability of the individual to respond with empathy and compassion to the pain and suffering of others. Davetian (2009) warns that individual emotional biographies must be included when evaluating reactions and social interactions. He claims that any analysis that fails to consider “the role played by human

emotions in social outcomes impoverishes its ability to produce durable insights” and asserts that people are influenced by their own “personal biographies and unresolved emotions” (Davetian, 2009, p. 93), as much as by cultural factors such as race, status, and religion as previously suggested. Davetian concludes that emotional repression of feelings of pain, sadness, anger, shame, grief and fear in a social climate of restraint may adversely affect the ability to react with care and concern to others.

Compassion, Empathy, and Nature

Robert Wright (2009) approaches compassion from secular and biological perspectives saying compassion is part of our human lineage. Promoting a theory of kin selection, Wright claims that compassion assures protection of self and family and suggests it does not naturally go beyond the family or blood tie. In what he calls reciprocal altruism, Wright’s interpretation of The Golden Rule (do unto others what you would have them do unto you) leads to his conclusion that compassion is not universal and will only be extended when there is a clear and natural reason to do so and it is in our best interest. He cautions that this does not lead to a negative conclusion where the motivation of compassion is concerned. Wright posits that all people, leaders and presumably followers, can expand what he calls moral imagination the ability to imagine the experiences of others who are in very different circumstances. According to Wright, moral imagining opens channels for compassion.

The Stanford University *Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education* leads in the exploration of the positive attributes of compassion from an interdisciplinary perspective (Stanford University School of Medicine, 2013).

Methodologies employed in the exploration and measurement of brain behavior and responses to empathic stimuli are growing in breadth and there are now hundreds of studies confirming significant changes in brain activity when exposed to empathic stimuli, like media portrayals of human and animal suffering. The *Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education* has assembled a data bank of resources on compassion research. The value of these resources becomes apparent in the discussion of the findings in Section Two.

Compassion fatigue, altruism, and empathic distress fatigue

Olga Klimecki and Tania Singer (Klimecki & Singer, 2012) have proposed that the term compassion fatigue should more accurately be reframed as *empathic distress fatigue*, suggesting “compassion fatigue--a form of burnout--as an example of how an excess of altruism in caregivers may result in suffering and actually lead to decreased levels of helping” (2012, Ch. 28, par. 1). Klimecki and Singer agree that one result of empathic motivation may be that individuals will engage in prosocial or compassionate behavior, but caution that another possible outcome that 40% to 80% of what caregivers experience is a form of empathic distress. The table below suggests two possible outcomes of the empathy experience in a visual chart according to the researchers (An Integrative Model, Figure 28:2).

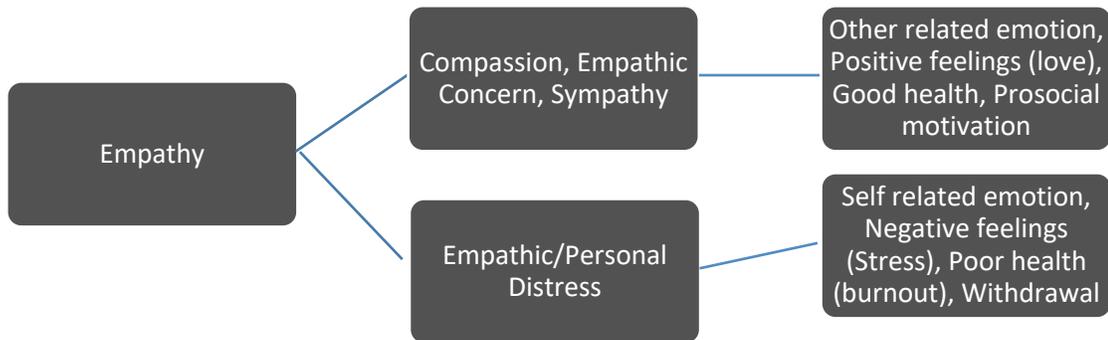


Table 1 - Two possible outcomes of empathy experiences according to Klimecki and Singer (2012)

The conclusions of neuroscientific research conducted and reviewed by Klimecki and Singer (2012) are that compassion must be *other-related*. When an individual experiences empathy only on a personal feeling level and imagines what the suffering of another would feel like as if they were the one having the experience, the result may be empathic or personal distress. However, when the person cognitively makes the distinction that it is the suffering of someone else and their empathy is directed to the fact that it is the suffering of someone other than self they are responding to, brain response seems to occur in a different place on the brain map. Self-oriented empathy, what is felt when imagining *how it would feel to me*, results in brain activity in the same part of the brain that responds when someone experiences pain. Consequently, the empathy response is experienced as distress rather than as a motivator to engage in prosocial behavior.

The assertion that empathy must be other-oriented notwithstanding, there may be an equal concern when there is an absence of self-interest and only altruistic empathy for others has been aroused (Bachner-Melman, 2012). This chapter will not review the developmental, psychological or social factors that may contribute to selflessness. It is of

interest to note that problems with insufficient recognition of self or of other may be equally problematic. Ultimately, empathic distress is a likely impediment to motivating compassion.

Cultivating Compassion through Contemplative Practice

It is toward cultivation of the human quality of compassion that the *Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education* (Stanford University School of Medicine, 2013) has formulated educational resources that provide an 8-week program. The compassion cultivation training (CCT) they offer is designed to improve a sense of resiliency and help individuals to feel more connected to others which they claim also provides benefits to overall health and well-being. The CCT protocol suggests benefits to individuals, members of businesses and corporations and the public sector, as well as those involved in social services, education and healthcare (Stanford University School of Medicine, 2013). CCT was developed in partnership with Thupten Jinpa, PhD, a former Buddhist monk with a genuine interest in what is termed *contemplative neuroscience*. Jinpa, who is a visiting scholar at the Stanford University School of Medicine (2013), along with other interdisciplinary participants, developed the CCT protocol. Program Founder and Director, James R. Doty outlines the intention of the program.

Training compassion goes beyond feeling more empathy and concern for others. It includes the development of the strength to be suffering, the courage to take compassionate action, and the resilience to prevent compassion fatigue (Doty, 2013, para.5).

Emory University, with researchers Ozawa-de Silva and Dodson-Lavelle (2011), conducted a study with children, using their *Cognitive-Based Compassion Training*.

Their hope was that the program, designed to help children engage in compassion, would go beyond that objective to help the entire school community become a *community of compassion*. The five-month pilot program was so successful that it led to a larger, ongoing project working with foster children in collaboration with the Georgia State Department of Human Resources.

In addition to the social value of contemplative practice and the cultivation of compassion, other benefits to health and well-being were documented as adjunct benefits. One such study established a positive effect between compassion training and contemplative meditation, and neuroendocrine, innate immune and behavioral responses to psychosocial stress (Pacea, 2009, p. 88). Traumatic stress aside, Canadian statistics (2010) report that as many as 27% of working adults reported that their lives were quite or extremely stressful (Crompton, 2011). Stress is known to be a complicating factor in a range of illness including psychological distress, heart disease and stroke risk, the immune system's inflammatory response and susceptibility to infection, gastrointestinal disease, metabolic disorders including diabetes and obesity, pain response including migraine and headache as well as muscle and joint discomfort, sleep disturbances, cognitive and memory function, and cancer (University of Maryland Medical Center, 2013). The potential for benefit with successful compassion training and contemplative meditation is significant.

Self-Compassion

While compassion for the suffering of others is important, so is the practice of applying compassion toward self. Neff (2012) states that there are three necessary

components to self-compassion. They are self-kindness, a sense of common humanity, and mindfulness. Neff insists that self-directed kindness allows us to accept life's disappointments and to view our own perceived short-comings with kindness rather than with anger and frustration which may stem from harsh self-judgment. Neff asserts that negative self-judgment leads to isolation and discrepancy between the perception of self and others and that affirming a sense of common humanity can help people to remember they are not alone in their suffering. Finally, Neff concludes that mindfulness facilitates the ability to first recognize and acknowledge personal suffering and suggests that "taking a mindful approach to our difficult feelings, however, allows for greater clarity, perspective, and emotional equanimity" (p. 3).

Summary

The literature supports claims that compassion in caregivers is essential when providing supportive responses to victims. Compassionate self-care for providers and responders is likewise important. However, the magnitude of problems of compassion fatigue, empathic distress and vicarious trauma in teachers, social workers, police officers, and others beckon an exploration of how caregivers can remain mindfully engaged in compassionate ways without being overwhelmed by exposure to the stories shared by individuals who experience adverse events. Moreover, like the advances in neuroscience that have contributed to a better understanding of the impact of trauma and neurosequential development in children, neuroscience has made significant strides in understanding how the brain functions in the presence of empathic stimuli such as trauma and ways to promote mindful compassion and avoid compassion fatigue.

Compassion in action demands a principled commitment beyond theoretical contemplation. As an applied ethic, compassion may successfully become an instrument toward resolving some of our deepest social justice concerns. There is little disagreement with the assertion that empathy has served humanity throughout history in a way that is fundamental to survival. The assertion of this discussion is that compassion as an action - motivated by empathy and moral imagination - can serve all of humanity well into the future. Specifically, compassion and empathy create responsive environments for victims and trauma survivors, and the caregivers who respond to them, prosocial empathy and compassion are restorative.

There may be inherent limitations to how humans naturally relate to the suffering of others based on our perception of their familial or community closeness or relevance to our own lives and needs. However, those limitations are likely to be products of incomplete perceptions and partly defined by media exposure and what claims-makers reflect and suggest. Regardless of the limits encountered as human beings, empathy and compassion can be ethically applied as motivators of prosocial ethical action.

CHAPTER SIX: TRAUMA-INFORMED INTERVENTIONS

Emerging Practices and Perspectives

The efficacy of therapeutic interventions in victims and survivors of crime and trauma is scrutinized closely by providers. The resources mobilized in supporting victims have, sadly, often failed to produce the kinds of meaningful change hoped for in healing and recovery transitions.

[V]iolence against immigrant women of color and [A]boriginal women, like violence against white women, is treated by the courts, medical and counseling systems as a psychological and individual problem, rather than the result of structural violence that can only be remedied by structural and community solutions (Sajjani & Nadeau, 2006, p. 46).

This chapter in no way represents an all-encompassing review of emerging practices and perspectives. The therapeutic interventions discussed here are introduced on the basis of being evidence-based in terms of their specific application in trauma recovery. I review three intervention modalities. The first focus is on victim narratives and therapeutic justice; the second reviews neurosequential approaches to art therapy and trauma; followed by animal-assisted interventions. All provide a context and bedrock of understanding relevant to the study findings and participant contributions presented in Section Two of the dissertation.

Victim and Trauma Narratives and Therapeutic Justice

In Chapter Two, I discussed the work of Jan Van Dijk (2009) and his assertion that research focused on victim narratives could strengthen and contribute to the body of victimological knowledge, while perhaps challenging victim stereotypes. In this chapter,

however, the discussion is more focused on the expressive value of victim (or trauma) narratives as part of the healing and recovery process. Current practices in criminal justice processes seldom create opportunities for victims to fully tell their stories, in their own words, about the way a crime or traumatic event has impacted them (Roberts & Erez, 2004). The current practice of helping victims prepare a carefully constructed statement may fail to address problems associated with loss of voice for victims, especially for those who have experienced feelings of loss of control. The *Canadian Victims' Bill of Rights* (Government of Canada, 2015), formalized a commitment to protecting victims' right to information, the right to protection, the right to participation and the right to restitution. The Victim Impact Statement is currently a significant component in victim participation in justice processes.

In a comprehensive review of the function and purpose of Victim Impact Statements (VIS), Roberts and Erez (2004) take the position that the original intent of victim narratives was for the expressive and communicative value. This was subsequently replaced by an impact model that stressed that the impact of a crime should be considered solely in the context of sentencing a *convicted* offender. The statement is not intended to provide evidence prior to a conviction, nor to provide an account of events. The impact model overlays with Roach's punitive model of victim participation (Roach, 1999), where the communicative and expressive functions model interfaces with therapeutic and restorative justice (jurisprudence) principles. Roach argues that the punitive model of victim participation maintains an adversarial position, whereby the rights and needs of the victim are seemingly "pitted against" (p. 29) the rights of the offender (Roach, 1999).

According to Roberts and Erez (2004), the current impact-based court procedures limit and restrict opportunities for victims to tell their stories in their own words. The ability to make sense of the event is frustrated when cognitive processing and meaning-making are externally imposed upon by justice processes. For example, the Victim Impact Statement (VIS) is written in answer to carefully constructed questions that omit any references to what the Court finds inflammatory or inappropriate to sentencing decisions, effectively silencing the victim's voice. Moreover, these predetermined questions can fail to support an individual's need for self-expression in ways that could promote recovery from the traumatic event have experienced (Roberts & Erez, 2004). The restriction on language and expression can be challenging and frustrating for victims. One survey of victims in the Province of Quebec determined that although most victims said they had prepared a VIS, the process did not satisfy their need for recognition and participation in the criminal justice process (Wemmers, 2008). Some victims experienced a form of secondary victimization and social injury when they feel their needs are not treated sensitively or that they are not receiving the support they require (Orth, 2002). A more sensitive and informed approach to how victims can be supported as they write of personally significant life experiences may help prevent this particular form of re-victimization based on the current system and practices.

Applying Principles of Therapeutic Jurisprudence to Victims

In Canada, the values embedded in theories of therapeutic jurisprudence call for acknowledgment that legal procedures, rules and the actors involved, including lawyers, prosecutors, and judges, should become prosocial forces of law in action (Wexler, 2008).

In Canada, therapeutic justice is embraced as a ‘problem-solving approach’ that strongly emphasizes victim participation (Goldberg, 2011). According to Goldberg, restorative justice practices, for example, “may reduce post-traumatic stress among victims, and have a positive impact on the physical and psychological health of victims and offenders” (p. B18). Victim statements can contribute to the process. Future research based on the principles of therapeutic jurisprudence may help identify ways of reducing the anti-therapeutic effects of the traditional justice process while enhancing those that are therapeutic without compromise to other values and processes of law (Wemmers, 2008).

Victim narratives and the disclosure of a traumatic event can be therapeutic. Early research by Pennebaker (revised in 1997), referred to as the *Confession Studies*, evaluated data collected through the self-reporting of participants (1997). The subjective findings of improved health and well-being were significant enough to warrant a collaborative effort between Pennebaker, Kiecolt-Glaser, and Glaser (1988). They concluded that four consecutive sessions of 15-25 minutes of narrative writing about a difficult personal experience can accomplish powerful changes. Further, there is evidence that the benefits of narrative writing go beyond subjective experience to include quantifiable measures of physiological stress reduction. Pennebaker’s model could, therefore, be implemented as an initial part of the process of victims’ services workers helping victims to prepare their narratives by first affording them the opportunity to express fully, in their own words, disclosure of the traumatic event.

The Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime ‘*Statement on the Impact of Victimization*’ (2006) agrees that victims need to be able to express their emotions and

tell their stories. Victims often need to have their experiences validated and have their stories heard by a non-judgmental listener. Even a group setting outside of a courtroom can provide a safe and supportive environment for victims to both tell their stories and to be heard (2006). By prioritizing the victims' needs for expression, communication and disclosure can be accommodated without compromise to the final submission of the Victim Impact Statement. Victims need to be heard if they are to experience a restoration of power, which is necessary for psychological wholeness.

Social Justice and the Voices of Victims

Worldwide, the formation of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions signify another trend in therapeutic and restorative justice. Various governments have established truth and reconciliation bodies globally to attempt to address horrible wrongs such as genocide, apartheid, atrocities in war and more. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada released a summary report acknowledging the devastation experienced through Indian Residential Schools, using the term “cultural genocide” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 1) to describe “the destructive nature of the Canadian IRS system” (Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015. p. 373).

The devastation is discussed here:

In June 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada released its summary report and recommendations. With the report came the announcement that an estimated 6,000 children perished while held within Canadian Indian Residential Schools (IRS). From the mid nineteenth century until 1996, when the last school finally closed, about 150,000 First Nations, Inuit and Métis children were forcibly removed from their families and placed into institutions fundamentally designed to destroy their indigenous identities. There are presently an estimated 80,000 former students of the IRS system, who since the 1990s have been commonly identified as ‘survivors’ (often with an upper-case ‘S’), a term that inversely acknowledges the thousands of children who died

in these schools. Many of these survivors have made public claims of ‘genocide’ in order to articulate their traumatic experiences. And because survivor testimonies are the bedrock of the TRC, an institution with national scope and stature, such claims have elicited an increasingly prominent debate in Canada in recent years (Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015, p. 373).

The foundation of TRC processes is the intention to create an opportunity for the stories of victims and offenders alike *to be told openly and heard with compassion*. Archbishop Desmond Tutu describes the African principle of *Ubuntu*, which broadly recognizes that the humanity of one is inextricably bound to the humanity of another, a principle applied to the process of victims telling, and perpetrators hearing, the stories of atrocities (Tutu, 2000). Tutu himself describes his incredible difficulty in hearing tens of thousands of narratives from people expressing the horrors they survived, as well as stories about those who had not survived. For eighteen months he listened to people who described suffering, torture, anguish and devastation under apartheid. Tutu's conclusion was that human beings can only move forward in the healing journey if they are willing to forgive those who have victimized them (Tutu, 2000). Similar opportunities seldom exist for individual victims within the Canadian justice system. There are provisions that allow victims of crime to prepare a narrative description of their experiences as Victim Impact Statements, however many victims have expressed dissatisfaction with the restrictions placed on how their stories must be told (Wemmers, 2008).

Further to problems centred on the way stories are told and the interests served in trauma narratives, at times the stories must be evaluated through a critical lens. The complexity of a story may require a willingness to deconstruct assumptions grounded in historical representations in order to more fully give meaning to stories that present counter-narratives (Anderson, 2001). It is therefore essential to deconstruct any biases

and limitations to better gain insight and acquire meaning for both the storyteller and the listener-reader. In fact, it may be said that a primary purpose of narrative writing is to engage in reflection that well considers personal and cultural loss and trauma. Authentic counter-narratives, or restorying, may serve the writer as an opportunity to reframe concepts such as personal ethics, hope, and courage and become part of a web of stories that people live by.

Desmond Tutu wrote of the purpose of forming the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation as a vision for healing:

Our nation sought to rehabilitate and affirm the dignity and personhood of those who for so long had been silenced, had been turned into anonymous, marginalized ones. Now they would be able to tell their stories, they would remember, and in remembering would be acknowledged to be persons with an inalienable personhood” (Tutu, 2000, p. 44)

Corntassel, Chaw-Win-Is, and T'Lakwadzi, (2009) situate the collective stories of individuals within the context of culture and community, saying “Ultimately, restorying is just the first step toward remembering and revitalizing our collective and individual consciousness” (p.155). This sense of connectedness and common experience expressed through the story may become a bridge to others in the healing process.

Although victims are usually advised that they are able to write a Victim Impact Statement, they often feel unheard in the justice process even when they do so (Wemmers, 2008). There is little sense of interaction between the victim and the larger justice system once the victim’s story has been submitted, at times contributing to a deeper sense of invisibility. One exception in Canadian law, at least on paper, is the hearing process offered by the Ontario Criminal Injuries Compensation Board (Government of Ontario, 2013). Victims of crime – by a fairly broad definition – are

entitled to request a hearing whereby they can present their story. This system of justice for victims does not depend on the criminal conviction of an offender or successful prosecution of a crime in order to proceed. However, in a scathing report called *Investigation into the Treatment of Victims by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board: "Adding Insult to Injury"* (2007), the Office of the Ombudsman insists victims are still not being heard. André Marin describes an agonizing reality that often results in further damage to victims.

It takes, on average, three years for an application to be processed. Of those applications that are received – approximately 4,000 to 5,000 per year – the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board succeeds in adjudicating, on average, only 2,500 per year. The Attorney General has predicted that by October 2007, there will be 17,500 backlogged compensation claims worth \$109 million. The Board (National Judicial Institute, 2011) depends, shamefully, on attrition as well. Approximately half of those who attempt to file claims are so overwhelmed by the Board's complex documentation and process-based demands that they give up. ... These applicants are not helped when they flounder, but left to fail. This report chronicles an embarrassing series of hurdles placed in the path of vulnerable victims of violent crime (Ontario Ombudsman, 2007).

Victims of crime are already marginalized by their lack of active participation and visibility in the traditional justice system. Telling the story can function as a way of navigating a storm, of creating a new map for survival.

Colonialism and the Loss of Language

It is impossible to thoroughly explore the intergenerational complexity of colonialism in this discussion. The impact on those who suffered losses that are in some respects unquantifiable, and unknown. Simply stated, the English language cannot support a meaningful account of traumatic events or uncover/recover what has been lost and silenced through the colonization of language itself and the loss of land to the

Canadian settler State. Moreover, I make no claim to represent a historical account of colonialism in Canada or to provide a trauma narrative of colonial oppression, particularly as it affects Indigenous peoples and immigrants who have otherwise suffered tragic loss, in part through the sovereign dominance of the English language. Simply stated, colonialism should not be understood through narratives that provide a historical sequence of events that occurred in the past that serves to reinforce ‘conclusions’ embedded in the way the stories are told (Corntassel, Chaw-Win-Is, & T’Lakwadzi, 2009), and by whom.

The nation-state of Canada offers a very different version of history than those of Indigenous nations – one that glosses over the colonial legacies of removing Indigenous peoples from their families and homelands when enforcing assimilationist policies, all of which were intended to eradicate Indigenous nations. The residential school era, which can be said to begin in 1874, is one example of racist policies that were imposed on Indigenous people. Designed to strip Indigenous people of their languages and cultures, the residential schools were administered by the government of Canada and run by four well-known denominations or churches. By the time the last residential school closed in 1996, over one-hundred-thousand Indigenous children had been forcibly removed from their homes (Corntassel, Chaw-Win-Is, & T’Lakwadzi, 2009, p. 138)

The sovereign dominance of the English language and the intentionality of colonial and imperial practices cannot be overlooked in the victimization and trauma experienced by Indigenous and other peoples worldwide. Language uniquely preserves, strengthens and mobilizes cultural knowledge, a strength needed by communities to rebuild in the face of cultural trauma and loss.

Challenges and Problems in Trauma Narratives

From a more western perspective, despite the empirical evidence that supports the claim that a therapeutic approach to writing is beneficial for victims, there is a lingering

opposition by some theorists to the development of practical and pedagogical applications. One concern stems from problems with the lack of preparedness on the part of victims' service workers and others to deal with the crisis that can arise when narrative inquiry opens the floodgates to deeper, unresolved and disturbing emotions. The potential for emotional crisis is of particular concern, and perhaps more likely, where there is a history of prior victimization such as childhood sexual abuse (Fortier, et al., 2009). Education and training in life-writing interventions is crucial for facilitators of victim narratives (Hunt & Sampson, 1998). Hunt and Sampson argue that facilitators should have a familiarity with narrative writing processes and be sensitized to the potential for problems when disturbing emotions and thoughts surface for victims. There should be adequate access to resource information for referrals to mental health professionals if required by victims, especially to professionals familiar with narrative psychotherapeutic technique (Bracher, 1999). Moreover, problems may arise if the facilitator, potentially a victims' services worker, is insensitive to a power dynamic that could push an individual to enter into disturbing thoughts and feelings at a pace that is not self-determined. An example of this can be found in Section Two when Wendy (participant) describes being encouraged to call her mother and disclose her history of sexual abuse when she was not ready to do so. The consequences were emotionally devastating. Bracher counters these concerns by insisting that when the pace is self-determined, psychoanalytic writing is likely to be a fail-safe process.

There are instances where writing can be problematic and, according to Pennebaker, there are times when there is a "downside of writing" (1990). For instance, when the process is little more than an indulgence in anger and the writing is only an

opportunity to vent, writers may find themselves feeling angrier and more frustrated if their writing if is not accompanied by a process of reflection and resolution. Similarly, writing that is focused on someone other than *self* can exacerbate feelings of distress and fail to bring about a resolution of difficult feelings (p. 204). Where victims are expressing harmful experiences, healing and recovery can be impacted by this type of writing. The reflective process can be equally emotional and intellectual, engaging limbic and cortical regions of the brain. Pennebaker cautions that writing focusing on *intellectual* insights into self and the behaviour of others is unlikely to have the desired result (1990, pp. 202-203). It is the reflective process which is likely to provide therapeutic benefit, a process that allows one to write with feeling and to explore emotions. Deep personal reflection can be uniquely beneficial for personal growth and development; however, reflection is individual and often happens in relative isolation from others. Pennebaker points out that reflective writing (rather than a diffractive (Hill, 2017) approach to writing) may fail to provide opportunities for meaningful and reciprocal interactions with others (1990, p. 204). In fact, writing of this kind can provide a type of insulation that actually prevents growth if the writer does not take the actions necessary in order to have a meaningful relationship and remain engaged in community. Making changes can be difficult. The therapeutic narrative process is necessarily one that facilitates positive strategies for taking action.

Storytelling – Creating a Personal Mythology

As Bruner skillfully explained, the self of this moment, the *now* self is concerned with a retrospective view of possibilities and choices, experiences and meaning-making

that is in actuality a metaphor for the self (1995). It is not the actual self that is written, it is a collective representation of actions, decisions, meanings, interpretations and descriptions, both realized and imagined. If, as Bruner states, “Narrative "truth" is judged by its *verisimilitude* rather than its verifiability” (1991, p. 13), then truth and fact may be stratified and “the distinction between narrative fiction and narrative truth is nowhere nearly as obvious as common sense and usage would have us believe” (p. 13). Hunt and Sampson (1998) also suggest the process of fictionalizing personal experience and creating metaphor allows expression and freedom that supports what they describe as “a conscious quest for self” (p. 10). They offer a brief review of the circumstances and populations who may benefit from engaging in autobiographical, creative writing and include a broad range of special concerns that may create a need for such expression.

Blatner (1997) recommends the development of a personal mythology where the narrative is expressed with elements of adventure and opportunity to overcome obstacles and difficulties that may otherwise be perceived as limitations. When faced with overwhelming conflict and the need to discover choices and make decisions, Blatner suggests the creation of subselves (p. 479-480) or partial selves within the narrative myth can help to represent certain conflicts and foster creative solutions. Although the personal stories of individuals, especially when fictionalized as personal mythology have expressive value, there is also a broader social value when difficult truths are relevant to collective experiences. When personal disclosure in narrative writing is part of the recovery process (Pennebaker, 1995) the collective social responsibility to victims should require consideration of what is in a victim’s best interest when assuming a stance on how their truth is told. If fictionalizing allows the important or difficult truth to be

told, then the decision about writing the story as creative non-fiction should uphold the greater needs of the writer. Obviously, this is not the case when a victim is preparing a victim impact statement to be used within the justice process. Nevertheless, stories of pain, suffering, and oppression may lead to the secondary victimization of the author when they are harshly scrutinized by legal questions of whether they are truthful and factual.

Art Therapy and Trauma

The Trauma Response

The participants of the study agreed on the need for police, trauma responders, and later actors in justice processes to have an in-depth understanding of the neurobiological processes involved in the trauma response, in particular, the way memory is stored (relevant to victim and witness recall of events). Chapter Six of this dissertation introduced Bruce Perry's (2009) neurosequential development approach to understanding the impact of child maltreatment. The architecture and hierarchy of brain activity in response to stimulus involves activity in complex neural networks. Cognitive-behavioural approaches to therapeutic interventions relying on language-based meaning-making are limited because of the way traumatic memories are processed in the brain. Understanding the sequence of reactions, in what Tinnin and Gantt (2013) call the Instinctual Trauma Response (ITR) is key to understanding how the brain responds. Reactions can include:

- A startle
- An attempt to fight or flee
- A freeze

- An altered state of consciousness (ASC)
- Automatic obedience
- Efforts at self-repair (Gantt & Greenstone, 2016)

Once the trauma response is triggered, memory of the events is stored outside of the language networks in the brain. Gantt and Greenstone (2016) explain:

After the verbal brain becomes dominant the nonverbal brain works well in its subservient but nonetheless crucial role, all the while performing essential tasks such as recognition of faces, dealing with images and sensations, and visuospatial perception. As Siegel (2001) and Schore (2009) confirm, the right hemisphere develops more rapidly than the left during early childhood and is crucial in dealing with emotional material. The illusion of mental unity (that everything originates in the language areas of the brain) serves one well until a traumatic event throws the person into the Instinctual Trauma Response, in effect forcing the verbal brain offline. As a result, the traumatic experience “remains outside of verbal recall, unremembered in words but unforgettable in feelings and images” (Tinnin & Gantt, 2014, p. 9). When the trauma is over, the verbal brain is amnesic for much of the experience. However, as most art therapists can vouch, nonverbal material relating to traumas can be manifest in art, often much to the surprise of the artist.

In other words, when victims are asked to recall details of a traumatic experience verbally, the memories, depending on the way the brain responded to the trauma, may not be easily accessible through language.

Therapeutic art interventions first appeared in the late 1970s in the treatment of trauma, although PTSD was not formally recognized as a diagnosis until 1980 (Collie, 2006). Art-based interventions were observed to help trauma survivors express their experiences, “as a means to convey details of the trauma event, and as a way to gain mastery over feelings” (p. 159) and “helped individuals recall, re-enact, and integrate traumatic experiences and recover from emotional disorders associated with psychological trauma” (p, 159). Victims and survivors of a range of crimes and human rights violations have benefitted from art therapy interventions.

Based on these developments, art therapy has been applied to a wide range of types of trauma, including sexual abuse (Backos & Pagon, 1999; Pifalo, 2002; Powell & Faherty, 1990), domestic violence (Malchiodi, 1997), school violence and homicide (Chapman, Morabito, Ladakakos, Schreier, & Knudson, 2001), war and terrorism (Avrahami, 2005; Baker, 2006; Howie, Burch, Conrad, & Shambaugh, 2002), and medical trauma (Appleton, 2001), among others. As a result, the contemporary practice of art therapy in the treatment of trauma, and more recently PTSD, emphasizes the usefulness of art expression in the reconstruction of the trauma narrative and also in the management of stress, physical symptoms, and psychological disorders resulting from acute or chronic trauma (Ballou, 1995; Cohen, Barnes, & Rankin, 1995; Morgan & White, 2003; Rankin & Taucher, 2003) (Collie, 2006, p. 159).

Studies involving art therapy for veterans have produced good results, particularly for veterans with severe symptoms. In fact, one study found that among 15 specialized inpatient PTSD programs, art therapy was the most effective in reducing symptoms like emotional numbing and intrusive thoughts while creating opportunities for activation of positive emotions. Arts-based therapeutic interventions are sequenced in ways that recognize and respond to the inherent and unique strengths of each individual while working within a framework that enhances integration and facilitates healing and recovery.

A comprehensive review of studies published over the span of ten years concluded that “for adults starting visual arts activities or programmes, the subjective wellbeing outcomes are, for the majority of participants, positive” (Tomlinson, 2018, p. 3). The review includes data collected over 100 participants from Australia, Sweden, the UK, and the USA who engaged in visual art-making. Eight major studies were included in the review where the visual arts practices included; “painting or drawing, art appreciation and viewing, making and exhibiting art, and more general creative and craft activities such as ceramics or sculpture” (p. 5). The conclusions were positive.

The Canadian Art Therapy Association defines art therapy as a combination of creative processes that use “imagery, colour and shape” (Canadian Art Therapy Association, 2018, par. 1) and psychotherapy to facilitate the expression of “thoughts and feelings” that would “otherwise be difficult to articulate” (par. 1). The evolving field of art therapy has several dominant approaches developed over time. They are summarized from Judith Rubin’s (2016) *Approaches to Art Therapy – Theory and Technique* as follows: psychodynamic approaches including Freud’s psychoanalysis and Jung’s analytic psychology; humanistic approaches in Gestalt art therapy; Moon’s humanism in action, and Roger’s person-centered art therapy; contemplative approaches such as Focusing-oriented art therapy, art-making as a spiritual path and what Franklin describes as wisdom traditions in art therapy. Neuroscience approaches to art therapy include cognitive-behavioural and narrative art therapy. Systemic approaches are focused on group and family art therapy, and various integrative approaches (Rubin, 2016). Art therapy may be useful to victims in the recovery process, in ways explained by Lusebrink (2016).

Art therapy as a sensory-motor and visually based expressive modality addresses two important aspects of therapy with trauma survivors: the integration of the nonverbal sensory-motor-based traumatic memories and the temporal organization of segmented verbal memories (2016, p. 63).

Victims of crime and trauma survivors are often challenged when going about the business of ‘getting on with life’ and resolving the residual issues associated with the impact of the event(s). The expressive arts, including visual art, dance, music-making, may uniquely support the recovery process.

The Expressive Arts Continuum

The *Expressive Therapies Continuum* (ETC) was developed by art therapists Graves and Lusebrink (Lusebrink & Hinz, 2016) as a framework for integrating a neurodevelopmental approach to therapy and aligns with Perry's neurosequential approach. This approach can be used in assessment and to determine developmentally appropriate interventions. The ETC framework suggests four levels of processing experiences and corresponding art activities: *kinesthetic/sensory* which involve movement and sensory activities like clay work or scribble drawing where the content is unimportant; *perceptual/affective* where expressive art is used to communicate feelings and form ideas through painting, music etc.; *cognitive/symbolic* where there is an interest in finding meaning in the art through rational thought and intellect; and lastly the *creative* which can occur at any level or may integrate other levels.

Therapeutic Arts and Neurosequential Development in Trauma-informed Classrooms

The idea that an introduction of therapeutic arts interventions in the classroom could have a positive effect on the “reading comprehension, self-concept, intrinsic motivation, and creative thinking of young elementary school children” was introduced as early as 1989. Steve Harvey (1989) published the findings of his study in which typical second and fourth-grade students were introduced to therapeutic arts-based activities – dance, music and visual art - twice weekly for a period of three months. The activities were instructed by professionals and art therapists. Harvey reported the following findings:

1) The creative arts therapies can significantly increase verbal and figural creative thinking as well as assist in positively influencing reading comprehension among young elementary age students. 2) Young students can become aware of their creative abilities and can begin to relate their perceptions of mastery, challenge and cognitive competency to these creative abilities following the use of creative arts therapies. 3) The creative thinking of young students appears to develop the characteristic of being more highly original and less elaborate when given the opportunity to creatively express their personal social/ emotional experience (Harvey, 1989, pp. 97-98).

In the Czech Republic, Mynaříková (2012) published findings of an art-based program for social and emotional development involving 25 children in Grade 5, aged 11-12, over an eight-week period. The goal of the study was “to improve the class climate by drawing attention to the feelings of children towards their class and classmates, to their ability to cooperate in the class setting and to communicate with each other without fear, shame, or aggression” (p. 720). Researchers were concerned about what was perceived to be an inability of children to use language to express thoughts and feelings. Once the study was completed, the findings determined that children were “more confident in expressing their identity, more content with the class climate and they thought of their class as more safe, intimate, and cooperative environment” (p. 720).

McInerney and McKlindon (2014) likewise concluded there are positives for children when professionals implement trauma-informed approaches.

Trauma-Informed approaches are not new—they have been implemented in many fields including the medical profession and our judicial system. The lessons learned from these evidence-based approaches can be directly applied to classrooms and schools. At the heart of these approaches is the belief that students’ actions are a direct result of their experiences, and when students act out or disengage, the question to ask is not what’s wrong with you, but rather what happened to you? By being sensitive to students’ past and current experiences with trauma, educators can break the cycle of trauma, prevent retraumatization, and engage a child in learning and finding success in school. (McInerney & McKlindon, 2014, p. 2)

Trauma-informed classroom principles and practices are increasingly embraced and integrated within individual schools and school divisions in Canada. An example of trauma-informed practice in university teaching is the use of *trigger warnings* when class content may trigger trauma responses in victims. *Trigger warnings* were generally appreciated by undergraduate students according to the findings of a study reported in the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* in 2018 (Cares, Franklin, Fisher and Growette Bostaph, 2018).

Approaching arts-based activities from a developmental perspective and through a neurosequential development lens may be a crucial area to explore (Fox, 2015). There is a paucity of literature available on art education and child development. What is known is that arts-based activities can enhance all domains of child development. For example, art provides children with opportunities to develop motor control through activities like working with clay, learning to use paintbrushes in deliberate ways, finger-painting, and cutting paper with scissors. Hand-eye coordination is improved. Social development can also be enhanced through art making.

The classroom is a social setting, and she is learning to interact positively with others. When two or more children engage in social play with art materials, they expand their imaginations, share ideas, and develop social skills (Thompson, 2005). They must negotiate the use of the materials, share and take turns, and provide appropriate feedback to each other (Sautter, 1994). The art center has rules that protect the welfare of both the group and the equipment. In turn, children learn responsibility for cleanup and return of materials to their rightful places (Fox, 2015, p. 76).

In terms of the hierarchy of brain activity, the limbic region is active in the emotional development of children, where traumatic experiences are stored and responded to in ways that are largely non-verbal. Art-making gives children the means to

express, in nonverbal ways, the feelings and events that are significant to them. Art can be instrumental in a child's cognitive development. As children begin to work at conceptual levels, they begin to make connections and engage in meaning-making on their own. Fox (2015) claims that "Creating a drawing or painting involves the child artist's past and present experiences as well as imagination and emergent thinking. Creating art involves memory, experience, imagination, and observation" (p. 81). Lastly, in the domain of creative development, art can foster discovery and exploration through imagination.

Although teachers are not art therapists and should not engage in art-making with children with the intention of analysis or therapeutic interventions, the expression of ideas and emotions through art will contribute to a child's development in uniquely positive ways that optimally engage neural networks in the brain.

Animal-assisted Interventions

Narrative and arts-based interventions both provide expressive opportunities for victims and trauma survivors. Although animal-assisted intervention is not an expressive therapy per se, the human-animal bond is another potentially valuable intervention that can foster trust and feelings of safety through affectionate, appropriate touch. The benefits of animal-assisted interventions (AAI) have been formalized since as early as World War II when in 1940 when Corporal Bill Wynne purchased a small Yorkshire Terrier named Smokey after finding the dog in a foxhole. For 18 months the two completed 12 combat missions together and became inseparable (Mims, 2016). The animal-human bond has been recognized for as far back as 1200 years, and there is

evidence of the therapeutic use of canines in the 18th century, where dogs introduced to patients in mental institutions. Florence Nightingale understood that animals brought comfort to many of her chronically ill patients. The health benefits associated with the human-animal bond are well documented in the literature.

In addition to the many health benefits associated with HAI, the human-animal bond has been credited with reducing depression and loneliness while increasing a sense of self-worth, empathy, psychological well-being and sense of purpose (O'Haire, 2012 O'Haire, M. (2012). Reasons for these psychological and physiological effects can be attributed to an animal's unconditional love, constant availability, and non-judgmental nature that transcends into trust, warmth, and acceptance...(Mims, 2016).

Animals are now used in supportive roles in many settings in Canada, including prisons, schools, hospitals, courtrooms, victims' services and in clinician settings. Murphy, a St. John Ambulance therapy dog, made history in late September 2017 by being the first therapy dog allowed into a hospital Emergency Room in Canada. There are approximately 400 working therapy dog teams working in the province, and over 3,300 dog and handler teams working across Canada.

Over the past two decades, the roles of these specially trained dogs used within Canada's criminal justice system have changed. In addition to the police dogs who participate in search and rescue work, help to apprehend suspects and whose keen sense of smell helps them to detect drugs and explosives, there are new roles filled by canines in police victim services programs. These animals can provide a calming influence in very emotional situations. For many people experiencing trauma, the comfort of human touch is not always possible. CIA dogs are able to provide that touch in a safe and gentle way if it's something the victim wants. There is evidence that the benefit of these interactions is not only subjective.

Beyond anecdotal literature, several factors suggest that Animal-Assisted Intervention may be an effective complementary treatment for trauma. Interacting with an animal has been linked to reductions in indicators of stress in humans, including lower salivary cortisol and blood pressure (Friedmann & Son, 2009), demonstrating that physical interaction with another species can impact human physiological stress responses. This body of evidence suggests that Animal-Assisted Intervention may be a successful complementary approach in addressing the psychological challenges associated with PTSD (O'Haire, 2015, p. 2)

The Pacific Assistance Dogs Society (PADS) trains and provides canine assistive animals for several purposes. As Yorke and Coady (2008) observed, the relationship with therapy animals can provide unique opportunities for acceptance, nurturance, intimacy, safe touch, and physical affection. PADS is aware that canine-assistive animals can provide “a source for cathartic touch. When it is not appropriate for humans to provide healing touch to clients, dogs can provide the physical comfort that the client may need” (Pacific Assistive Dogs Society, 2018).

The St. John Ambulance Therapy Dog program began in Saskatchewan in 2007 and now has over one hundred volunteer dog and handler teams across Canada. Colleen Dell PhD, who was the Research Chair in Substance Abuse at the University of Saskatchewan between 2007 and 2016, participated in the therapy dog program with her boxer, *Kisbey*. The team regularly visited prisoners in a federal correctional institution in Saskatchewan—the Regional Psychiatric Centre (RPC). The RPC is a facility with both male and female prisoners. Participation is optional for the prisoners. *Kisbey*, the therapy dog, typically visited with each inmate every two weeks for a total of about ten times (over approximately 20 weeks). All the participants chosen by staff have complicated mental health histories including childhood trauma, mental illness, substance abuse and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Dell said in personal correspondence, “I was just

there. I didn't talk or interact myself. It was all up to the dog and the person she was visiting – that connection was between them” (2016). In a review of the therapy dog program, Bell said that therapy dogs can be a helpful bridge for the workers who are interested in “transforming prison, addiction, and mental health care using a trauma-informed approach” and the dog’s interactions can be “a great lesson”.

In 1996, trainer Heather Logan of Truro, Nova Scotia developed the potential for inmate/canine interaction when she created the *Pawsitive Directions Canine Program* at the Nova Institution Federal Prison for Women (Government of Canada, 2011). With the support of Correctional Service Canada (CSC), the program allowed 87 women inmates to give back to their communities while assuming responsibility for the care and training of service dogs. In total, 58 dogs were trained and placed in the community and 32 of those dogs work as service dogs in placements that include “a senior’s facility, for children with autism and cerebral palsy, and as a guide dog” (par. 5). In conversation, Logan says the program taught the women meaningful skills as dog trainers that could contribute to their employability once they are released. Among the original participants, 25 women found full or part-time employment based on the experiences and skills they acquired while in the program. The dogs were trained to provide important services to the people who needed them. Correctional Service Canada has supported other animal-assisted interventions such as the Dog Boarding and Training Centre at Fraser Valley Institution for women in British Columbia (BC). There, the inmates learned work skills leading to certificates in a Kennel Attendant Program, Groomers Assistant, Animal First Aid, and a Professional Dog Obedience Trainer. A review of animal-assisted interventions by Corrections Canada concluded that the canine programs provided

valuable and unique services by releasing trained dogs to members of the community. The adoptive families are very pleased with the service. The inmates assume a huge responsibility for the care and training of the dogs in their charge and the ability to take on the responsibility is a significant life skill that can impact other aspects of their lives as well.

The contact between a CIA dog and a vulnerable victim of crime, a convicted offender with a complex history of trauma, or as a trainer of service and companion dogs, can be extraordinary. It is a relationship that fosters trust and compassion and feelings of safety and comfort.

Summary

Traumatic events are processed in ways that may not include conceptual storage of memories embedded in language. Narrative expression, whether in victim impact statements or in clinical settings through narrative therapy, can be a crucial element for a survivor's ability to tell their story while expressing the impact of traumatic events, and in making sense of what happened. Therapeutic arts-based interventions may open pathways for symbolic expression, thereby accessing the neurological networks in which memories of traumatic events are stored. For some, the ability to have secure, trusting relationships with others is disrupted. Relationships with therapy animals can provide opportunities to develop trust, acceptance, nurturance, intimacy, safe touch, and physical affection. The accompanying reduction in stress response can be instrumental, in conjunction with other appropriate therapeutic interventions, in the healing and recovery processes helpful to victims and survivors of trauma.

SUMMARY OF SECTION ONE

The length and complexity of the dissertation is such that I have chosen to present it in two sections. Section One is an extensive literature review intended to provide the reader with a backdrop and understanding of the breadth and depth of victimology. There is a need for a larger volume of literature focused on relevant and emerging theories and perspectives, however it is beyond the scope of this study to include all literature relevant to victimology and trauma studies. For example, there is now a significant body of research focused on queer theory and the victimization of individuals targeted in hate crimes. The vulnerability of homeless people, people with disabilities, critical race theory, institutional victimization, survivorship or survivorology, crime prevention and the prevention of victimization, resiliency and post-traumatic growth are among the subjects that will benefit from a more fulsome discussion and integration in the victimology literature.

As stated previously, specific concerns were raised by study participants which later required the inclusion of relevant literature in order to support the findings. For example, the material presented in Chapter Five: Empathy, Compassion and Vicarious Trauma, and Chapter Six: Trauma-informed Interventions, was compiled after the data collection was finished. The limitations imposed by the length of the degree program and the size of the complete dissertation required prioritization of topics in the literature. The literature contributed to establishing a background, and eventually the framework, direction, and sense of purpose for the study.

What follows in Section Two is a discussion of the methodological framework applied to the study and the methods used in data collection. The priorities that emerged through the collaboration of participants are presented and discussed at length.

SECTION TWO: METHODOLOGY, FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In Section Two I present findings from the data analysis process. It was a priority in the study to include the voices of victims and trauma survivors. The stories of participants in this study are presented here in straightforward, yet nuanced ways. That is to say, the direct and unflinchingly stark expression of personal experience laid bare in the narratives of participants is underpinned by the complexity of human trauma experiences. It is hoped that this writing will contribute to creating a tapestry that expresses an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of collective actions, decisions, meanings, interpretations and descriptions, both realized and imagined as hope for future change. This nuanced approach to weaving the various and diverse perspectives on victimization and trauma requires a holistic approach to data analysis and interpretation. The varied perspectives and situations of collaborators are relevant to the overall analysis of data and presentation of the findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN: STUDY METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Transdisciplinarity as Methodological Framework

Transdisciplinarity, according to Nicolescu (2002), can contribute to methodological innovation in ways that do not challenge well established disciplinary methodologies, but “enriches each of these disciplines by bringing them new and indispensable insights, which cannot be produced by disciplinary methods” (Nicolescu, 2002, p. 122). Leavy (2016) distinguished transdisciplinarity as a “problem-centered approach to research” (p. 70) that employs various methods or mixed methods in innovative ways that enrich data collection strategies and strengthen analysis. The problem-centered approach seeks to create a solutions strategy for real-world problems evident in the societal, causal factors that create victimization and to produce positive social change through education⁸.

The conceptual and methodological frameworks of community-based research, communities of practice (CoP), and transdisciplinarity intersect in ways that are relevant to victimology as a field of study. A working definition of community is essential as a starting point when discussing community-based research and communities of practice alike. Community-based action research methodology integrates synergistically with a transdisciplinary framework. As a methodological innovation, a transdisciplinary landscape of practice can guide future investigation and knowledge creation that helps

⁸ The problem, for the purpose of this study, is the absence of victimology and trauma studies education in Canadian institutions of higher learning, and the challenges posed by the complex transdisciplinarity of the field.

form strategies for solutions relevant to identified problems existing beyond disciplinary boundaries.

There are, in addition to formal academic knowledge communities, non-canonical communities that together constitute what Etienne Wenger-Trayner and Beverley Wenger-Trayner (2015) describe as “a complex, social body” that takes form as a “*landscape of practice*” (p. 15). The tacit knowledge which has emerged from, for example, “grassroots and non-governmental victims organizations” (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014, p. 15) and is sustained through knowledge sharing communities can produce collective, informal practices of knowledge formation, storage, and transmission. Academic (disciplinary) and tacit knowledge communities have differences in their architectural structures of knowledge, with possible distinctions in how knowledge is accessed and distributed. Where disciplinary knowledge communities may tend to be reliant on access to a repository of canonical knowledge traditions as a primary resource, tacit and experiential knowledge communities are likely to be comprised of groups of people “where knowledge is created and stored in a decentralized manner, shared among the community members, and applied to practice. Tacit knowledge emerges from the sharing of the knowledge from the continuous practice in the community” (Eveleth, 2014, pp. 43,44). This description of the diverse communities within a transdisciplinary landscape of practice (LoP) looks optimistically at the possibilities of border-crossing and toward the potential integration of knowledge. Transdisciplinarity is conceptually invested in border-crossing and “entails making connections not only across the boundaries between disciplines, but also between

scholarly inquiry and the sphere of tacit and experiential knowledges” (Horlick-Jones & Simes, 2003, p. 445).

Victimological knowledge integration may not be easily accomplished through existing disciplinary theoretical perspectives alone. Victimization is a complex social problem that demands insight into the causal factors that are *both* disciplinary and transdisciplinary. In order to facilitate resiliency, healing, and recovery, the integration of knowledge and insights can help produce new solutions that lead to constructive social change and sound praxis in the field. There are as well likely to be crossings of “epistemological, methodological and traditional practice-research boundaries” (Messing, Adelman, & Durfee, 2012, p. 641). However, the tensions and resistances must be recognized to bridge perspectives among communities of practice existing within a LoP.

Learning and Knowledge Inclusion

The conceptual model of “transdisciplinary communities of practice” (TCoP) introduced by Cundill, Roux, and Parker (2015, p. 3) is bound to the dimensions of communities who mutually engage, in a joint enterprise, with a shared repertoire of materials (Wenger E., 1998). For this study, the concept of the TCoP is extended and applied to Wenger-Trayners’ (2015) more expansive notion of a “landscape of practice” (p. 15) The VTS-LoP model was applied in order to create an intentionally formed community whereby the core participants as individuals have access to and maintain relationships with various intellectual and experiential neighbors. Those include experts from relevant academic disciplines, and organizations, groups or associations whose

practices are responsive to the needs and experiences of victims. Of significance to this study is the inclusion of victim and trauma survivor participants who contribute to an understanding of the dimensions of victimization. The invitation to conversation among participants of the VTS-LoP helped identify gaps in victimology theory development, practice, and knowledge creation and mobilization. Victimology as a field of study can be developed through conversations and border-crossings among participants and members of a VTS-LoP. For this study, those conversations produced a database of educational priorities as identified by the participants.

Community-Based Participatory Research as Worldview

The relationship between researchers and participants is entangled within the ontological position of a participatory research worldview. Heron and Reason (1997) claim a participatory worldview rests on two philosophical justifications or principles. The first is that any “propositional knowledge” (p. 8) that emerges as an outcome of research is grounded in the “experiential knowledge” (p. 8) of the researcher. The second principle acknowledges that all participants, including the researcher, are co-participants and members of a landscape of practice (Wenger-Traynor, 2015). There are also political justifications for promoting research that “breaks down” (Reason, 1998, p. 19) old paradigms of research on or about people, for research with and for people whereby participants have the right to engage politically in the research (Heron & Reason, 1997). This may be particularly relevant to victims as a constituency of citizens, for example (Findlay, 2009), who are frequently denied participation in various justice processes.

The participatory position as an ontological worldview is significant to this study. Nevertheless, Reason (1998) insists that researcher concerns must go beyond evaluating the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of knowledge production, to also examining the axiology of knowledge, or how people value and privilege knowledges. The question posed by Walkate, “Whose knowledge counts, how and why?” (2007, p. 148) may be answered, in part, by integrating an axiological approach to victimology knowledge production. Deane (2017) suggests it is possible to bring ontology, epistemology and axiology together. Epistemology, ontology and axiology, according to Patterson and Williams (1998) can be conceptually mapped (Lather, 2017) to make recognizable the foundations of various paradigms.

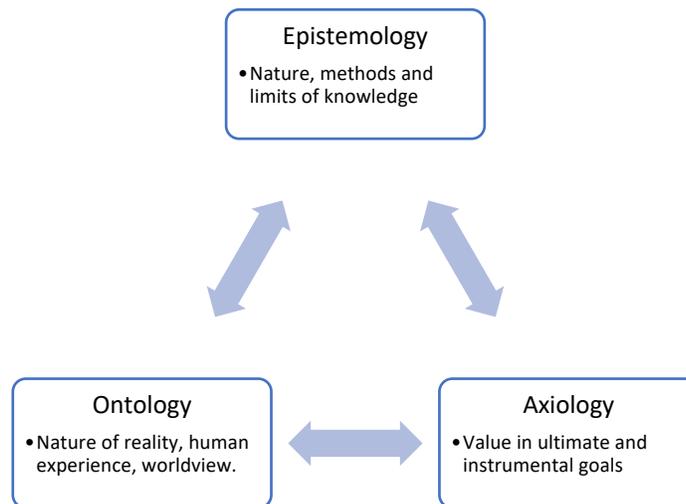


Table 2 - Epistemology, ontology, axiology map adapted from Patterson and Williams (1998, p. 365)

Insofar as victimology knowledge creation is concerned, challenges to positivist knowledge paradigms entrenched in criminal justice processes can be understood as an

ethical dilemma, leading to a question that asks how the deontological⁹ approach to knowledge, anchored authoritatively in law and criminal justice processes can evolve by integrating an axiological approach to victimology knowledge creation.

Community-Based Research as a Conceptual Framework

Kurt Lewin is often credited with developing action research methodology, although he was not the first researcher whose commitment to community engagement and action in research was significant to its evolution. This discussion contains a short review of the contributions of John Collier, Kurt Lewin, and John Dewey who each contributed to the development of an early conceptual and methodological framework of action research.

John Collier came from an applied anthropology background (Hollingsworth, 1997). Collier's work as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (U.S.) was concerned with implementing the transition away from Native American residential schools to schools within communities, an emancipatory vision of education that was built on the premise of preserving and upholding Indigenous culture, language and autonomy rather than on hegemonic iterations of dominant discourse that was oppressive to Indigenous peoples. While Collier did not develop action research methods *per se*, he developed an action approach to research that first benefited the community where the researcher was "non-directive" (p. 3). Collier's approach was based on principles of democratic participation.

⁹ Deontological "legalistic; the ethical doctrine which holds that the worth of an action is determined by its conformity to some binding rule rather than by its consequences; antinomian—the opposite of legalism; an unprincipled, anarchic, lawless approach" (Moon, 2015, p. 3).

Like his friend and colleague John Collier, social-psychologist Kurt Lewin, was also interested in social change through community action, particularly in problem areas related to religious and racial tensions, anti-Semitism and the conditions of working-class women and men (Wimpenny, 2010). His academic publications earned international attention and Lewin spent several months as a visiting professor at Stanford University in 1930. When the political tensions in Germany worsened, Lewin moved his family to the United States in 1933 where he continued to work as an activist at the community level, involving himself in war relief efforts, and speaking on minority groups and community interrelations (Smith, 2001). He was interested in social research and action that produced changes in problems associated with oppressed groups. Throughout his earliest attempts at conducting action research in the 1940s, Lewin maintained a view of the researcher as one who is outside of the research, the observer. Lewin was unconcerned with the notion that *engineered social change* was problematic (Hollingsworth, 1997). He had strong ties to industry and research, and he conceived of democracy as an effective (instrumental) way of producing, managing, and quantifying change. Lewin's contributions moved action research beyond social theory *about* problems, to an integrated "theory of *change*" (p.5) where theory and action are integrated in *practice*. He conceived of action research as a reflective spiral process that begins with identifying an idea or problem, fact-finding, planning, taking the first action step, evaluating, amending the plan as determined necessary, followed by taking the next step.

Early in the twentieth century, John Dewey was interested in how people can transform habitual, repetitive ways of acting (and the social problems that may be

associated with those actions) through cycles of reflexivity (Miettinen, 2000). According to Miettinen, “reflective experience, mediated by intelligence and knowledge grows out from the inadequacy and contradictions of the habitual experience and ways of action” (p. 61). When reflection or evaluation produces ideas or ‘hypotheses’ about solutions for social problems, Dewey asserted that these can only be tested by putting them in action, producing new knowledge from the experience of ‘do-ing’. According to Dewey, reflection is especially important when actions are influenced by existing beliefs and “the layers of cultures” (p. 64) weaved into consciousness.

The continuation of conceptual development evolved amid the various tensions and differing perspectives in action research over the decades that followed the first wave introduced through Collier, Lewin and Dewey. Second and third waves correspond to the British and Australian traditions respectively in traditional and educational action research, followed by the fourth wave of critical emancipatory action research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe the development of a critical approach in action research.

A fourth generation of action research emerged in the connection between critical emancipatory action research and participatory action research that had developed in the context of social movements in the developing world, championed by people such as Paulo Freire, Orlando Fals Borda, Rajesh Tandon, Anisur Rahman, and Marja-Liisa Swantz as well as by North American and British workers in adult education and literacy, community development, and development studies such as Budd Hall, Myles (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 560).

During the 1960s, there was a decline in the use of action research attributed to an increase in large scale, quantitative studies that promoted positivist notions of objectivity and validity (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). There were tensions over the notion of outside-determined engineered social change versus self-directed change that came from

within social groups and movements. There were additional criticisms of action research for failing to maintain a hierarchy of knowledge and the role of the researcher, and including non-professional participant opinions, knowledge and experience with the full weight of democratic inclusion. However, Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon (2014) argued instead that:

In action research, the attempt is not to bring practitioners' practices into conformity with (external) theorists' theories, but to have practitioners be theorists and researchers, that is, to give practitioners intellectual and moral control over their practice wherever their practice is justified by sustained and critical individual and collective self-reflection (p. 26).

The bias that privileges academic knowledge hierarchies has gradually given way to a recognition that these non-professional knowledges are vital and necessary.

Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire (2003) discuss how another challenge potentially faced by participatory action researchers is in effecting large scale social change, since most research is focused on small groups or individual cases. While some contemporary action research may serve to inform policy on development issues in emancipatory ways that work toward improving social problems such as poverty (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003), researchers are cautioned to critically evaluate whether their findings are being co-opted by interests that are part of a neo-liberal agenda and if they are inadvertently upholding hierarchical power relationships. The political activism associated with the victims' movement created multiple concerns shared by Fattah (1989) who argued that the increased participation of community-based victim advocacy groups may not always serve the victim or the justice process. Some of Fattah's objections are summarized as follows:

At the First National Conference of Victims of Crime (held in Toronto, 1985) the victim movement was called the growth industry of the decade. In the United Kingdom it is considered the fastest-developing voluntary movement. Victim groups and associations are mushrooming all over North America and Europe. Inevitably, this fantastic growth has had a significant impact on victimology. Victimology meetings are no longer scholarly meetings where the findings of scientific research on victims are presented and discussed, they have become a forum for political and ideological rhetoric. They mirror the transformation of victimology from an academic discipline into a humanistic movement, the shift from scholarly research to political activism... Willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, victim lobbyists are playing into the hands of the neo-conservatives and the neo-classicists and are helping propagate the ideas and philosophy of right-wing criminology. In such a climate, scientific inquiry into victim-offender interactions and the victim's contribution to the genesis of crime is likely to be summarily dismissed as an attempt to blame the victim (Fattah, 1989, p. 59–60)

Despite Fattah's disdain for the shift away from a hierarchy of knowledge in victimology, advocates for greater victim participation argue that an important factor in the prevention of secondary victimization that sometimes happens when victims are exposed to challenging aspects of criminal justice processes is to assure and define victims' rights to participate.

Guidelines for Conducting Community-Based Research

Community-based research (CBR), and in particular the model of community-university collaboration adapted for this study (deHart, 2014) can be beneficial when addressing complex, real-world social problems (Taylor & Ochocka, 2017). A shift in Canadian institutions toward CBR has gained acceptance in recent years, particularly in social science and humanities research where the intent is the mutual benefit and participation of academic and community partners (Hart & Church, 2011). In a summary of discussions taking place at the first annual conference of the Arctic Institute of

Community-Based Research in Yukon, a definition of Community-based research is put forth as follows:

Community-Based research involves community members in all parts of the project or research. This relationship is built on trust, full participation of everyone, two-way communication, recognition of local expertise and community knowledge, and is driven by community agenda/issues/priorities (Friendship, Blottner, Jackson, & Butler Walker, 2012, p. 10).

The guiding principles of community-based research as applied to this study are adapted from several sources, including the Centre for Community Based Research with offices at St. Paul's University College on the University of Waterloo campus (2019) and from the work of Taylor and Ochocka (2017). They are, principles of *community relevance, research design, equitable participation* and a commitment to *action and positive social change*.¹⁰ These principles are consistent with, and responsive to the overall purpose, methodology, and methods of this study.

Critical (Diffractive) Evaluation as an Integrative Process

Critical evaluation is a necessary step in community-based research as part of the action research cycle, along with planning, taking action, observing or describing, re-planning, taking action again, observing, reflecting, and so on (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2014). The action research cycle was initially conceived of and popularized by Lewin, however, John Dewey (1996) made contributions by developing theory that included critically reflective processes in research (Miettinen, 2000). Critical analysis as

¹⁰ The principles are described in greater detail in the Framework of the Study at the beginning of the dissertation.

an ongoing diffractive practice (Hill, 2017) is of particular significance to the methodology of a transdisciplinary landscape of practice.

Repko defines interdisciplinary research, including critical evaluation, as necessarily iterative in order to prevent significant omissions in a meaningful research process. An iterative process of repeating all steps assures, for example, that the temptation to “get on with the project” (Repko, 2011, p. 75) will not lead to only superficial evaluation of a problem from only a formal, academic or disciplinary perspective. Other problems can occur when bias results in deferring to the insights and theories of one discipline over others simply because step 5, developing “adequacy in each relevant discipline” (p. 74) is circumvented. Sands, Bourjolly and Roew-Strier (2007) posit that the interview is a collaborative process whereby both the “interviewer and interviewee co-construct meaning” (p. 356) as an interactive process. Despite the ideal of collaboration, the position of the interviewer as *insider* or *outsider* may imply a power dynamic that affects the quality of information gained through an interview. When the researcher/facilitator position is strengthened through *existing* specialized knowledge, as discussed above, this may result in a silencing of other voices (Wenger-Trayner, 2013). It is important to be mindful of the intention to create new perspectives and knowledge resources through participant collaboration and not simply engage in an iterative process with existing knowledge.

Situating the Research

The VTS-LoP research study was intended to develop the 2013 recommendations of the World Society of Victimology and to encourage the development of university

courses and degree programs on victimology by identifying the priorities across a broad landscape of practice. The scope of the study takes into account the rich diversity of peoples and cultures throughout multiple regions across Canada, the contributions to victimology and trauma studies made by relevant disciplines and professions, as well as community-based knowledge sources and interpretations germane to the research. The significance of this diversity is understood in the context of the limitations and barriers in access to victims services and supports needed which may be specific to regional, cultural, rural and urban communities. Moreover, access to education for those individuals who respond to the needs of victims may likewise be greatly influenced by the locations and communities in which potential learners live and work. Although there is a broad range of victims' services available across Canada, some better structured and implemented than others, victims services are predominantly housed within local police services and staffed by volunteers with minimal training - sometimes only a few hours of volunteer training and in other locations several weeks. When training does not reflect the current knowledge and awareness of best practices there is a real risk of secondary victimization for victims and trauma survivors who interact with the criminal justice system. Location, therefore, is a crucial consideration in providing access to education for those who respond to, work with, and advocate for victims, as well as for the constituency of victims whose rights and needs are impacted by those services.

This discussion begins by situating the concept of knowledge communities (KC) and communities of practice (CoP) within victimology as a transdisciplinary, academic field of study. Various scholarly (disciplinary) knowledge communities, each with their own "histories, domains and regimes of competence" (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-

Trayner, 2015, p. 15) such as criminology, sociology, social work, women and gender studies, law, and more, have made significant contributions to the formation of a transdisciplinary landscape of victimology theory and praxis.

There are, in addition to formal academic knowledge communities, non-canonical communities that together constitute what Etienne Wenger-Trayner and Beverley Wenger-Trayner (2015) describe as “a complex, social body” that takes form as a “*landscape of practice*” (p. 15). The tacit knowledge which has emerged from, for example, “grassroots and non-governmental victims organizations” (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014, p. 15) and is sustained through knowledge sharing communities can produce collective, informal practices of knowledge formation, storage, and transmission. Academic and tacit knowledge communities have differences in their architectural structures in knowledge, with possible distinctions in how knowledge is accessed and distributed. Where disciplinary knowledge communities may tend to be reliant on access to a repository of canonical knowledge traditions as a primary resource, tacit and experiential knowledge communities are likely to be comprised of groups of people “where knowledge is created and stored in a decentralized manner, shared among the community members, and applied to practice. Tacit knowledge emerges from the sharing of the knowledge from the continuous practice in the community” (Eveleth, 2014, pp. 43,44). This description of the diverse communities within a transdisciplinary¹¹ landscape of practice (LoP) looks optimistically at the possibilities of border-crossing and toward the potential integration of knowledge.

¹¹ Transdisciplinarity is conceptually invested in border-crossing and “entails making connections not only across the boundaries between disciplines, but also between scholarly inquiry and the sphere of tacit and experiential knowledges” (Horlick-Jones & Simes, 2003, p. 445).

Study Purpose and Relevance

Victimology as a field of study is complex, broad in scope, and necessarily transdisciplinary (Spencer & Walkate, 2016). In order to be aligned with the principles of CBR, a collaborative process was necessary to facilitate participants in the process of identifying the priorities that may guide the development of pedagogical strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and survivor studies education in Canada and contribute to the development of the discipline, while benefitting the community. The participants were able to recognize many of the differing perspectives, needs and work practices of societal responders, policy makers, non-disciplinary knowledge sources, scholars, and interested learners, victims and experiential workers. This was necessary to help collaborators determine priorities in victimology pedagogy. The data resource produced identifies participant priorities and can inform future program development initiatives (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). An underpinning of the study was recognition of the need for victimology pedagogy and program development at Canadian institutions.

This study makes a meaningful and relevant contribution toward the recognition of the real scope of underrepresentation of victims and victimization in educational programs available in Canada. The findings of the study identify the ways in which education can contribute to the prevention of harm, understanding the societal contributors to victimization, and social justice for victims and trauma survivors. The priorities to advancing education were identified by study participants who are stakeholders in the field.

Methods and Design of the Study

This research design incorporates an “evolving approach” (Dodson & Schmalzbauer, 2010, p. 322) to knowledge building and data collection. The scope of the research is national, with representation from various regions across Canada to bridge the existing “geographic, philosophical, and disciplinary divides” (deHart, 2014, p. 421). Data were collected through unstructured, informal (conversational) interviews and discussions among participants as collaborating members of a Transdisciplinary Community of Practice. Additional data were collected from participants who attended one public community group meeting, and those who responded anonymously to a survey. The same evolving approach facilitated a synergistic and ongoing approach to data analysis.

The Participants

The study collected data based on the lived experience of 83 study participants as victims, victim advocates and other stakeholders. There were originally 33 core participants, however, only 29 were active contributors, including myself. One person withdrew due to medical reasons prior to the start of data collection. Problems with availability and time constraints prevented four others from participating. The active participants whose comments are included in the findings are introduced here by actual name or pseudonym according to their wishes, with a brief comment regarding their relevant positions with respect to the study.

- 1) Wendy (pseudonym): Victim advocate, trauma survivor
- 2) Dale Spencer: Scholar, Criminology, victimology
- 3) Delores Mullings: Scholar, Social work, community engaged.
- 4) Lawrence (pseudonym): Police services

- 5) Mark (pseudonym): Nursing, educator
- 6) Heather Peters: Community-based educator, restorative justice
- 7) Heidi Illingworth: Community-based educator, victim services, government
- 8) Hugh Gibson: Cinematographer, documentary maker
- 9) Jaime Mantesso: Nursing educator
- 10) Jo-Anne Dusel: Program administrator, victims of intimate partner violence
- 11) Astrid (pseudonym): Teacher, graduate student
- 12) Gord (pseudonym): Victim of intimate partner violence
- 13) Leticia Racine: Sixties Scoop trauma survivor
- 14) Thomas Hartford: Scholar, researcher - psychology
- 15) Wendy (pseudonym): Community activist, victim advocate, survivor
- 16) Janet (pseudonym): Ex-RCMP, victim services worker
- 17) Spurgeon Root: Trauma counsellor, community services
- 18) Mary Arpin: Community activist, victim of gendered violence
- 19) Toni (pseudonym): Mental health therapist
- 20) Marie Perrini: Psychologist, expressive arts therapist, educator
- 21) Cheryl-Ann Webster: Art therapist, educator
- 22) Nora (pseudonym): Victim of crime, sexual assault
- 23) Matheos Kontopidis: Immigrant, activist
- 24) Gabe (pseudonym): Offender, trauma survivor
- 25) Edna (pseudonym): Trauma survivor, victim of crime
- 26) Bonnie (pseudonym): Trauma counsellor, educator
- 27) Rita (pseudonym): Indian Residential school survivor
- 28) Paul Donovan: Outreach Worker
- 29) Heather M.: researcher, participant

STUDY PARTICIPANTS LISTED BY DATA COLLECTION RESOURCE

CORE PARTICIPANT COLLABORATORS

29

- | ACADEMIC | PROFESSIONAL | COMMUNITY-BASED |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher • Scholars • Students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Worker • Psychologist • Teacher • Nurse • Police • Victims Services • Government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer • Restorative Justice • Advocates • Community-based Organizations • Victim |

COMMUNITY-
BASED MEETING

13

ACADEMIC	PROFESSIONAL	COMMUNITY- BASED
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Researcher• Scholars• Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Social Worker• Psychologist• Teacher• Nurse• Police• Victims Services• Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Volunteer• Restorative Justice• Advocates• Community-based Organizations• Victim

SURVEY
PARTICIPANTS

41

Table 3- Study participants by data collection resource

Position as Researcher - Participant

The transdisciplinarity of victimology and survivor studies is such that it draws on knowledge and experience from diverse communities of practice across various regions and demographics. The democratic inclusion of all participants, including those whose knowledge is informed by lived experience, was crucial to this study because the intent of the research is to create social change. It reflects a commitment to the democratic participation and inclusion of various knowledge (epistemological) contributions. An ontological worldview of social justice is foundational to the choice of methodology for this study, as one that affirms a collaborative process whereby the relevant issues and priorities in the development of academic victimology and trauma studies programs can be explored. Riecken et al. (2005) call for an "Ethics of Voice" (p. 2) in participatory

research whereby all participants, including the researcher/facilitator as a participant, make their opinions and positions clear and visible in the research.

I am positioned as a researcher - participant in this study. Consequently, I write subjectively in first person voice since third person voice suggests objectivity. As a participant, I identify myself as occupying a third space between indweller and outdweller positions as suggested by Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009). Identifying my position as a researcher/participant, based on shared commonalities of experiences, goals and interests with other participants, is a paradoxical one. While I made a sincere effort to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others - to indwell - at the same time I attempted to be aware of how my personal biases and preconceptions influenced what I was trying to understand. Even when the commonalities were evident, each participant brought unique axiological, ontological and epistemological positions and entanglements to the discussions. Reason's (1998) position on the need to examine axiological knowledge proved to be key in the analysis of data collected in this study.

Core Participant Backgrounds

Core study participants were invited from relevant academic and professional backgrounds, community organizations and as interested individuals, to collaborate in group meetings and conversations among stakeholders who together formed an intentional community. Letters of invitation were sent to potential core collaborators explaining the study and inviting volunteer participation. This ultimately led to core collaborators who work and live in various regions of Canada – from as far East as Newfoundland to as far West as British Columbia. As participants, they contributed to

identifying the priorities in the development of pedagogical strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and trauma studies education in Canada. Other participants included individuals involved in victims' advocacy organizations, victims' services providers and social responders (police, emergency responders, medical personnel, social workers etc.), interested learners, individuals involved in justice processes, and scholars from several disciplines. Significantly, study participants included victims.

Criteria for Inclusion

Core Collaborators: Participant selection was based on an adaptation of an existing model of university/community collaboration - *A University Partnership for Victim Service Professional Development: Model Standards for Serving Victims and Survivors of Crime* (deHart, 2014). The selection of members was based on the individual qualifications and relevant interests and experiences of participants as stakeholders, while attention was given to the balance of representation between scholarly, institutional and community interests that are national in scope. Some core collaborators self-identified and expressed an interest in being considered as potential study participants as they become aware of the researcher's study interest. Other participants were identified through researcher awareness of experts in the field, and relevant community-based services for victims.

A defining boundary for participation in the research is that core collaborators have an interest in or awareness of the significance of higher education in victimology and trauma studies, and in responding to the rights and needs of victims. It is significant to this study that voices of victims themselves are included in the data collection. Attention

was given to the needs of victim participants, and the potential for triggering during the interview and discussion process¹².

The core collaborators came from diverse backgrounds. The anonymity of the participants is a University of Regina Ethics Board requirement. Nevertheless, some participants were comfortable with and even desired to have their names associated with the study. Pseudonyms were used for all participants who did not specifically indicate their wish to have their real names appear in association with the work. I hoped to avoid a hierarchical approach to knowledge that may privilege knowledge from professionals and ‘experts’ in academic fields over the experiential knowledge of community stakeholders and victims. Nevertheless, when participant perspectives are anchored in their relevant backgrounds, I disclosed this in ways that maintained the overall objective of democratic inclusion, albeit through the use of pseudonyms when necessary.

Community Meeting Participants. The decision to hold a community-based meeting was made in collaboration with the study’s core collaborators. One community (town hall) meeting took place, whereby victims and survivors, helpers and support people within the community, and first responders were invited to participate in a discussion to help identify what would help workers, advocates and responders better understand victims’ experiences, and what victims need. In total, 13 individuals attended and a round table discussion was conducted. Some participants at the community meeting were also core participants, in which case they are identified as (P-CM-*name*).

¹² All victims are vulnerable. Although vulnerable populations per se were not directly involved as participants in the research, some experiential workers have experienced victimization directly. In the event that the need arose for a referral to counselling support services if a participant experienced any distress, for example when personal experiences are triggered during discussion of difficult issues, a list of resources was available.

The anonymous participants are identified as (P-CM) when their comments are included in the findings.

Survey Respondents. As the evaluation and analysis of the data began it became evident there was an underrepresentation of two groups: victims, survivors and their families, and also workers who respond to and engage with victims and survivors. After gaining approval for an amendment from the University of Regina ethics approval board, a digital survey was developed. Participant comments are identified as (P-Survey) when included in the findings.

Conversational Interviews

According to Byrne (2012), the interview process is a communication tool that is part of the social research repertoire, whereby information is exchanged between individuals and or groups. Interviews are used in a number of social situations and contexts and may range from job interviews to interrogations, and media interviews to the therapeutic interview (Byrne, 2012, p. 207). For the research purposes of this study, informal, conversational interview methods were used. This is the least structured approach to the qualitative interview. There are few, if any, structured questions and the nature of the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is spontaneous and conversational. Communication followed the natural course of human interaction and the genuine interest in learning and sharing more information (Turner, 2010). The perceived benefits of the informal conversational interview approach are the flexible nature of the interaction and the lack of structure imposed on the process.

The qualitative interview is best suited for the exploration of embodied, lived experiences, understandings of those life experiences, any relevant cultural, social and personal values, and the opinions of participants (Byrne, 2012, p. 209). The interview is an important methodology for individuals and groups who have struggled historically to have their voices and experiences heard and represented in ways they feel are respectful of their personal and professional epistemologies. Byrne suggests that for people who have had life experiences that may not be expressed due to their difficult or sensitive nature, an unstructured interview that is highly flexible may be a successful way to open up dialogue and ask questions that would not otherwise be possible. This is especially important when the dominant discourse of the day does not endorse the meaning of lived experience of certain groups or individuals. Feminism, in particular, has utilized the qualitative interview as a methodology that gives voice to women whose experiences may not be satisfactorily expressed or understood through other methodologies.

Hardin suggests that a poststructural awareness of “the influence that dominant social and cultural discourses have on the articulation of individual accounts” (Hardin, 2003, p. 240) is an important consideration for researchers. Researchers must acknowledge that the shared or public understanding of experience given in a qualitative interview is not necessarily reflective of the private ways the experience was felt or understood at the time of the phenomenon (Hardin, 2003). When human suffering is suppressed, silenced, or forgotten due to a host of possible social and cultural reasons, interviews provide, at best, a “partial view into the process” (Byrne, 2012, p. 212).

Interviewer skills and qualities

Most researchers agree with the claim that interviewer skill and qualities are significant factors in conducting qualitative interviews. Certainly, some guidelines to interviewer conduct can inform the quality of interaction during an interview. However, Seidman (1998) points out that the qualities and basic character of the interviewer as a person outside the interview are likely to manifest within the interview. When a person is genuinely interested in the stories of others and that interest guides the inquiry process, Seidman suggests that is the most important factor in ensuring good communication.

The Conversations

Each conversation occurred within the context and environment of unique material spaces. For example, several face-to-face conversations took place in public settings such as coffee shops or restaurants, depending on the comfort and expressed wishes on the part of participants to do so. Despite the lack of privacy public spaces afford, they seemed to create a material balance in which deeply personal exchanges could occur. There was always the door, a physical exit, if at any time the conversation became overwhelming for the participant and there was a felt need to walk away.

Each participant was invited to choose the location of the conversations. One conversation took place in a waiting area at an airport while the participant waited for a flight home. Other conversations took place in the private space of my home when requested by the participant. In one instance, I flew to another city to continue what began as telephone conversations, so the discussion could continue face to face. Other conversations took place at a distance where technological and electronic devices

(computers, cell phones, and tablets) were critical instruments for communication. The software applications ZOOM and Messenger were utilized since they allowed visibility by video and voice in private conversations, and both had recording capabilities. Some conversations were recorded on my iPhone using a voice memo recording application. Any interpretation I make regarding how material environments and interactions impacted the conversations is purely speculative. Nevertheless, where participant comments are shared, I make an effort to identify the material spaces the conversations took place in to enrich the perception of the reader.

The Survey

After receiving consent from the University of Regina ethics board to proceed, access to an anonymous survey was shared with core participants to share with others as they wished. A detailed survey can ask closed questions that are useful for quantitative, as well as qualitative data collection, and create an opportunity for gaining insight into how individuals make meaning of their life experiences (Byrne, 2012). For example, a closed question that helped respondents determine whether they responded to the stream of questions intended for victims, or the one intended for advocates, professionals, volunteers or other workers was conclusive but did not contribute to a quantitative analysis per se. Once a stream of questions was selected, the open-ended survey questions asked participants to share their opinions in their own words.

There were 41 survey respondents who self-identified as Canadian or having lived in Canada at the time of victimization prior to completing the survey. There were two streams of questions for respondents to choose from. The first stream was for victims

and survivors, and those who have someone close to them who has experienced victimization. The second stream was for professionals and volunteers who work with and/or respond to victims and survivors. If a participant felt both streams applied, they had the option of replying to the second set of questions by completing that survey separately. Since all participation was completely anonymous there is no data available to indicate whether any participants completed the survey twice. The survey was made available through a secure online host¹³ and all participation was encrypted and anonymous.

Data Collection Procedures and Processes

Core participant/collaborators agreed that a public survey with streams of questions posed directly to victims could be valuable when it became evident that greater outreach efforts were required to connect to victims in unobtrusive ways. The University of Regina Ethics Board responded positively to a request to revise the ethics and the survey was added to the data collection process. A second concern arose during the data analysis process when it became evident that there was a gap in the literature review as first developed in Section One. Consequently, it was necessary to revise the literature review and include a broader approach to the scope and impact of victimization and trauma, and therapeutic interventions as solutions strategies relevant to problems identified by study participants. It was also necessary to further develop a review of the literature focused on compassion and empathy in the context of victim impact and

¹³ Survey Monkey

secondary victimization. Chapters Five and Six were developed in order to support the findings.

Documentation of the Data

The majority of interviews and conversations were audio recorded and later transcribed. I took notes during the conversations, or notes were later written to summarize when audio recording was impossible. For example, there were times when a poor internet connection made recordings through ZOOM and Messenger impossible. In that case, the content of telephone conversations was documented through written notes, including verbatim quotes. If written answers to the study questions were provided, they are acknowledged and included in the data when relevant. The survey was conducted online, and the results hosted by Survey Monkey, a secure survey service utilized to facilitate data collection.

My documentation of the data involved extensive note-taking, reading and reviewing the transcriptions of interviews, listening and re-playing interview recordings, and organizing the text materials according to the priorities that emerged. Ongoing discussions with participants helped assure the verisimilitude of what was documented and the way the materials were organized and prioritized in the process.

Transdisciplinarity as a Framework for Evaluation and Holistic Analysis

The safeguards and guidelines for analysis of the data collected were operationalized by: 1) maintaining a victim-centred perspective, 2) maintaining a concept of victimization as a harm-based, rather than crime-based discourse, and 3)

additionally, a critical approach to evaluation and analysis of the theoretical and methodological frameworks in victimology and trauma studies requires an intersectional perspective that includes awareness of the relational dimensions of power.

Leavy (2016) distinguishes transdisciplinarity as a “problem-centered approach to research” (p. 70) that employs various methods or mixed methods in innovative ways that enrich data collection strategies and strengthen the analysis. The problem-centered approach seeks to create a solutions strategy for real-world problems that create positive social change. However, it is noteworthy that there may be a reluctance to acknowledge the “multiple subjective realities, or intersubjectivity” (Messing, Adelman, & Durfee, 2012, p. 643) that challenges the notion of a single, universal ‘common good’. Here, the value of researcher and participant critical evaluation as a step in the action research cycle, is in cultivating an awareness of how personal, social, environmental and cultural value systems can influence data collection and analysis, and the solution strategies produced.

The principles that may help demarcate transdisciplinarity (primarily) from multidisciplinary are: first, whether the problem lies within the academic disciplines and interdisciplinarity as an approach may help with knowledge integration, or outside of the disciplines whereby transdisciplinary as a methodological approach can be applied to problems that extend and are relevant to the broader community. The second principle is concerned with who conducts the research. Interdisciplinary research is likely to be conducted by experts in a discipline or field of study, where transdisciplinary research requires the participation of community-based or societal participants. Thirdly, where interdisciplinarity identifies and links disciplinary perspectives, transdisciplinarity is

often claimed to be a holistic approach with disciplinary involvement part of a more inclusive group of societal actors. Lastly, despite the problem-centered approach to finding solutions claimed both by transdisciplinarity and cross- or interdisciplinary approaches, transdisciplinarity is likely to develop “an overarching framework” (p. 23) that can be useful in the development of holistic “solution strategies” (p 25).

Relevance and Verisimilitude

The holistic evaluation and analysis of the data demanded ongoing participant collaboration. Initially, considerable effort was made to include all core participants in *same time – same place* conversations and a review of the data as it was collected. In practice, this proved to be logistically impossible. There was a provision from the onset to include data produced by people considered to be intellectual neighbours to the core participants. The verisimilitude of the data was assured by the evolving critical analysis of each action cycle (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015) of conversation and review. At times, the original participant-contributors to conversations were included in each stage of review and analysis. Contributors were then able to critically evaluate the data collected from a large array of stakeholders and core participants within a landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015), adding more as they deemed necessary. What emerged from this process was evidence of commonality among many concerns.

Synergistic Analysis

Dodson and Schmalzbauer (2010) describe an “evolving approach” (p. 322) to knowledge building and data collection that inevitably contributed to ongoing *participant collaboration in the analysis*. For example, a qualitative study focused on how poor women share selectively some aspects of their lives, while concealing details that may otherwise increase the risk of negative attention from social welfare agencies and individuals in positions of power. The researchers asked, after each interview or group meeting, if there was anything that had not been adequately covered by what was already said or known. In their study, the researchers formulated a series of five questions that helped assure they were really understanding the experiences and perspectives being shared. The questions, like other aspects of their interactions, were improvised from one meeting to the next, and were responsive to the participants and processes. Moreover, the evolving and collaborative analysis of the data through the process of the feedback loops (Dodson & Schmalzbauer, 2010) or analysis cycles contributed to establishing the verisimilitude of the findings. That process was adapted to this study.

At each stage of the research process, and especially after each collaborative interaction as the *action* in the research cycle(s), participants of this study engaged in critical evaluation processes. By that, I mean participants had the opportunity to *review* and *evaluate* the materials posted in MOODLE (2018), familiarize themselves with the diverse perspectives of other participants and share their responses to what was already said and developed, and *revise plans* for future discussion and data gathering. The participants involved in each cycle of evaluation evolved and changed, thereby assuring

the evolving scope of analysis. This led to adaptation and evolving plans for data collection, creating opportunities for continuous analysis of what emerged from the study in real time.

There are challenges to integrating the lived experience of 83 study participants, victims, advocates, and other stakeholders, with the demands of formal academic research, much of which is done in isolation. Critical evaluation is an iterative step in an action research cycle and can help assure that both researchers and participants develop an awareness of potential problems. For example, critical evaluation is a process that takes into account the ways in which the research may be affected by power relations, internalized bias, and assumptions. There were times when the progress of the study demanded attention to my personal thoughts, ideas, biases and assumptions as a researcher with ongoing vigilance. At times, the progress of the study, particularly at the writing stage, was impacted by my need to engage in critical evaluation processes that quite simply, took time. Other times, arts-based processes were key to my ability to continue the work and to assure that my lived experience informed the process, rather than producing bias in the process and findings.

Diffractive awareness (Hill, 2017), it is hoped, helped to prevent my researcher ‘voice’ from silencing the voices of others. Community-based action research today implicitly acknowledges power relationships that can be recognized throughout multiple facets of traditional research paradigms, beginning with the power of knowledge itself.

Transformative learning involves critical reflection wherein historical and social events are interpreted and reinterpreted, and in the process, the validation of local or subjected knowledges can garner new meanings. That is not to say, however, that such knowledge does not have its own systems of power and truths at play, as all forms of knowledge can become subject to truth-making and the manipulation of power contained within (Foucault, 1972). Nonetheless, this is where a reflexive

process and practice, which constantly requires an awareness of positionality and subjectivity, is required (Moss, 2002). An analysis of how knowledge is produced suggests that views or paradigms are subject to shifts—shifts which can expand consciousness and create new meanings (Hanson, 2009).

The lived experience of participants, including the researcher/participant, and the meanings and understandings gained from a synergistic, diffractive and democratic integration of diverse knowledges and experiences were significant to the analytic process. This approach may contrast methodologies that position theory as the point from which research is initiated, and theory development the point to which it returns as the research objective. Transdisciplinarity is nevertheless a framework for analysis that acknowledges paradigms and the assumptions that privilege certain knowledges and practices, while striving for inclusion of those who may not usually be invited to participate in academic research. What is primary here is recognition of the trust relationships developed with participants who often shared difficult knowledge, gained through painful personal experience. At all times I have attempted to be sensitive to the risks taken when those stories were shared.

As conversations evolved, so did the need to expand on the discussion of the salient points raised as priorities. As outlined in the introduction to this study it was understood that the core participants are members of an intentionally formed community who, as individuals, have access to and maintain relationships with various intellectual and experiential neighbours. Therefore, a network of stakeholders contributed to understanding the dimensions of victimization and the ways in which education is perceived to be crucial to the development of victim and trauma studies as a transdisciplinary field. The invitation to converse among all core participants within the landscape of practice helped with identification of gaps and ways to bridge those gaps in

victimology theory development, practice, and knowledge creation and mobilization. Priorities emerged through an iterative and cyclical approach to data analysis.

The Emergence of Priorities

The priorities emerged organically through the iterative and continuous review of the data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013), and as the participants iterated common and uncommon experiences, concerns and priorities. I chose not to suggest themes as a way to represent the data collected. Instead, I used the intention stated by MacLure (2013) which was “acknowledge that data have their ways of making themselves intelligible to us” (p. 660) and it can be useful to introduce priorities to assist in the way that data is organized and presented.

Constant Comparison. There were several methods and processes undertaken in the analysis of data. The first was a process of *constant comparison* (Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013) which required several steps, including the inclusion of keyword and content analysis whereby the frequent use of words and terms was noted. For example, several participants used the word compassion in their comments. I compared the views, perspectives, opinions and experiences of the various participants (Charmaz, 2006) and, especially when there were multiple conversations with individual participants across time, I compared the data collected from one time to the next. At times perceptions changed, as evidenced in the changes in discourse. Significantly, I compared my evaluation of the data with other participants in continuous feedback loops (Dodson & Schmalzbauer, 2010). The comparison processes allowed me, as the researcher, to identify domains as categories based on the priorities identified by the

participants. I created ongoing lists or worksheets with the various terms and concepts that emerged in the analytic process.

The volume of the data was at times overwhelming, and the transcription process took far longer than I originally anticipated. Nevertheless, the transcription process allowed me to become intimately familiar with the data. I had to remind myself, when analysis of the data took directions that were unexpected, to critically evaluate my personal assumptions and take care to maintain a position of humility. This was, perhaps, the greatest challenge of all. In order to avoid bias by overly emphasizing my personal comments and contributions as a researcher/participant, I carefully screened out most of my comments that were insignificant to the overall flow of conversations with others. There are exceptions, however, I chose to minimize the inclusion of my comments in help avoid the possibility of giving greater weight to my views than the views and experiences of others, particularly in light of the fact that as the researcher I already maintained a position of privilege in the research.

According to Jackson and Mazzei, qualitative data analysis requires “constant comparison, constant modification, and constant sharpening of emerging theory” (2013 p. 437). Moreover, by engaging multiple methods including constant comparisons, keyword and content analysis, as well as a themed analysis a holistic analysis of the data was made possible.

Research Ethics

With the approval of the University of Regina Research Ethics Board (REB), informed consent forms were provided to, and reviewed with all participants in this

study. The consent forms advised participants on what the possible uses of material collected may be, as well as the intended or potential audience. Questions of confidentiality were addressed according to the guidelines provided by the University of Regina. An ethical consideration is if there is a, potential for the interviewer to push participants to enter disturbing thoughts and feelings at a pace that is not self-determined. When the pace is self-determined, the disclosure of sensitive or difficult life experiences may yet be challenging for participants (Hunt, 2005). It is impossible to make any guarantees of ‘safety’ for participants; however, a list of accessible resources was made available to assist participant access to counselling or other services as necessary or requested.

Additional Ethical Considerations

The role of the researcher as a facilitator and participant in action research is intrinsically bound to questions of ethics. Although the relationship between the researcher and participants may be acknowledged as mutually participatory and “non-hierarchical” (Byrne, 2016, p. 213) it is essential that the relationship between participants be understood. As per the requirements of the University of Regina ethics approval board, questions of confidentiality were addressed and informed consent was obtained, regardless of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. Informed consent stated clearly what the possible uses of material collected are, as well as identification of the intended or potential audience. Seidman (2006) suggests another important ethical consideration is the possibility of exploitation of participants and the data collected, for gain by the researcher or by the participants. This question requires

evaluation on the part of the initiator of the research. There can be monetary gain, political gain such as policy making or reform, and social gain for the researcher. While social change may be a stated context or purpose for conducting action research, it is important that there are no undisclosed interests that create or uphold power imbalances. According to Seidman, consideration of ownership, intellectual property, value and any potential gain should be reflexive and ethical when recognizing the material collected as a resource.

Identifying the position of the researcher as an indweller or outdweller (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) based on shared commonalities of experiences, goals, and interests with other participants, may be a tempting binary framework when discussing potential problems of researcher ethics, bias and legitimacy. However, the epistemic position of the researcher is a fluid one, as are the positions of other participants in a LoP, when the integration of knowledge and shared experiences is likely to be transformative. Even when the commonalities among members of a community of practice are evident, each individual participant will bring their own unique perspectives and epistemic positions to discussions. By recognizing the limitations of labelling any participant, including the researcher/participant, with indweller or outdweller membership, assumptions may be avoided.

At face value, it is tempting to assume that the interviewer and interviewee share a mutual understanding of the language used for interview questions and that the questions themselves are neutral and standardized. Given the flexibility and conversational nature of some styles of an interview, the potential for researcher bias to become a part of the construct of meaning and product of research is high (Mishler,

1991). The informed consent signed by participants of this study stated clearly what the possible uses of material collected may be, as well as the intended or potential audience. Questions of confidentiality and the use of pseudonyms were addressed.

Summary

Community-based participatory research (CBR) methodology integrates synergistically with the transdisciplinary framework applied to this study. As a methodological innovation, a transdisciplinary landscape of practice helped participants identify real-world problems of harm and injury through victimization that exist beyond disciplinary boundaries, and to explore educational priorities. The research included the participation of an inclusive group of societal actors, participants who helped develop a framework of possible solution strategies that emerged through an ongoing, continuous and evolving approach to data collection, evaluation and qualitative analysis.

Funding

The study was supported by a University of Regina Graduate Research Fellowship.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE PRIORITIES AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study are presented according to five priorities that emerged through the data analysis. The data collected from participant conversations, the community-based meeting, and the survey are presented as an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of data sources together and “alongside one another” (Montforte, 2018, p. 385) and according to the priorities that emerged. Each heading identifies an overview of the content. For example, priority one begins with the making of victims and addresses the social construction of victims.

Five Priorities Emerged

The data findings are organized and presented according to five major priorities. They are:

1) the societal construction and defining concepts of harm and victimization; 2) the implications of the victim-to-survivor transition; 3) trauma-informed perspectives and practices of engaged healing and recovery; 4) priorities in victimology education and learning; and finally, 5) the inclusion of the voices of victims toward an axiology of victimology.

Within each of the five identified priorities are issues that were emphasized by participants, including:

- an analysis of who victims are, how victimization is constructed and understood socially, problems of trust, problems related to empathy and compassion; harm and trauma-informed perspectives on healing and recovery; intergenerational trauma;

- a critical approach to the victim-survivor paradigm, victim-to-survivor and implied transitions, existence and survivorship;
- trauma-informed interventions, integrated approaches and best techniques in trauma recovery;
- victimological priorities in higher education and research; community voices and learning priorities, and program design;
- the inclusion of the voices of victims, lived experience, lived experience and knowledge creation, the scope and breadth of the field, an axiology of victimology, an axiological approach to victimology knowledge.

Whenever possible, my interpretation of participant commentary is avoided so that the meaning intended by the contributor is presented.

Priority One: The Making of Victims

Making sense of victimization means making sense of who becomes a victim, and how. Victimization can be incredibly complex. During a long-distance telephone conversation, Janet (pseudonym), an ex-RCMP officer and victims' services worker, stated that the stereotype of victims is often limiting and because of that is problematic. In reality, anyone, at any time, can potentially become a victim.

A person who is the crown prosecutor, for instance, can be mugged and then become a victim. You know, and if a person who's delivering services or as a part of the system who then become a victim just by absolute sheer bad luck. When a person has a base of education around what the impact of trauma is on the brain, the neurobiology of the impact. they have a better understanding of 'Oh I'm feeling this way because... 'I can't give a clear statement to police because...' When people who are in systems and delivering services also understand that anybody - all of us - at any given point in our life can become or may have been a victim of

something. That understanding makes us better at what we do and also helps us, should we become victims, to move forward in a way that is more helpful for us as individuals. (Janet - pseudonym)

Victim interaction with the justice system can complicate the trauma.

In terms of the justice system the reality is the justice system isn't designed to serve victims of crime. It's designed to deal with offenders. And victims you know... are witnesses. And they happen to be the witness who the thing happened to. But otherwise they're witnesses, and so the Crown has to maintain a certain distance from them so that they can do their best job. And so. I think it's... I'm speaking about something very specific here. But there are misconceptions too. People think the justice system is there to serve them. And. Sometimes it does but they... the way it does is really foreign to what they thought it was, or would do, or what it would provide for them. That's the most challenging thing of working with victims within the justice system is helping them to let go of what they believe the system will do for them. We work very much from... when I say we I'm talking with the global we... there's, there's a sense of the punishment. You know... that people look to the justice system to punish people. Then they have an idea of what punishment looks like and that the justice system has penalties, it's just with no teeth. There is baseline case law across the country and there are differences between a first time offender and a multiple offender. And so, all of these things are quite complex. And when we work from a punitive model instead of a restorative one then that sets victims up for further disappointment or further victimization. Sometimes police, I know this because I work with the police, they'll say we'll get him, we'll get him, you know he's [the offender] going away... and then he doesn't go away. And then they feel they've been lied to. (Janet)

Dale Spencer is a professor in criminology and published author on critical perspectives in victimology. During a distance conversation enhanced by video, Dale talked about how victim identities are constructed.

When we report on crime, this is one of the things that comes up on the news class I do, is that frequently victims are literally defined by that which just happened to them. So it's almost like a criminal is the author of what is over coded over this human that's experienced this traumatic event. And sometimes I believe that the reason we don't have victimology programs is because of this fact, that we seem to define victims by how someone, somewhere else has authored it in terms of their own identities. (Dale Spencer)

The social status of the victim is likely to be a factor in how that identity is defined.

Community activist Mary Arpin commented on how social status can result in very different societal responses to individuals who experience similar events.

There are class divides for victims. The direness of the situation can almost be invisible depending on how you carry yourself. An example I can cite is a woman who ran a restaurant. At least one of her parents was an academic. The police commandeered a whole area in the women's shelter to photograph her bruises from domestic violence but everyone else had to leave. She was a special case, a different class of abused woman who deserved and was afforded special treatment. I don't minimize her bruises, but many women have bruises.

Edna (pseudonym) was homeless as a young girl and was a victim of sexual assault. She recalled an earlier time and place:

There was an older man, homeless, who always came into a small local restaurant for a cup of coffee, maybe a little food. The owner of the restaurant was always kind. Never let him go away without something. There was another man, who sat quietly watching one day. I sat across from him. He looked at the old man with compassion and sadly said "he is society's debris. A throw away human being". I never forgot that. I was a throw away too.

Janet spoke about intimate partner violence and how gender, like class, can be associated with an expectation and even the likelihood of victimization. Our conversation took place over the telephone, thousands of miles apart. She spoke from her experience as a police officer and victims' services worker, and from years of working in a women's shelter.

I'm thinking of sort of the evolution of 'woman-battering' to now being called domestic violence. So that we include... men who are also subject to intimate partner violence. I think there is a danger if when we include and include, include, we dilute, dilute, dilute. That we actually step away from misogyny. We step away from... we don't get to talk about what... why men feel they can't talk about things that happened to them. I think that's where masculinity theory is part of the discussion too.

Jaime Mantesso is a nursing educator who came to a career in teaching after working as an emergency room nurse. We met in her office at the University of Regina. Jaime shared her observations from working with women victims of sexualized violence, particularly women with a background of sexual assault(s), street workers, poverty, and women with addictions.

Often, often that has been their environment and what they grew up with, where trauma was not the exception, that was part of what they endured and what some women might expect to experience in their day-to-day lives. (Jaime)

As suggested by Jaime, statistics that demonstrate the incidence of violent crime as she describes may be useful in helping to identify vulnerability but have limited value if the information is not accompanied by a deeper understanding of the societal contributors to trauma, victimization, and harm.

Child Maltreatment

Rita (pseudonym) is an Indigenous woman whose story of child maltreatment, including sexualized abuse, was shared with me over a period of months. Most conversations took place in the privacy of my home. It became a familiar space for Rita. Usually, she preferred to have one of my dogs at her side, head on her lap as she talked. Trust and relationship-building was an essential part of the sharing process.

For me, I just had to stop worrying about what people are gonna say or how they're gonna judge me, because that's all I ever did when I was young, was worry about how they were gonna judge me. I remember my care person, I don't want to give names, when she found out that I was being molested and she asked what he did to me and I told them what he did to me and what I did to him. Right there, she should've helped me, but instead she turned around and called me a pig. I should've been getting treatment there and saying "Hey, this is wrong. This is not right".

She continued:

Well, I think they should take any time, any time a kid... and it was me when I was a kid that opened up and said things, that admitted things and stuff. It should be taken seriously. Nobody takes anything seriously or they think, well, it's... Are they scared of what's gonna happen if they do report it? How many questions are they gonna ask? Whose names are gonna be mentioned? They're worried about themselves and not the child that is, in fact, injured already and... well, my term's fucked up already, from the abuse. Physical and... That's where the mental thing comes in, I think, the mental abuse, because nobody believes you, so it just continues and continues.

Rita talked about the risk-taking when a child discloses maltreatment to a trusted adult, and the adult fails to take appropriate action. She based this on her own experiences as a child.

People are worried about being called troublemakers and that they are wrecking a person's life because they reported it. It's like, "Oh, you fucked up my life because you reported".

Sometimes, in order to survive the traumatic event at the time it occurs, the memories are locked into regions of the brain as part of the traumatic stress response.

Leticia Racine talked about how removed she was from the memories of childhood sexual abuse.

Two years in a mental abuse center, I think it ended being two and a half, after all that. Then I got out, went into a treatment center. Turned eighteen in a treatment center, and that's when I realized I was sexually abused. But I remember saying in a group of girls, they were all talking about being sexually abused, and I was like, "I am so fucking lucky that I was never sexually abused". Saying that to myself.

Yeah, and he was my hero. I adored him, growing up. I would do anything for him. I didn't know he did that to me. I had just blocked it out so much. He was probably in his teens, thirteen, fourteen.

I asked Leticia if the person who sexually abused her knows she now remembers.

Yeah. Because I told our younger brother about the abuse when we were drinking one night - he got so pissed off that our older brother did that to me that he tore off

to where our brother lived and confronted him about it. That's how my older brother knew.. I haven't talked to our oldest brother since that time – 18 plus years ago now. I feel like I've worked through it where I have forgiven him. I mean obviously something happened to him, where his power is taken away.

Leticia suggested, sexual predators are “not just born that way, you know? [Nor] Born with those things, I think”.

I later met with Wendy (pseudonym), a victim advocate and trauma survivor, in a small coffee shop. We sat in a quiet corner and talked. She shared her experience of disclosure when a counsellor encouraged her to tell her adoptive mother about the sexual abuse she experienced while living in the family home.

I remember when I was young, I was in ***** and I told one of the staff what was happening when I was at my adopted parents. She said, "You know what? Did you ever tell her?" [My adopted mother] I said, "No." She's like, "Well, you should tell her." I was like, "No." For a while. She kept counselling me, right? I don't think they're trained counsellors there, but she kept counseling me. She's like, "You should call her and tell her what happened to you." She's like, "One day." I was like, "Okay." So, I called and I told her and my adopted mom was like, "That could never have happened to you. Don't say that. You're lying." I remember just shaking. That's when they had the long phone cords and I busted up the phone. Grabbed the cord and I started strangling the woman because she gave me a false belief that maybe for once my adopted mother was going to actually take my side. Be there for me.

Spurgeon Root is a trauma counsellor who supports exit strategies with gang members in the City of Regina. He explained his understanding of trauma as a causal factor in later criminal behavior. Spurgeon spoke at the community meeting and roundtable discussion.

I think we understand most of the behaviour is trauma based. For example, I have guy I was working with who has problems and the people he works with approach it from a bunch of different perspectives. So, from a legal perspective its 'don't do that tomorrow', from a health perspective 'don't do that because of risk of disease', from a relational counselling perspective it's problematic to engage in those kinds of relationships'. The reason he was doing it is because he qualified for PTSD

diagnosis and he had regular nightmares, waking up alone was horrible. So he did whatever it took to not wake up alone. So any other avenue of interpretation of his behaviour was not going to be helpful unless you were going to address the fact that the reason he was doing this was trauma.

Continued:

But that requires education to know that, here are the spectrum of behaviours you can get when there is PTSD or it has the symptoms that meet the diagnostic criteria. So I'm sure everyone who works like this has horrific stories of trauma. Certainly, people are acting out because of trauma and lack of treatment. Most of us have our own professional take on that, but as students of any profession that can be categorized the problem can be understood from different perspectives. But with education, the reaction to trauma, so many behaviours stem from trauma. The reason I looked into that model is because I'm a counsellor and I counsel people with trauma. If I didn't have that education I'm sure I'd be stuck in interpreting what they do and not what it stems from (P-CM-Spurgeon).

One such reaction to trauma can be evident in bullying behaviour. Rita described being on 'both sides' of the bullying relationship. This conversation took place in a restaurant. I asked her if she had been 'the mean girl'. She nodded her head.

One of them, yeah. But that was because it was either fight or be the bully. At first, I didn't want to, because I was abused and I didn't, but this was my place in the [Indian] residential school as well, was to stop that bullying, was to stop that being beat up and stuff, 'cause that's how I grew up, I was an abused child and I didn't want to be that anymore, so I did used to get bullied and then I just turned around and started fighting back and realized that I could fight, so I fought. And then-It made me feel a little more secure. More secure. I think I didn't fear getting beat up or caught in a bathroom or getting beat up. (Rita)

Trying to better understand, I asked Rita if her feelings of security came from feeling like she could fight back.

Cause I could defend myself. I felt more safe that I could fight back and then when I started fighting more, then I started to get the label of being a bully and picking on people, so they, in turn, decided to move me up a notch from intermediate to senior and told me to go try and fight up there, so I did. Me being five foot nothing, maybe even shorter now, 'cause I only stood five foot one, to go up there and fight was crazy. I guess I really just had to have three really good

battles and then I wasn't picked on, 'cause they knew that I would defend myself. So that was good, that was good that I didn't always have to fight, they just let it go. Let me be.

I asked Rita if fighting went against her own ideas of whether girls can fight, should fight, or would fight. She agreed that with boys, there seems to be an expectation that fighting can happen, and maybe will happen. With girls, many people are surprised that girls too can be violent. She said, "I don't know how I felt about that, but when I think about it now, I do feel girls shouldn't have been fighting. Girls are supposed to be prim and proper and all that". Her feelings of power and control were short-lived.

I knew that I could fight back, but growing up and getting all the residential schooling, getting into a relationship with a male partner, that power was taken from me right quick and in a hurry and since that, the man is... cause he's a caveman, so it was everything he said. His way or the highway, I guess.

I don't think I was really a big pushover, though. I spoke my mind and I'd say maybe my mouth got me into more trouble than it should, but I was able to speak up for myself still and whatnot. Things still happened to me and stuff.

We talked about how, in some ways, Rita learned to be really quiet and silent about the things that hurt the most, like the fact that in the Indian Residential School there were no loving relationships, no one who cared. However, in other ways, she took on the mean girl role and learned to scrap.

A defending role. Yeah, that's what it was. I never, ever... I guess I did say that I was a bully in grade school, but as I was maturing and getting into relationships and stuff, I think I took on that responsibility not to let a lot of bad things happen to me that happened to me when I was younger. Hence, the talking back and not letting that happen. More of a.. I can't describe it. More of a defending role for myself. (Rita)

Like Spurgeon Root, art therapist Cheryl-Ann Webster claimed a trauma-informed approach to bullying looks at the causal factors behind the behavior, rather than looking

at the behavior, and the person engaging in it, as the problem. Spurgeon further suggested, depending on the perspectives and education of the various people who may encounter youth who bully, a trauma-informed approach to the behaviour will greatly affect how the problem will be assessed and responded to.

Victims of Human Trafficking and the Sex Trade

Wendy's advocacy work is concentrated on helping victims of human trafficking and the sex trade. She shared her sense of optimism for the possibilities when people and communities work together.

About four years ago, I got involved with an international initiative involved in human trafficking. I could see there was a problem with who was getting charged, even though they were victims. So street workers challenged that and a couple of years ago things changed, so now the girls or people on the streets are actually the victims, and the John's are the ones being charged. So now the ones that are trafficking are being charged in the Toronto area. So a lot of small people got together and made change. And that's how I see this. Especially when a person in that area, is being a voice, and people all across Canada being a voice, we were talking about what's happening in the schools, and experiencing all of that, experiencing teachers not realizing what was going on at home, leading to being on the streets, in the jails, so looking at it now as an experienced person. Living a better life I guess.

Wendy began writing about her experiences.

One time I wrote to a social worker who had been a mentor to me and she asked if she could take it home to her class. And she took it and she came back and said everyone was in tears. Because they couldn't believe what I told them, what I feel. I told her look, this is their story, I feel it's my place to tell the story. One of my big things is agencies all working together, networking. I'm very community based.

Wendy speaks to many of the core concerns in the work of community-based experiential workers and advocates for victims of human trafficking and the sex trade.

Changes in the law and policing practices shifted so that the consumers and exploiters of street workers and trafficked humans are better understood as victims.

The sex trade exploits vulnerability in uniquely predatory ways. The stereotype of sex trade workers and victims of human trafficking often fails to recognize the potential for exploitation *because* of gender and the intersection of age, socioeconomic status, race, ability and so on. Edna grew up in a home raised by one professional parent (her father) and a full-time stay-at-home mother.

I grew up in upper middle-class suburbia and part of the reason the things that happened in my life were allowed to happen is because they could hide behind that shiny exterior, right? My parents. But it meant that when things fell apart, I got knocked up, but when things fell apart, it was total culture shock. I was tossed to the wolves on the streets of Toronto after first being forced to have an abortion. The abortion was traumatic... like that was the first rape. I was just a girl... I didn't have any life skills. I didn't have any experience. I didn't know anything.

Continued:

When I was on the street, if anyone suggested I should charge money for sex, I was horrified. Because good girls don't do that, right? But I would have survived a lot better if I had been able to do that instead. Instead of just giving my body away. It was always like trading for a bed to sleep in was better than selling sex for cash. The cops constantly tried to bust me – that was when it was the girls who were picked up and charged – not the johns. Plain clothes cops, hey baby, \$50? I think the cops who knew that area, the regulars, couldn't understand how I was surviving without charging for sex. The cops gave me a place for my anger though. Fuck you, fuck you... (Edna)

When the human rights of women and child victims of human trafficking are violated, the question of consent is irrelevant.

I still got badly battered and abused. I remember, I don't even know how I ended up in this man's apartment. Someone took me there for something and I probably followed like a lost puppy. They were a bunch of middle aged, in their 40s or maybe older guys. Waiting for me. Pigs. Smelled like cheap booze, cigarettes, and dirty sweat. I was 16, or maybe 17 by then. Looking back, this was probably

all arranged ahead of time. Looking back, maybe money exchanged hands but I didn't see any of that. I didn't see any of it coming. I was so naïve. The guy I came with disappeared. After they raped me, they threw me in, it was one of those upper level apartments with a long flight of stairs, and they just threw me down the stairs when they were done. Like a bag of garbage. I still feel sick to my stomach thinking about it all these years later. (Edna)

Advocacy and exit strategies for street workers and victims of the sex trade and human trafficking are vitally important.

You can see the trauma in so many kids. Victims and survivors have to be looked at as human beings. Experienced people are being used more. They are real. They know the reality. In the next 5 years, what will we look like? What will our streets look like? We need to do this for our children and our grandchildren. (Wendy)

Paul Donavon, a community-based outreach worker in Newfoundland, spent years working on exit strategies for vulnerable youth who 'age out' of social programs. Many youth and young adults who lose access to key youth service programs and social supports end up living in poverty, and street life becomes the reality for some. Paul talked about a collection of stories he is writing, the stories of seventeen young people he worked with over the years. The collection comes in response to a request to share his experiences as an outreach worker for student social workers. During our conversation, I was struck with Paul's sharp memory for detail, and in particular his recall of the names of young people he worked with, some of them many years ago.

There's a reason for that. It's because of one girl in particular. She was tough, street tough. I was determined to get through to her, but that takes time. No matter how harsh she was, how much she pushed back, I kept talking to her and every time I saw her, I said "Hi ****", and took it from there." It was later, after we connected and there was trust, when she told me it was partly because I always called her by name. She told me nobody else called her by name on the street. She was 'bitch', 'whore', you get the picture. I promised myself then I would always remember their names. Sometimes I couldn't do much, but I could remember their names. (Paul)

Often, the success of an exit strategy depends on the presence of experiential workers, like Wendy, who understand the challenges and barriers faced by those who want out.

Intergenerational Trauma

Shame is something frequently expressed by victims who recognize how their stories become the stories of their children, and the harm continues from one generation to the next.

My addiction got worse. I got to a place where those things I knew and cared about were starting to fall away and so in a sense, it was good that I lost my kids for those couple months before they got harmed or something. Who knows? But that's the thing. Even though everyone always says you're so hard. No one's going to love you or you can't love your kids. You can't even love yourself. You know what I mean? You always hear that. I always thought I know I love my kids. I know I do. So, yeah. (Wendy)

Yet despite great suffering, the strength to move forward and heal is often motivated by a love for the children of future generations.

I know what I've done wrong and I could've passed that knowledge on to my grandchildren too. Hopefully the effects of all the abuse and all the residential school stuff and the real family unit can be built and become normal again and not broken, because for me, going through residential school, I never really had the upbringing of two parent, a parent or anything. It was always caretakers that looked after the kids and stuff, and to say "I love you" just those words, I never grew up around that. (Rita)

I reminded Rita that earlier, when we first talked about residential school, she was uncomfortable thinking of her experience as a 'residential school' experience.

Well, yeah, 'cause I wasn't bullied or sexually molested or anything like how other people were. The only thing that I think I suffered from was learning the whole parenting skills from it and having that sense of family. So when I went...

and I didn't have that family upbringing and then it came to me having my kids at an early age not really knowing how to be a mom, a proper mom.

Months earlier, Rita believed that she hadn't suffered enough to really consider herself a victim of Indian Residential School. She corrected my use of the term victim. "Survivor, you mean" (Rita). I suggested her perspective sounded different, months later. I asked if she now allowed herself to honour those experiences differently, observing that it seemed as though she was more accepting of that as part of her history and her story.

Well, every little opportunity I have to talk about it, it kind of heals a bit, but it's sometimes just the shame to talk about it, and trust. Some of the things I shared with you, you must've really made me feel safe and I was able to trust you, to let you in to some of the things I've told you. (Rita)

I too, felt that trust was crucial to Rita feeling safe enough over a period of time to explore and share her story. The trust was built on reciprocity, genuine respect, and compassion.

Leticia's Story

What follows is a lengthy account of one woman's trauma and the consequential impact on her life. Leticia's story is not unlike that of so many Indigenous people who were separated from their families and communities as part of the colonial agenda of assimilation of the 1960s in Canada, known as the Sixties Scoop¹⁴. Patrick Johnson, a researcher for the Canadian Council on Social Development, first made reference to the term Sixties Scoop in a 1983 report that documented the apprehension of hundreds of

¹⁴ Please refer to Chapter Five for discussion of colonialism and the impact on Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Indigenous and Métis children from their homes, placing them into foster and adoptive homes and other residential settings where they were denied contact with their families (Johnston, 1983).

As stated previously, the direct and stark expression of Leticia Racine's narrative as an "ordinary victim" (Van Dijk, 2009), deserves to be shared in its entirety. Any attempt to edit, represent in summary, or even prioritize sections of what she shared would serve only to reduce what is vital to understand about her story, and the stories of so many others. At some points in the conversation, there was a repetition of statements. The emphasis was entirely that of the participant. There may be some inconsistencies in details whereby childhood memories were supplemented by information later obtained by the participant through court records and other sources. The recall of traumatic memories can be fragmented and imperfect due to the ways the brain responds to and processes traumatic events (See later in this chapter Priority Three, Neuroscience and Nature of Memory). Those inconsistencies do not, in my view as the researcher, detract from the substantive and expressive value of sharing the story as it was told by Leticia. Consequently, the conversation between me, as the researcher, and Leticia, as the participant, are shared as fully as possible. Editing of the conversation prioritized the removal of any of my comments that were not germane to the conversation. This is Leticia's story.

Leticia: Well, it was before I was even born because, my mom's husband at the time found out that I wasn't his, and she was eight months pregnant with me, and she... He beat the shit out of her with the butt end of a shotgun while she was eight months pregnant with me. Because... he said that if he ever sees me that he was gonna kill me, right? So that was the first time, I wasn't even born yet. So easy to say the rest is history, but soon as I was born, I was hidden. They tried to hide me with my aunties, and... There's lots of stuff that happened. I was in four foster homes before my... Before I was six months old, and I was six months old by the

time A [pseudonym for adoptive mom]¹⁵ got me. And when she got me I had bronchitis, pneumonia, and she said somebody had burned my mouth, somehow. I wouldn't take a bottle, so I wouldn't eat. She said that I was in pretty rough shape when she got me...

Continued:

Yeah. So I was in the foster care system for three years. I was with A, [adoptive mother] most of that time. And then P (pseudonym), my biological mother¹⁶, she ended up, getting me back. So two weeks into having to give me back, A would come and visit me, at P's house, and she had a bunch of kids running around, and she saw that A was overwhelmed. She asked her, "Do you want me to take your girl from you, for a while, just to help you out? Knowing your situation right now." And P said, "Yes." She willingly gave me back to A. The next day they filed for adoption for me. My mom finds out, my biological mom, and just is in an uproar. Right? And her brother, my uncle, was chief at the time, and-

Heather M.: So, she felt like her baby had just been stolen?

Leticia: Yeah, and I guess that's when the fight was on. They turned it into a very political, racist, race-based thing, because it was these white people taking away this little Indian kid. It was a reflection of what was going on with the Sixties scoop, with all these kids being taken away. They had found that out and they wanted to bring light to that. They wanted to stop that from happening. Right?

Heather M.: How did that impact your life, and how did it impact you as a girl and as a woman? How did that set the stage for you, and what happened to you in your life? You've experienced a lot of victimization.

Leticia: Yeah.

Heather M.: How old were you before you were adopted?

Leticia: I was... Before eight. But that... There's lots of stuff that happened between there. I was in four foster homes before my... Before I was six months old, and I was six months old by the time A got me. And when she got me I had bronchitis, pneumonia, and she said somebody had burned my mouth, somehow. I wouldn't take a bottle, so I wouldn't eat.

Heather M.: Were you in the hospital when she got you?

Leticia: Yeah, she had me taken to a hospital, yeah.

¹⁵ A is a pseudonym for Leticia's adoptive mother.

¹⁶ P is a pseudonym is Leticia's birth mother.

Heather M.: So how did that happen, who came in and rescued you from wherever you were?

Leticia: My adopted mom had seen my adoptive Dad's brother's wife, had me as a foster child. She didn't take babies, but I was on an emergency basis. My mom, P, and my adoptive dad, they went to visit them and that's the first time she saw me. According to her, she said, she fell in love with me right away, that's why she became a foster parent, she was eighteen years old.

Heather M.: She was young.

Leticia: Yeah.

Heather M.: She wouldn't have had any clue what she was getting into.

Leticia: Yeah, exactly. She began to foster parent, I was her first and only foster child, and she said I was just sickly. She said she took me to the hospital, and I was in the hospital for a while. She said I just about died, I don't know-

Heather M.: So how did you, because you said they tried to hide you at your aunties' first, then how did you end up in the system for foster care?

Leticia: They put me through...because that was the safest thing for them to do.

Heather M.: Okay.

Leticia: Is to put me in foster care.

Heather M.: So, someone surrendered you.

Leticia: Yeah. The newspaper clippings were all about this little Indian girl taken away from...stolen from her Indian people, by these big bad white people. And really it was just P loving me, I think. So my victimization started...I think I had a little break with A there for the first...for the three years that she had me. It started again, when my biological mom got me back, and then - And so the court case was on, the fight was on. We went through the courts for five years. In that time, A and my aunties had tried to come and abduct me, twice. One from school, and one from my home. And both times the police were called, my dad's family...they even talk about it today how where they had to bring out their guns and shovels to fight off these women who were trying to break in, to take me. I wasn't even there at the time, I had chicken pox, and was with my grandparents.

Heather M.: When were you aware, of any of this?

Leticia: I just remember fear. I wasn't brown, I wasn't Indian, these people... I guess I was when they tell me. I was always surrounded by white people. All I seen was white people. Until I looked in the mirror or seen a picture, I wasn't different.

Heather M.: You were in a Metis community, but you had a white adoptive mom.

Leticia: Yeah, but traditional. My dad had a trap line, and we had... you're raised on deer meat, and moose meat, all kinds of stuff. Yeah, they were traditional in that sense, but my dad was an alcoholic. There is a lot of alcoholism in that community, a lot of incest, and sexual abuse, all kinds of abuse, in that community.

Heather M.: So in some respects, your mom was white, but even moving forward legally, with this case centered on you, it didn't really capture the dimensions of your new life, and your new community. And was the fact that it was a Metis community acknowledged in the court process.

Leticia: Yeah, I think that is partly what saved the case, for my mom, was that, I would have that.

Heather M.: It wasn't just... you weren't being raise in a way that totally turned your back on Indigenous culture.

Leticia: Yeah, and I remember fear, just being petrified of being taken away, by these savage Indians.

Heather M.: Is that what you heard?

Leticia: Yes.

Heather M.: That's how you heard them describe your family?

Leticia: I pictured them as being drunken Indians, that just wanted to steal me away from my family. My mom... my mom never really raised me... my biological mom, she just had me and then sent me to my aunties. Reason that was for, didn't really matter to me at the time. She didn't want me, right? And so why was she fighting me... so was my uncles and, these people who were fighting for me. They didn't even know me, but I remember being scared of being taken away from my mom and dad. I was there when the kid... for the first four years of my life.

Heather M.: Well, that's where your love and safety was.

Leticia: Yeah, the only mom I knew, the only parents that I knew. So Indians scared the shit out of me. I was not to talk to Indians, because they are there to steal me. There was one visit that A got from me, during the whole court

proceedings. It was a huge, big deal. I remember my [adopted] mom, A, crying that I had to go to the visit. My dad had to take me up to this house. He walked me up to the house... I remember him shaking... I was just a little girl, he was walking me up to this house. He was just shaking. I looked up, and he was crying, and I was like, "Oh my god, my Dad is crying." I don't want to be here, I'm so fucking scared. I was.

He takes me up to the door step, and all these Indian kids, with colored skin, come running at me, hugging me, loving me, and kissing me up, saying, "We are so happy you are here." That kind of put me at ease, these kids because, kids are kids. I'm sure that was planned, though, but nevertheless it was good. But then I turned around, and my Dad was gone. Then I started getting scared. The kids took me in the house, and there was this white woman standing there, my uncle's wife was white, she was there, and that did help me. Seeing a white person there, amongst these Indians, and that was definitely planned out, as well. But then I look over, and there's A. She has the long braids, she's native, obviously, beautiful.

She comes up and hugs me and she's like, "I'm your mom and blah, blah, blah." So we sat down on the couch, and all of a sudden, I notice, in the room, this man comes up to me and it's the news people. She had the newspaper there... I was told just to sit down. I started unbraiding her hair, just playing with her hair, and this man was asking me all these questions. They ended up taking a picture of that, of me, and that was on the front of the newspaper the next day. At that visit my mom was like, "Don't you dare take any food from them, don't you dare drink anything that they give you, because they are going to drug you. Because they can drug you and they will take you back to, and you'll never see us again." That's what she told me, before... So I was petrified. These people were going to steal me, you know? I was scared. She said, "Don't you dare go anywhere with them." So of course, after I'm sitting there, and we had pizza, I went up to that woman because she was in the kitchen, my auntie, and I said, "I'm not supposed to eat anything you guys give me." And she asked, "Why?" I said because, "My mom said you guys might drug me." And she said, "no, don't be silly." That put me at ease, and I ended up having a piece of pizza and we had lunch there. Everything was okay. She took... we went to a yard sale, and that was another thing I would defy my mother about because, she told me, "Don't you go with them, they are going to take you." I was getting in the car, thinking I was being abducted, but we just ended up going to the yard sales and wherever. Just to spend time as a family together. Yeah, just a lot of fear growing up. Fear of being taken away.

And then happiness because, when we would... win the court case, they would win the court case and be happy. It wouldn't be very long lived because, there was... we were going to appeal.

Heather M.: Yeah. So then when did you develop an awareness of your own identity, as an Indigenous woman?

Leticia: I didn't for a long time. My dad was very ashamed of his *nativeness*. So I couldn't rely on him, I'd go to him because... he was somewhat my color. He was a little dark, he wasn't... in the pictures he was dark. I was always the darkest, of

course, but that was my connection with him. He was so ashamed, and that shame made me more ashamed, you know, "Why is my dad ashamed of... what's wrong with me?" It's like this big gaping wound. Stuck to your soul.

Heather M.: That wound is where so many predators crawl in, right?

Leticia: Oh, yes.

Heather M.: Because there is something for predators, it is like a magnet. It's like they sense the brokenness.

Leticia: Oh yeah, yeah, they recognize it.

Heather M.: You told me about being in northern Ontario, and being gang banged. I'm sure you've seen and experienced countless opportunities for being traumatized and broken. What does help you keep body and soul together, on a day to day, over the years, how have you survived it? What makes you a survivor?

Leticia: I think the drugs and alcohol helped me a lot, to numb that pain, so it wouldn't drive me absolutely insane. When someone would hurt me, I would just put it away somewhere, and ignore it. It had that ability to-

Heather M.: Disassociate.

Leticia: Yeah, disassociate. Absolutely, that's what it was. I've never, actually called it that, that's what it was. Because my mom, she kept threatening me. I was sexually abused, by my *****, an older *****. And my dad didn't love me, he fought for me so hard because he loved my mom. You know that, you get that. He loved his kids, he loves his two real kids. He didn't love me, so wanting that love and not getting it, being sexually abused, and then my parents divorced at thirteen, also having an alcoholic dad, he was an alcoholic as well. And my mom co-dependently fiercely.

Heather M.: How old were you when you were sexually abused?

Leticia: I don't remember, it was before I was five, though. Before I was five. And then-

Heather M.: Do you remember it, or do you just know it?

Leticia: Oh no, I remember it, yeah. But I know, also, that something more happened to me, in a foster home or something because, I have that physical trauma, you know? I just know something really severe happened to me. I don't know, I probably won't ever know because, I was a baby.

Heather M.: But you know about your burned mouth, if nothing else, right?

Leticia: Yeah, exactly. My mom always threatened me. I was an angry kid, you know? Because that sexual abuse I didn't remember until I was eighteen. They were always asking me, "Why are you so angry." That was a question through my whole freaking life. Why are you so angry? And I would want to know, and I wanted to tell them, I seriously wanted to tell them why I just didn't fucking know why I was so angry. I didn't know, I was just mad. I was in a treatment center. Going through withdrawal, I thought I was just dreaming or something. And I was like holy fuck... I remember. I was sixteen I was in ***** center, I did two years, for armed robbery. I spent two years in the Youth Centre - after I pulled off an armed robbery. The AR was so violent in those days that at 15 years old, the police got a special order from the courts to publish our pictures and names in the media, front pages, for three days. Both me and my best friend at the time, were Canada's most wanted at the age of 15! Under our profile pics, under my friend's name was "Armed" and under mine was "Dangerous"! I got two years. My picture was on the front of the paper at fifteen years old, for three days. My picture and my name because it was such a heinous crime. Me and my buddy -- he was "Armed", and I was "Dangerous". It was after this that I got out and started into heavy drugs and alcohol that I was still at the age where they could force me to go to treatment... where I turned 18 years old and began having flashbacks about my abuse

It was... she always threatened me, "I'm going to send you back to the system. I'll send you back to foster care and see how you like it." She did, when I was thirteen. Dropped me off on the front steps of the child family services. I was adopted - then put back into the 'system' at age 13yrs. Was in every foster home and every group home, at that time. They had to start putting me in foster homes outside the city - I always ran away. Always. I was a very angry kid. Had no grasp on consequences which makes me think my mom drank with me and I could have had FAE. Fetal Alcohol Effect. The abuse plus that would answer a lot of questions from my growing up that's for sure.

Heather M.: And were you the thankless, angry girl, who she had given up so much, and fought so hard for?

Leticia: Yeah. Oh yeah. Where is your gratitude girl? Why are you doing this to me? Life could have been so bad for you, if it wasn't for me. Why are you doing this to me right now? So that's when I met Indians for the first time. Yeah. Oh yeah.

Heather M.: It's like, "If I'm that, then I'll be that."

Leticia: Yeah, and I took full force because now... in a group of foster homes Indians were there more than whites. I turned that race thing back now, I became a complete racist. I hated white people, you know? It was all about Indians, it's cool to be Indian, finally. I took that full force, not knowing what an Indian was, other than the fact that they were... you were supposed to be tough and strong.

Heather M.: Did that give you a place, where your anger, felt like it fit finally?

Leticia: Yeah, oh yeah. And I was always the leader of anything. I was always the one leading the groups to do this or do that. I had no mercy on people. I remember taking, numerous times taking, whatever I had, a glass, a hammer, a knife to kids' throats, and robbing them. Yeah, I was a pretty violent kid.

Victimization and victim identity are constructed within a complex network of societal factors that contribute to or are causal in the ways traumatic events are defined and experienced. Nevertheless, the victim construct as a stereotype of vulnerability fails to take into account the sometimes-random events that result in or produce the victimization-criminalization continuum, and for Leticia that eventually led to her becoming an ideal offender (Dell & Kilty, 2012) involved in an armed robbery. In her words, she was a “pretty violent kid”. In Leticia’s case, the Sixties Scoop and other instruments of colonialism contributed to the court decision to remove her from her birth family and community. Her unresolved childhood sexual trauma, early physical abuse, her experiences with racism and resulting identity confusion intersect in ways that could complicate and challenge the resilience of any victim. Leticia’s vulnerability and her ability to recover from trauma is deeply rooted in social structures beyond her personal control or design. The next priority takes a closer look at participant perspectives on making sense of victimization, and the victim or survivor identity.

Summary and Discussion

Priority One looks critically at the social construction of victims, asking first, who are the victims? Victimization is defined and constructed socially and is situated both within individual experience and more broadly within social systems, structures (O'Connell,

2008) and material entanglements (Montforte, 2018). For example, Edna described her sensory memories of being raped where the men “smelled like cheap booze, cigarettes, and dirty sweat” and what seemed to be a more visceral memory of being thrown down a flight of stairs “like a bag of garbage”. She described how later, the touch of a therapist’s finger “was a lifeline”. Mary observed how social status impacted not only how police responded to a woman who was a victim of domestic violence but displaced other victims in order to create a more private physical space to photograph her bruises. The childhood maltreatment and loss of identity Leticia experienced is entangled with the disruptive political practice that became known as the Sixties Scoop, influenced by colonialism and racism. A diffractive analysis (Barad, 2007; Hill, 2017) supports a nuanced appraisal of the broad social and relational dimensions of victimization.

Moreover, when victimization is an expression of the social dimensions of trauma through abuses of power and control, human rights violations (Quinney, 1972), exploitations, state and systemic oppression, human vulnerability and marginalization (Muncie, 2000), the nuanced stories of individuals can be therapeutic for the teller (Roberts & Erez, 2004) while helping to build bridges of understanding for the reader (Van Dijk, 2009). Those bridges can link past events with the present as is the case when, for example, stories like those shared by victim participants like Leticia and Rita connect colonialism, Indian Residential Schools and the Sixties Scoop, with intergenerational trauma and other sequelae to victimization (Dell & Kilty, 2012).

Making sense of victimization means also making sense of who becomes a victim, the formal status of victims in justice systems and processes, and reconciling early, positivistic victim stereotypes or typologies with notions about victim culpability

(Christie, 1986; Burgess, Regehr, & Roberts, 2013). As ex-RCMP and victims' services worker Janet claimed, the reality is that at any time, any human being can become a victim. Nevertheless, according to statistics reviewed more extensively in Chapter Four, women, children and youth are the primary victims of violent crime, sexualized assault and human trafficking (RCMP Criminal Intelligence, 2016). According to police statistics available at the time of this report, 68.5 percent of all trafficked victims in Canada are Canadian citizens, predominantly women and girls between the ages of 15 and 24.

The alarming numbers of victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation are met, nevertheless, with a sense of optimism by victims advocate and experiential worker, Wendy. She described, as an example, how community-based efforts led to a much-needed policy change for the protection of street workers in Ontario, changes grounded in a commitment to recognize how gender intersects with socioeconomic status, race, ability and other vulnerabilities are real factors in sex work. Wendy chooses to concentrate her efforts on advocacy and the creation of exit strategies for street workers and victims of the sex trade and human trafficking as is consistent with the recommendations for services made by Boyer and Kampouris (2014) and the *Native Women's Association of Canada*. Paul, an outreach worker from Newfoundland, worked one-on-one with youth and young adults. Simply by recognizing each person by name, Paul was able to connect in ways others had not.

Priority Two: The Implications of the Victim-to-Survivor Transition

Survivorship has a lot to do with luck. Everybody is a survivor regardless of how they've integrated it. It doesn't include any of the systemic issues. It seems to, it's

just as easy to describe someone as a survivor as it is a victim. You don't have to deal with those issues. (Mary Arpin)

The eagerness with which the survivor identity is embraced, and the victim identity rejected, is suspect in the absence of a sustained critical analysis. The discourse of survivorship claims to reflect a strengths-based perspective of resilience and resistance. The focus is shifted away from the systems and structures of oppression that intersect and contribute to the marginalization and oppression of vulnerable people, and even construct victimization, to one of individual agency and claims of emancipatory choices.

I understand it this way... victimization is relational to others. Survival is relational to self. I am a victim or survivor – these are identity politics. The origin of the word politic, is from the Greek word *politikos* – the voices of many, the voices of the city. (Matheos Kontopidis)

Mary Arpin, a community activist and victim of gendered violence, and Matheos Kontopidis, an immigrant and activist, independently challenge the notion that a shift from victim to survivor identity offers any meaningful, tangible transition that enhances the quality of life for those who experienced trauma. The survivor construct may contribute to the alienation of the individual. Both assert that survivorship is a false construct of resistance and defiance and fails to inherently contribute to an individual's sense of connectedness to community, culture, and to others.

The survivor construct means you don't have to put any work into the individual and how they reconcile the victimization. You don't have to address change. (Mary)

When inherent systems and structures of oppression, such as colonialism, racism, and sexism remain unchallenged and unchanged, the construct of survivorship may do little more than reinforce minimalist narratives of people who are portrayed as being

diminished by trauma – people who now move forward in isolation and individualism.

Matheos rejects the idea of *survivor* as a valid affirmation of living.

Survival says, I'm alive and I have systems in place - like some kind of life support. Survival is minimalist. (Matheos)

Nevertheless, survivorship has gained traction. Although the word survivor attempts to reframe victimization in an effort to move away from perceptions of weakness and culpability, conventional attitudes may prevail.

I'm thinking of sexual assault for example, that survivor is attached almost right after the event and having survived it doesn't have any substance in terms of the wrong done or absencing their complicity in it. It may even reinforce that you were complicit because you weren't able to stop it. And socially that is still put on people because surviving doesn't address responsibility or complicity problems. It may reinforce the belief you don't have to change those attitudes or systems. The onus is on the individual to create safety for themselves. Like what you wear. That's still happening in the schools where young children - girls mostly are sent home from school for what they wear. Those attitudes are still alive and well. (Mary Arpin)

Claiming a survivor identity can be a space from which to push back from, a way of recognizing the relationship between personal injury and larger social issues like racism and exploitation. Wendy works as an advocate for women and children who were trafficked or sexually exploited. Although she does not necessarily embrace the survivor identity, she talks about vocalizing the anger.

The brokenness. It's still a part of who I am. It's not even... Sometimes I realize it's not even my brokenness that makes me respond with anger. It's even part of my healing. I don't know. I look at people because I have a lot of friends who have been exploited and are hurting and we always see them hurting, feeling sad, feeling angry. I think we're a lot more vocal now and a lot of people that are broken they just don't talk about it because that's... You know what I mean? I think the anger... it's a gift also. (Wendy)

It is nevertheless troubling when the stigma of victimization remains unchallenged, as do the power relationships that contributed to it. Mary, after careful reflection on the questions, returned to what can be positive in embracing survivorship.

My sense is that, in a context, I can embrace survivor, the term... but for me, the context has to be, survivor within a communal experience, within a communal oppression, because the victimization, when looking at social, economic, race realities, victimization rears its head in so many facets. So that if I can say that, 'I am a survivor' I'm looking at that survivorship within a context, and not as an individual survivor, but as part of my community, and my community is surviving. If it's viewed that way, then I can see it as a strength for moving forward, for clearly seeing the oppressor for what it is, and the facets that contribute to that oppression. So, I can see, survivor in the same light as I can see raising my fist, and saying, "Power to the people!" I can see it as a rallying call, but only as a recognition that, 'I am a human being'. We can move forward to that saying, having dispensed with the sense of identity, that, 'Yes, I am human', and to be considered a human within sort of the progression of human rights, to the point where I can say, my people have survived. I am a survivor. I'm a survivor, because I am resilient, and that takes incredible strength. I am part of this particular oppressed community, being treated as a savage, or being treated as a nonhuman, but my resilience has allowed me to keep, to the extent possible, my identity, my spiritualism, my oral stories, my creation, my worldview. It's allowed me to somehow keep that, no matter how brilliant they were, at trying to beat it out of me. So I can see that as a positive, the term 'survivor'.

However, that's not how it's used. It's used, and again, sadly, it's being borrowed by those communities whose resilience is phenomenal, but how it's viewed is, I have survived this as an individual and perhaps that's really intrinsic to privilege, whereby, privilege... what rests with privilege is the fact that I, as an individual, count. So I don't have to be a part of a community of restraint. My strength is in my individual world, is in my privilege, is in my, yeah. So, we say that, 'I am a survivor' but, by virtue of saying that, 'I am a survivor', we ignore the systemic facts that, as a group, we're not surviving. (Mary)

The stigma of victimization is therefore reinforced when it remains situated within individuals. Matheos argued that the stigma should be more accurately attached to the actions of the victimizers. He observed how, at times, the actions of victimizers are praised as virtues as is the case, for example, of priests who molest and violate children

while the church turns a blind eye and yet, the offenders continue to be protected and held in positions of status and high regard in the community.

The Stigma

The discomfort expressed by victims over the meaning attributed to the word ‘victim’, cannot be overlooked. In a previous chapter, ex-RCMP officer and victims’ services worker, Janet, talked about gendered expectations of safety, and how men are socialized to think of themselves in terms of strength and weakness.

The roles of men, expectations of being strong. My most difficult clients are men. As a rule. Because they have not been socialized from birth to expect to be victimized whereas girl children are. From a very early age there's this protection that's put around them. They're given all the warnings. Things to look for things to look out for, and boys are sent out saying you're tough, you can handle this. So. When things happen to them they don't understand why all the things they've been told weren't true. They aren't safe. Any safer. Whereas when it happens to young women or girls, and it's like oh yeah, this is what I was told would happen. It doesn't mean that there's no trauma, don't get me wrong, but there's not as much of a surprise. (Janet)

Gord is a study participant who was sexually assaulted as a 16-year-old boy. He talks about associating weakness with being a victim. His perceptions of weakness are shared by Rita.

Thinking of myself as a victim goes against the grain. It goes against how I think of myself as a man. I don't want to be thought of as a weak, pathetic victim. As a man I want to think of myself as strong enough to move beyond that. I'm not sure the word survivor changes that. (Gord)

Well, victim just feels like you're weak. That you know that you're weak and stuff and at the time, you're a victim when it's happening to you, but after you've lived through it and stuff, then I think should be a survivor, 'cause you've learned to live and survive with what's happened to you. That's my difference I've seen. (Rita)

Cheryl-Ann Webster, art therapist and victim of childhood sexual assault, explains how the traumatic event may occur in the past, but the trauma continues to impact her life in the present.

The term survive implies to me that I have overcome a trauma and the trauma no longer impacts any aspect of my life. For example, if I survive cancer then the cancer is gone from my life. I survived an ectopic pregnancy. I am no longer pregnant. I am no longer in danger. However, I did not survive the trauma.

The trauma is not over, and its effects live on. I had life-saving surgery. I have the scar, but my life was saved and the incident is in the past. I have trauma especially around sexual abuse. I find that the pain is in the present the trauma impacts the present. It is not just the scars from healing, it is ongoing and filters through very many aspects of my life. I am still a victim, and there was still a perpetrator. I do not let the perpetrator continue to victimize me but that doesn't mean I'm a survivor. I do know in my heart the word survivor annoys me. I guess in some ways victim annoys me to but I want the perpetrator to hear the harshness of the word victim. (Cheryl-Ann Webster)

Yet for Rita, identifying as a survivor strengthens her sense of herself.

For me survivor works, because... Survivor works because I've learned to cope with my abuse all these years, all these years. With learning with the residential school, being abused, both mentally and sexually and physically, raising my kids, all the ups and downs and trials and mistakes and could've, would've, should'ves, I feel that I'm a survivor of all that. (Rita)

What is often missing in the victim/weak and survivor/strong discourse is a critical analysis of the implied societal meaning of these words and the power relationships they uphold.

It's the idea of being stuck that I think is the problem. None of that really matters because it won't stop people from making an association with those words, and it doesn't address any of the core issues. (Gord)

The stigma¹⁷ of victimization becomes a barrier to accessing resources needed in the recovery process¹⁸ and to fully exist with dignity as human beings. The media has a major role to play in the reinforcement of, or challenge to stereotypes.

Media and Pedagogy of the Masses

Media is arguably the most powerful instrument in a public pedagogy of the masses and social media platforms exponentially speed up the dissemination of information and dis-information alike¹⁹.

I think media is a huge untapped, unchecked, unqualified element of our society right now. There's no filter. (Delores Mullings)

Delores Mullings quickly grounded the discussion in what happens in her community and how media represents what is reported and by whom, and at the same time how controlling interests determine content.

If we look for example at the perspective of the police officer, there's a lot of things. There are a lot of intricacies there. I'm black, where I go immediately when I see those kinds of things in the media is *Black Lives Matter*. I know what happens in my own community and some of the effects that we've seen but I also know that people without my experience go to a different place, Blue Lives Matter. I think for me, it's not only a matter of perspective. I think it needs to be a critical perspective. I need to be able to see other than Black Lives Matter just for argument's sake. In my thinking about the media, I also see who is reporting the news, who owns the media and who the front faces are at least of who is reporting in the media. I also see how different bodies are treated in the media. Here's an example that comes to mind. When Loretta Saunders, the Aboriginal woman went missing and was reported murdered the media attention was very different when people thought that she was a white woman. When they found out that she was an Aboriginal woman, the media reporting dramatically shifted. The way her murder

¹⁷ According to the Canadian Mental Health Association, stigma is a negative stereotype and discrimination is the behaviour that results from this negative stereotype (Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA), Ontario, 2018).

¹⁸ See Fattah (1989) in Chapter Two.

¹⁹ See Social Justice and an Ethic of Compassion in Chapter Five.

was reported was different and reports of her life in the media became significantly less. I look at those pieces of information when we hear reports of horrendous crime situations. In Aboriginal communities, we see children dying by suicide all the time. How is this reported as opposed to when some other tragedies happen and the bodies of the victims are different racial groups. That's where I go when I think about what the media does. I think about who is representing the story, what is that person's perspective and how would it be different if they had different experiences or they had a critical approach? (Delores)

I immediately connected the story of Loretta Saunders to how conventional and social media contributed to bias and stereotypes in the case of missing Indigenous children in Regina, Saskatchewan.

I think of Tamra Keepness (Regina Police Service, 2013), the little Aboriginal girl who went missing. It's been what, 10 years or 11 years now? The whole social response around her disappearance was very different than what it has been when little white children disappear. Just this last week there was a seven-year old First Nations boy who went missing here in Regina. He was located Friday afternoon. This is a little seven-year-old boy who was gone overnight. The police release about this was just, 'We don't think there's anything bad happened to him, just because of his age he's vulnerable, we'd like to find him'.

I'm thinking my grandson's five. The missing boy is only two years older than him. I have a little eight-year-old granddaughter and I cannot imagine the rage I would feel if my child was gone overnight and didn't know where she was, yet that seemed to be the total response. Even when they found him, there wasn't even really much of an update.

This is why talk about the critical, the importance of critical perspectives, I agree emphatically as well. I also think that critical pedagogy from an educational perspective has really developed some very good strategies for transformational learning. If there is to be a challenge to biases and stereotypes and discriminatory beliefs and practices, I think there needs to be some really good pedagogical tools at our disposal to help facilitate that. I think often, people need to learn how to think critically and there's a process for engaging in that learning. It's not just about teaching critical perspectives. When talking about people's inherent biases, world views of a just world, these are deep and core values in so many respects. (Heather M.)

Thomas Hartford focused the conversation on the harm caused by iterations of stereotypes that reinforce bias and discrimination.

I agree. I think we're really challenged. I think one of the problems, I think it's a multi-fold problem. It's a reinforcing prophecy to some degree that we end up with specific cognitive biases and therein a world wrought with biases. I think some of the biases are relatively nondescript and others are catastrophic. I can't remember who it was, there was a recent media post though where they were essentially demonstrating examples of cognitive biases in one of the states. There was a black man who had been murdered by a white man who self-declared that he murdered this person. The media's entire focus, they spent almost no time focusing on the white person who had done the murder and they spent most of the time focusing on whether or not the victim had a criminal record of any kind. I think we see that and I think we also see it reflected in the relationship that the people have in a community with their first responders. (Thomas)

The power of media can nevertheless be refocused in ways that evaluate stigma and contribute to efforts to reduce trauma and prevent harm as experienced by vulnerable people.

Harm Prevention and Challenging the Stigma

Hugh Gibson is the producer of the movie documentary *The Stairs* that looks at the lives of three social workers, Marty, Greg and Roxanne, who each survived decades of street-involvement and now work in their old neighbourhood in the city of Toronto. The documentary draws on their experiences and the work they do with others. Filmed over five years, *The Stairs* documentary examines the stigma of living in society's margins and challenges stereotypes by sharing intimate portraits of the people Hugh came to know and love. *The Stairs* debuted in 2016 and was recognized by the Toronto Film Critics Association as Best Canadian Film. I met with Hugh in 2018 while he was in Regina, Saskatchewan at a showing of the movie. We met over lunch at his hotel. Our conversation spanned across several complex issues relevant to the study, including stigma, harm prevention, the role of media in how people who live in the margins are

portrayed, and education. Most significantly, we discussed how crucial it is to directly include the voices and perspectives of the people with lived experiences and to consult with stakeholders.

The conversation between Hugh Gibson and I, as the researcher, is one of two conversations shared in this dissertation. I chose to include most of our conversation as Hugh's description of his years of interaction and trust-building with the community and people filmed in his documentary allows the reader to gain a nuanced insight into the lives of people who live with the stigma of addiction.

The Stairs - Hugh Gibson

Hugh: At one point Regent Park, I'm told, had the biggest concentration of street services of anywhere in Canada. I don't know that that's true quite anymore but there's a lot going on in that area. So I embarked on making these videos and that was my introduction into the world of harm reduction which I didn't know really anything about before that. I didn't ... even though I've lived in Toronto my whole life, I didn't even really know much about that neighborhood of Regent Park to be perfectly honest. I had a very steep learning curve and that's also how I met many of the people who came to be involved with the stayers who were subjects and what happened was ... one crucial component to making the videos was that the agencies in there in my opinion in their great wisdom had an idea that the videos are going to be in the client's words.

Often for pieces like this, it's going to be the ED or "the voices of experts" perhaps people who are media trained and now give you kind of what you expect to hear Their idea was it's going to be in the words of the people who use the programs and they're going to just speak from the heart and it ended up being just a one-on-one thing. This is a small affair. I was the crew, that was it. It just ended up being me one on one with people or me filming a group meeting. It was very, very intimate and I made really strong connections with people. I suppose part of it was the fact that I went into it being unjudgmental and curious, wanting to know more and the fact that I needed them to sort of navigate this so much.

Heather M.: What enabled you to be open and not judgmental moving into it?

Hugh: It was just meeting the social workers who hired me and learning about the programs at first and just having an open mind and [I] wanted to learn more

and recognizing like that ... I had heard of InSite²⁰, I knew that needle exchange was a thing in Vancouver, but I didn't know that it was a thing in Toronto. I didn't know that street outreach was a thing in Toronto. I had no idea that these services even existed. I had an idea, which I am confident is common to most people, that if someone has an addiction issue, you go to a treatment center and the story ends there or it doesn't.

Heather M.: If you really want to quit, that will be it.

Hugh: Right exactly, that's sort of the part of the narrative that I think we've been fed over the years. In reality, it's quite a bit different. I wanted to know more, and I wondered well why don't I know about this? Why haven't I heard about any of this that's going on? The more time I spent in that area and thinking about these types of things. It is so much different than what I think people have been led to believe just in a really, in broad strokes. It was quite eye-opening. And, of course, the people first and foremost were really remarkable. I really took to them, I think they took to me, it opened up a lot. They saw the process of participating in these videos as it became like a kind of cathartic thing. For some, it was an opportunity for artistic self-expression.

[pause]

Opportunities for self-expression can be quite limited. So, they're doing these videos and spending time with me, it became something personal for me. I became emotionally invested but even perhaps even more importantly, so did the subjects and they said, we said together "It can't end here, we should do something more." And then what could that be, what could that look like. That was the genesis for this and then the educational films, they did turn out well. The community was very pleased with them and how they were represented and how they were involved in a meaningful way in the whole process. They felt respectfully dealt with for lack of a better term.

Heather M.: This led to your decision to produce the documentary, *The Stairs*.

Hugh: I try to do a lot of different things in the movie. I think in subtle ways to sort of show this type of narrative in a different way or show at least different from what I'm used to seeing. Where to start? There're many different things. One simple one would be like the placement of the camera. I found that in a lot of other pieces on similar topics, the camera sort of tends to look down at the subject. And what implications are that in the mind of the audience? "You're looking down on

²⁰ InSite is a community-based safe injection site program that began as an initiative of The Portland Hotel Society (PHS) (2018) in Vancouver, BC. PHS was founded by Liz Evans, a psychiatric emergency nurse who was determined to fight for social justice, human rights and social inclusion. The Portland Hotel in Downtown Eastside Vancouver at the corner of Carrall and Hastings St., was home to people who faced intense discrimination as active drug users.

the person.” You know what I mean? So, it's always that eye line whenever there's a face to face interview.

Heather M.: Yeah, I noticed that. You feel like you're there as part of the dialogue and not just in that removed way.

Hugh: Yeah, so it's a subtle thing, but I think over the course of the movie, it sinks in like you're not ... you're talking it like a person, you're not talking to the author. And then actually another instance, maybe this had more of an unintended consequence, but when we see Marty injecting at the end of the film, near the end of the film, there's also a tried and true conventional way to film such a scene. I think you're used to seeing what I term needle porn where you just do a close up on the thing going in and that's supposed to elicit some kind of reaction and then you cut to the reaction of the person. We've all seen it many, many times. So, again, I wanted to do something different, and so it's a wide shot and it has a sort of a different impact, and a lot of people comment like, “Oh, it felt like it was, I don't know, like a security camera angle or something like that.” I don't know, but-

Heather M.: Were those editing decisions you made after or had you conceptualized that going into the shoot?

Hugh: Well the way its shot is done very deliberately. I mean to frame it in a wide angle, not isolated like that, no, that's very deliberate to make the experience feel very different because it means something different to the person that we're seeing, and also to Sushi who you see injecting later on. Like that scene as well I just felt like I've never seen a scene... I don't think I've ever seen a scene where just people are just using drugs and it's just as normal as if you and I were talking or playing cards or having a drink and hanging out on the weekend. It's just this is their reality, this is what they do and maybe Roxanne is there in case you should overdose. You know, there's someone there to look after her.

Heather M.: Kind of like the designated driver.

Hugh: No, but seriously, I mean a lot of people who do overdose and die, they do it because they were alone. And if they had someone with them, it's quite simple to administer Naloxone and to save the person's life, is very preventable. But the fact is people are ashamed and they do it alone and that's the outcome for too many people. But I never seen a scene like the one with Sushi and Roxanne where it was just completely normalized. So, these were aesthetic decisions going in to sort of address some of these different ways of seeing and to sort of humanize the lifestyles that have been dehumanized. That's like the fundamental idea behind the film.

Hugh: There's other things like the way the narrative is structured to take place over a long period of time, in the typical say TV program, TV doc that you might see or a news program. You're only seeing a very small snippet about the

person. You're not spending a long time with them. It makes it very easy to like quickly judge them and think you know everything or you know, and on and on and on. An advantage for me is that I could spend a long time with these people, really getting to know them. And isn't that a different side of things that we haven't seen? Really understand where they're coming from and all the years that led up to this point in their own personal narrative? That's something that I hadn't really seen.

Hugh: And then another really crucial one was the fact that when we do see the characters in the film using drugs, it's all at the end. And by the time we see it, we already know each person really well. We know where they're coming from, we know all sorts of things about them and we also know implicitly that drugs for them, it's just one aspect of their complex lives. I would say in all ... the vast majority of other pieces, it's one of the first, if not the first thing you see about that person is that you see them using drugs immediately when they're introduced on screen.

Heather M.: They're doing the bad thing.

Hugh: And okay, they are identified as the drug user. That is what they are about for the rest of the film. That comes with all sorts of associations, negative ones we'll say most likely. So that was something that I very deliberately did and in fact discovered over the course of editing certain things about myself, and my own preconceptions. I'll give you an example, like there were other scenes in the film where I had footage of people using drugs, but they never appeared in any other scene. They were just there in the one scene and it was used ... they illustrate certain things. But I realize that in some ways keeping that material in the film was going to ... maybe they're serving as a prop and maybe I'm being guilty of some of the things that I'm trying to counteract, so I cut them out and just left it how it is, with just the people we know really well. And I think that speaks more to the movie I was trying to make.

So those are some big ones, I'm sure there's many others. There's different narrative strategies and different ways of seeing, but it was something that I was thinking about constantly throughout the film.

Heather M.: Do you think that ... What are the opportunities for people to learn those ways of seeing and to reflect and to make informed ethical decisions like the one you just described about not letting people just serve as props?

Hugh: I don't think I have any easy answers, I think it's up to the individual. You know, much in the way that I didn't want to have the voices ... this is another one, there are no voices of experts. Another thing out of many that I take away from the educational films is that you're going to have a 90-minute movie and it's just going to be these people. And they are the experts really, but we're not going to have the perspective of the nurses, the police, et cetera, et cetera, because we've seen it before. What are they going to add? They're certainly not more interesting

individuals that ... but we'll just have a film where we only hear from the users themselves.

And I also didn't want to include narration, telling people what to think. I definitely want people to reach their own conclusions, and many people reach very different conclusions. Some people think it's a really optimistic film, some people think it's extremely depressing. I've all different ranges and I actually think that that's good, and it's up to the person and what they bring to it and to think about it later on. But I don't know, I mean, that's not really a helpful answer to you.

Heather M.: Well, I mean it is. It is in many ways actually.

Hugh: I'm after ... I'm trying to make it like a work of art, a piece of cinema. I'm not trying to tell people what they should think. These are the things that I observed over five years and I want to show something different and put something out in the world that I think maybe didn't exist quite like this before. And if people are inspired to look into whatever aspect move them the most, then I think that that's fantastic.

Heather M.: And do you think journalism, news journalism has the capacity to do that, to share with an audience without spinning, interpreting ... without interpretation, without attempting to engage in representation which is what the people who you talked about leaving out because that would have been a representative view, right?

Hugh: Yeah.

Heather M.: Do you think that can be accomplished with day to day media?

Hugh: I think that it's hard in the current climate. People are on deadlines and need to bang stuff out quickly, new stories. I think the people maybe with the language that they use or the way that they shoot things, I don't think it's necessarily a deliberate thing where they're stigmatizing, but I think that it's an ingrained thing that they sort of default to. But if they knew, if they were cognizant of like the ramifications of some of the things that they did, I think that they would avoid it more.

Heather M.: Does it need to be ... I mean getting back to conventional formal education here, where can some of these concepts be introduced in a way that doesn't preach, but at least exposes people to some of the considerations that might make a difference in the ways that they do what they do?

Hugh: I wish I had an answer. I wish I had an answer.

After reviewing the transcript of this conversation, Hugh responded with one final comment.

In terms of anything to add, at the end, you ask about news media and formal education. I'd have suggested that stakeholders be consulted regarding things like language. For instance, the Drug Policy Alliance in the US published a Drug-Use Glossary for Elected Officials (Drug Policy Alliance, 2018).

Hugh believes language awareness is a simple way to reduce stigma, but also an important one.

Survivor Colonialism

The participant Matheos Kontopidis suggested it is insufficient to view colonialism and its instruments of oppression and trauma through the minimalist lens of survivorship. He suggests that the survivor identity is a colonial construct. If survivorship is examined critically, the construct fails to achieve significant political and relational change. It has no impact on human rights for instance. Matheos' perspective is informed by his experience as a Greek immigrant, coming from a country that had already felt the impact of colonialism. He articulated deep concern for Indigenous peoples in Canada where the colonial intent was genocide²¹.

Think about it... to say I exist as an Indigenous person, instead of saying I survive as an Indigenous person. Unless there is genocide. And then there are no survivors. I exist. To say I exist is, I think, an axiom for independence and self-determination. I exist, therefore I am, and the possibilities are unlimited.
(Matheos)

Matheos argues that even the victimization is colonialized.

The loss of language, land, resources, and culture become relegated to events of the past, the status quo. Being a survivor is not enough.

²¹ See Woolford & Benvenuto (2015) in Chapter Six.

Although survivorship may be intended to benignly express something about the impact of victimization that the victim construct cannot, prevention and recovery is firmly situated within the individual and society bears little accountability.

Delores Mullings is an associate professor in the School of Social Work at Memorial University in Newfoundland. Her work is “centered under the umbrella of anti-black racism”.

Through a critical race orientation, I explore Black mothering, Black queer older adults, trans-nationalism, settlement and integration, and so on and so forth. My teaching is grounded in community-engaged pedagogy, and student-centered learning. Every time I have a class, I talk about how we are a so-called first-world country. And, we have groups of mostly Aboriginal people, who cannot drink the water that runs through their tap every day. (Delores Mullings)

The state-sanctioned victimization of Indigenous people in Canada has a lengthy history with genocide as its objective. The loss of land, culture, and languages anchored in oral traditions. As Leticia, Rita and Wendy (participants) all share, the systemic victimization hasn't stopped for many. Globally, oppressive practices rooted in colonialism continue to affect mass numbers of peoples, including immigrants with their children who arrive from countries already devastated by war, socioeconomic disparity, persecution, and human rights violations. Their very existence is threatened.

Summary and Discussion

The participant discussions focused on the victimization–survivor continuum and more specifically, on how the survivor construct evolved slowly. Conversations were followed by periods of critical reflection by each key participant in the discussion. I took care to share ideas among each contributor when conversations with everyone were not

possible to accommodate. At each point in the discussions, participants felt more confident that they had identified the deep sense of discomfort each felt with the survivor construct, and why. With the participants for whom the discussion was relevant in order to achieve a critical breakdown of experiences and knowledge, several conversations were required (Lehrer et al. 2011). The relative absence of evidence of critical analysis of the survivor construct in the literature is troublesome (Foucault, 2012). The discussion problematized the survivor construct in ways that build on existing resistance to discourse that situates victimization and survivorship within the individual (Stringer, 2009; Wade, 1997). Significantly, the burden of trauma recovery is then also situated within the individual, optimistic though that may be (Karmen, 2016), and there is often only an incidental call to address the larger social concerns, power relations and oppressions, exploitations and other causal factors. Moreover, the survivor construct fails to acknowledge those who have not survived, and why.

Some participants in the study, like Rita, argued in favour of adopting the survivor identity rather than identifying as a victim, while others like Cheryl-Ann, Mary and Matheos rejected the survivor construct absolutely. There is resistance to the idea that identifying as a survivor is an affirmative status that remedies some of the problems of perception associated with being a victim. Dawn McCaffrey (1998) suggested the terms ‘victim’ and ‘survivor’ are themselves contentious. Mardorossian (2002) suggested that the term *victimization* itself has changed, questioning if a discourse of survivorship-agency and victim-blame help to disguise inequity by situating victimization within the individual and not in within societal structures. For Mary and Matheos, the nature of victimization is relational, and they emphatically agreed that the survivor construct

situates the event, or at least recovery from the event, within the individual. A key issue is how the notion of being a survivor fails to address any of the social issues and may justify ignoring those issues entirely. Survivorship may enable a victim to move forward by placing the victimization in the context of a past event however, according to Matheos, survival is minimalist.

Cheryl-Ann expressed discomfort with the word survivor, relating it to the impact of trauma. As she pointed out, a victim may have survived an incident that happened in the past, but the trauma continues to impact the present in many cases. Rita, who welcomed and even insisted on recognition as a survivor, feels that identity implies acknowledgment of what happened in the past and that she had the strength to survive it, rather than being stuck or lost in the victimization. If for any reason, there is an inability to move forward there is a risk of victim-blaming anchored in stigma and the perception that victims are weak or stuck in pain as described by Gord and Rita. Stringer (2014), interprets the concern with being stuck may more accurately be the result of victim failure to move beyond the act of self-blame, to recognizing how they have been victimized. Moreover, the stigma of victimization can be reinforced, or challenged by public pedagogy, often through the media (Williamson, 2016). Hugh Gibson's documentary, *The Stairs* (2016), is an example of media that challenges stigma and victim stereotypes.

The stigmatization and state-sanctioned victimization of Indigenous peoples in Canada has a lengthy history including the loss of land, culture and languages anchored in oral tradition (Corntassel, Chaw-Win-Is, & T'Lakwadzi, 2009). As Leticia, Rita and Wendy (participants) all share, the systemic victimization continues for many.

Matheos asserted that the survivor identity is a limiting colonial construct which fails to achieve significant political and relational change, especially for First Peoples. Mary Arpin situated survival as a position of individual privilege when there is a failure to acknowledge larger groups of vulnerable people (Davies, Francis, & Geer, 2007) who stand alongside the individual, and who may not survive. Therefore, the individual notion of survivorship may not be beneficial to vulnerable groups and individuals in society who, through social inequality in the three “critical domains of equality and equity” (United Nations, 2006, p. 15) who may experience victimization disproportionately to what society does as a whole (Davies, Francis, & Geer, 2007).

The findings of this study reveal nothing that can be construed as evidence that the survivor construct, in and of itself, contributes to positive and transformative change. Survivorship may enable a victim to move forward by placing the victimization in the context of a past event, yet the impact of victimization may yet be present and disruptive in the day-to-day lives of victims.

Priority Three: Trauma, Healing, and Therapeutic Interventions

Recognizing Trauma

Child maltreatment, like domestic violence, is often hidden in private spaces and behind closed doors. The shroud of privacy isolates mainly women and children who are violated in private relationships, in their homes and their communities. An elementary school teacher, who participated in the community meeting, made the following observation.

Whenever I see a kid, and they're hurting another kid, or trying to hurt themselves or others, there's been a trauma at some point. Usually, that trauma is around their relationship. Maybe not everybody, they aren't born that way. Their problem is coming from something. Maybe it's more than the kids acting out. Maybe the kids who are extremely introverted, who aren't making eye contact. Things that you can see, that you should be able to pick up on if you have training. It's not natural, so if a teacher saw that, you can see. (P-CM)

The belief that trauma is always visible may be an erroneous assumption.

There are signs that responders and professionals should be educated to recognize. There are so many children trapped in abusive situations and they feel that no one can help them because they don't know any different than the lies that the abusers are telling them. (P-Survey)

They didn't know how to determine that I was being abused I guess. I'm not sure. I feel that no one fought for me despite the continuing signs pointing toward abuse. (P-Survey)

They didn't know. My parents lied in some cases. In another case, I told the truth but I guess that they couldn't do anything because none of my siblings would corroborate my story. (P-Survey)

Bonnie (pseudonym), educator and trauma counsellor observed:

Some children, in their ability to be adaptive, can become good little model citizens. Because they've learned not to make waves, they learn not to be disagreeable, not to challenge, not to be noticed, not to be visible.

Spurgeon Root, talked about the nature of the relationships, in private spaces, between offenders and child victims from his perspective as a trauma counsellor.

There's something else to consider in all this. We've got the victim who's a kid, but we've also got the offender over there. And some people are very good at grooming, so they know what they're doing. So they're teaching the kid 'don't say this', They're getting groomed so that you and I won't see them. It's disturbing, but some of them are very good. So if you've got an offender who knows what they're doing they'll be teaching the kid to hide. That's real case scenario.

Bonnie echoed Spurgeon's concerns and acknowledged how trauma symptoms are often misinterpreted and misdiagnosed.

...especially if trauma starts at a preverbal age. Then that grooming is already internalized and the adaptive behaviour is already in place. It can look as, another thing is when you look are children being diagnosed as within the autism spectrum a lot of behaviour issues and being psychologized and medicalized and a lot of trauma is overlooked because of the medical model and how we assess children.
(Bonnie)

Sometimes, the trauma narrative does not emerge until long after the victimization occurred.

On Telling the Story

When victims are afforded the opportunity to tell their story, in their own words and at a self-determined pace there are both risks and benefits.

They laughed at me and asked why I was coming to the police now, when it was a historical assault. (P-Survey)

Yeah. When I think back, there's two people. My adopted sister too. I know she loved me. Now, she's angry at me, but sometimes she feels like... A few months ago she was like, "Oh, so I read you in the paper again how life was so bad for you." Then she said, "Maybe my mom should tell her side of the story." I'm like, "Tell it. I'm not stopping you from telling your story. If you have a story to tell, tell it." Again, that's like privilege trying to hold me down and shut me up. You can't shut me up. I'm already talking. (Wendy)

Edna talks about writing as a process that spanned over many years. The risks seem linked more to the reactions of others than to any sense of disruption to a state of well-being for the storyteller.

A long time ago someone said to me, "I think when you write, you should write for yourself." I'm like, are you kidding? Obviously, I write with the idea that someone else is going to read it so I'm thinking about the imaginary other person, the reader.

Otherwise I'm talking into the silence, into the darkness. When you've already spent so much time in the darkness, why feed that? Writing, or finding some other way of telling it, brings it into the light. It also makes it somehow less stuck inside of me. It doesn't make the story easier to tell, it just makes it visible. Over the years I sometimes shared my story with people, especially people who took for granted how, I don't know, for lack of a better word, how normal their lives looked, right? They would hear some of my story and first I would get that kind of blank 'Oh...' Then, after that, it always changed. So, if they didn't know the story they treated me in a certain way with a certain amount of respect but after they heard any of my story, it was like, 'Oh so you must be really screwed up' and suddenly what I said was somehow suspect. Like everything I think, do, feel is tainted by the trauma. Partly that's true.

I want people to realize the impact of trauma and how it comes along with you throughout your life. Those reactions made it even less likely that I would share my story if it meant the second boot dropped. Now I get to feel victimized all over again by shallow judgements. And another thing, the times people have told me to keep the trauma to myself, to keep it private so it doesn't mess me up professionally. The dirty little secret. So many dirty little secrets. If I shared everything I did to survive over the years, to keep body and soul together for me and my kids, it paints an ugly picture... the kind people want to turn away from. That pisses me off and makes me more determined to lean on people's comfort zones and tell it. In graphic detail. (Edna)

Wendy talked about writing as a way to stay in control of the story and in some ways to create a counternarrative when others told the story to her children, as a narrative of shame. Wendy emphasized her choice to reframe the story as one of strength and courage. Moreover, Wendy's story focused on her service as an activist.

It's one reason why with my kids, I'm in the process of writing my book too and it's my story but also I want the good. Not only the trauma, I want... Just to show where I've gone since, but with my kids, I remember... Because I lost my kids all at one point in my life and when I got them all back and straightened my life out and I realized that people were telling my kids truths about me but making them really dirty. Your mom is a hooker and stuff like that. Not saying your mom was exploited when she was 14 years old. Your mom is a dirty hooker and... So, my kids had the shame of my mom is a hooker. How ugly.

What if my friends find out? So when my kids were younger, I tried to hide it, not talk about it because I was ashamed. Once I started talking about it in public and I knew I had to talk to them about it. Because I sat down with my kids one day and I said... My younger girls when they were 12 is when I would tell them. I told them my life story. How I got to where I got. Choices I had made, choices that were made for me. Blah, blah, blah. I did that because I knew that in small Regina

that someone was going to say something. Because I love helping people. I love being an activist and people are going to attack your past. (Wendy)

Where Wendy's story is challenged by classic victim-blaming, another problem lies in whether or not a victim's story is believed. The victim's story is not only an individual one. The social context in which the victimization occurs is likely to determine how the information is responded to. One survey participant, a victim of sexualized assault by a woman, shares the reaction of police when she reported the crime.

They mocked me, and said, "You're going to complain about sexual assault because a woman 'made' you have sex with her?" I told them she was doing this with lots of youth, the young guys 14-18 in our community. They asked me if she was 'hot'. (Gord)

Edna (pseudonym) talked about how victims' stories can be perceived as being at odds with the right to presumed innocence on the part of the accused. The need to tell the story is entwined with the needs of victims to be believed.

The worst, for me, was when someone close to me suggested my story might not be true. Not like I wasn't remembering the details right, like I was telling the story for the drama of it or something. I mean who could make this kind of shit up? It's like there is an assumption that women lie. Suggesting that was sadistic. I can so deeply relate to the 'I believe you' movement. Offenders want a presumption of innocence, but I think it has nothing to do with criminal guilt or innocence, or even with the offender. When the story is finally being told, it really isn't about the offender at all. It's about the victim. It was about me. (Edna)

When a victim is also a *witness* to a crime, especially when the event takes place in private spaces and in the absence of other witnesses, the burden of proof can be problematic.

One time I sat down with an RCMP officer and had a 'hypothetical' conversation about what the process would be if 'someone' came forward with a story like mine. I knew him a little from our mutual work in the community. I went into a lot of detail, so he knew how serious it was. He was pretty incredible. He told me, in no

uncertain terms, how traumatic it would be. He wasn't in any way trying to talk me out of it. He just said look, if... if the report was found credible and charges were laid, once it went to court you would be shredded by the defense... your character, everything you ever did in your life would be examined and cross-examined to make you look like a disaster with no credibility. He told me he'd known so many people who were destroyed that way. I respected him for the way he heard me and supported me. Of course, he knew as well as I did that the story wasn't really hypothetical, but I didn't need him to do anything more or less than what he did. It was one of the most caring and real conversations I've had about what happened. (Edna)

After I was raped, I was in shock. I needed help so I told my husband I needed to go to emergency, but I didn't tell him what happened. We were sitting at the triage desk at emergency and I was trying to let the nurse know 'something' had happened without saying it was rape in front of my husband. I just couldn't. She must have figured it out because she flat out asked me if I'd been sexually assaulted. The triage desk was out in the open – anyone standing there could hear the whole conversation. It was horrible. I shut down even more. I could barely talk. I just walked out. My husband never knew. (Nora)

Victim trauma narratives can provide an opportunity for expression. Victim impact statements are intended to speak to the sentencing of a convicted offender. Victims services worker Janet explained potential problems with the admissibility of victim impact statements.

What we often ask victims is to tailor their victim impact statements around the needs of the court. And not necessarily their own needs and... there's two things about that. It is definitely problematic when... because most of the time sexual assaults will be cut down to an assault. And um... I mean that's my experience it might be different in other jurisdictions. And so you are right, people aren't able to speak about that sexual assault, but there are ways that we can help them to get that message across from an "I" centered place. But there are times when we have to go to that person and say you know I'm really sorry but this entire paragraph, which you can tell, you know they laboured over and... and it's really intense. It's no longer admissible or we can submit the victim impact statement, we can never not submit it, but we always have to tell them that the judge or the defence may call her on the stand and cross-examine her about her victim impact statement. And the judge will not allow certain portions to be admitted into the record. And so that those things are problematic because it's... victims don't understand why they only have to focus on one pixel in a picture and they can't talk about the big picture. They have to only talk about the pixel. And that that's very problematic for a lot of people because they don't live their lives in pixels. (Janet)

When the story of one is, in essence, also the story of many, sharing may have prosocial and educational value. In particular, when inherent systemic structures such as sexism, racism, and intergenerational trauma intersect, the stories express truths that are relevant to society as a whole.

What I always come to is I have a story to tell because there's many people that are in my... Have this very similar story that are silenced by their addiction or by shame, but I have a story. You know what I mean? Where I was. I have a story to tell. I know that I have a purpose. I know I used to always say there has to be a reason I'm going through this. I would always say that. There has to be a reason I'm going through this. There is. It's the same thing. When will it be enough? Because I was told that too. How long are you going to do this? Well, what else am I going to do? I love helping people. I love helping myself. (Wendy)

I don't think I was able to even accept what happened to me as a child, to get past that message in my head that said no way, until I heard stories from other people too. I needed so much to know I wasn't alone, the only one. (Edna)

Due to the status of victims in criminal justice proceedings, the rights and needs of victims are overshadowed by the rights and needs of offenders. Furthermore, a significant number of offenses and social harms will never be brought forward to the criminal justice system. The opportunities for resolution and compensation for victims is, in most jurisdictions in Canada, linked to the criminal prosecution and conviction of offenders. The Ontario Criminal Injuries Board has strict guidelines for evidence of injury from violent crime. However, Ontario is exceptional in that a conviction is not required in order for victims to file a claim for compensation.

I asked to have my claim of childhood sexual abuse accepted by the Ontario Criminal Injuries Compensation Board²², more than 30 years after it happened. Normally they have strict rules about filing within just a few years. They make

²² See Chapter Six for more information on the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board.

exceptions sometimes in cases of child abuse. It meant describing in graphic detail the severity of what happened, and why it wasn't reported then. I was a child, and there were questions around what I remembered, and when I remembered it. It was a gruelling process. It was the only time I looked for any sense of justice, although over the years I was encouraged by close friends and even a couple of therapists to report it, to do something.

When I made my report I wanted three things. The first was I wanted that sense of justice, I want some external authority to say what happened was criminally wrong and to recognize the injury, the human suffering. The second thing I wanted was to get the help I needed to get on with recovering in ways I hadn't been able to even though it was decades later, and I'd done so much work already. I just never felt like I was able to get in front of it somehow. The third thing though, and this is hard to admit sometimes, but the third thing was I wanted to publicly shame my parents. My mother especially because she was the one who did the most harm. It was also about my anger or maybe a better word is outrage. My need for justice and yes, probably vengeance. I couldn't choke down the whole forgiveness thing. I had come to some kind of understanding about what happened in my mother's life to make her hurt me the way she did, or in my father's life to make him completely turn a blind eye to it. I'd never had justice, so how could I get to a place of forgiveness. The Compensation Board accepted my right to claim injury by my mother. My father they determined wasn't criminally responsible, but my mother.... finally, yes. As soon as I got that letter, I let the claim go. I could breathe. (Edna)

In cases of childhood trauma, for example, providing evidence is often problematic and tied to the victim's memories of the event. There are also problems with the way adults store and retrieve memories of traumatic events as discussed in the next section.

Neuroscience and the Nature of Memory

I'm not trained to remember every detail of all the people around me. I can't tell you his shoe color, or what clothes he was wearing. (P-Survey)

Lawrence is a retired police officer with decades of experience on the streets of a mid-sized Canadian city. He focuses here on interactions with the victims of crime, rather than on the perpetrators.

At least one priority is to have at least one person that sort of sets the baseline of what they're trying to do in any organization, set the baseline on making people aware that there's more logical aspects of victimology. Like for me, for 30 years I worked in policing and when you're on the street you're actually dealing with the victims. It was therefore important to be more compassionate, more aware. When you got to the courtroom, they expect the victim to recall details and of course the defense lawyers test their memories. So, there's the neurological baseline that we should be looking at in every case as a starting point. (Lawrence)

Mental health therapist, Toni (pseudonym), observed a lack of understanding of memory processes can result in expectations and assumptions that impact criminal justice processes and may be a determining factor in outcomes.

I think in terms of lawyers and the judiciary, [there are] a lot of misconceptions about memory and what memory should be able to do. When you have trauma and violence, memories are laid down in different brain, different areas of the brain. So accessing them, it's not like a one size fits all. I've seen situations where the assumptions that are brought into the court and used as evidence are erroneous. So, in terms of even establishing a baseline of understanding of how memory and the brain works around, like memories that are laid down under traumatic circumstances are different and people recall them differently. I think that's a really interesting area that I think would be helpful to put forward as part of what we're looking at. (Toni)

Expanding on memory challenges Cheryl-Ann, an art therapist, and Edna, as someone who experienced trauma through sexualized childhood maltreatment described their personal experiences with memory recall.

For years I tried to find any other possible explanation for what my body was remembering. Mother's don't do those things to their children. Get over it. Move on. Denial. Total denial. Don't trust the memories. With the memories, even though there weren't really any words to describe them, they were body memories. Vivid, body memories of pain. I was lucky when I found a therapist who said to me, allow yourself to have the feelings. Sometimes she would sit beside me and touch my hand with only one finger. I felt like I was going to drown in the flood of those memories and her finger was a lifeline. When I gave myself permission to just have the feelings and memories, my life made sense. Who I am made sense. Without them nothing made sense. I may not be able to find words to tell you what happened exactly, but I can tell you the rest. (Edna)

If I had to give you witness statements about what happened to me... I know I've blended the truth. I know I have because some of the dates don't line up, some of the years don't line up. My own art therapist helped me to realize, or at least I think I've realized, I'm about five years out on my history. So not realizing how our brain is designed to protect us hinders witnessing, and when there's self-doubt it's more complicated. (Cheryl-Ann)

Marie Perrini (pseudonym) is a pioneer in trauma-informed approaches to care and intervention with trauma victims. As a psychologist and expressive arts therapist, and as an educator she shared her insights and experiences. Marie was conducting an expressive arts workshop with therapists and social workers when we met. We began our discussion about suppressed memories and how those memories might be triggered.

I think catharsis serves a purpose in the moment, so if you look at as expulsing something from you, how much do you have to be cathartic to get to the dry heaves and do you feel any better at that point? Again, there has to be some kind of change in the perception in the body that, now because this came out I'm relieved. A lot of times it doesn't really relieve. There's another piece that's missing from that. Tapping into that sensory nature, tapping all levels of expression which means sensory, perceptual, which is feeling and meaning-making, there has to be those three things firing like pistons, I think. They all fire and that's when it [trauma] gets neutralized. It never goes away, I think the thing is just to neutralize it, so we always live with it, we may even still get angry or cry about it but it doesn't overtake us anymore. And your complex problem that could be multiple things, so each one of those things that's been overtaking the body has to be resolved in that way. So the gut impression of it, that sense of security, safety, being okay just on that sensory level, your emotional level, and then through meaning-making.

Sometimes repressed memory type things are confused fragments because we don't remember what we had for breakfast three days ago. Memory is a really strange thing anyway. But if you sense that something bad happened that's attached to a sensory memory, it was real enough. We may just not know the exact story anymore that's got all the different, ugly parts to it, we don't have that exact picture... because memory changes over time. Like the medieval storyteller that went around telling stories from town to town but the story kept changing just a little bit. It's the same with a memory. I think all that has to happen and then you know when you can tell the story and it still feels like there's a sadness to it or anger or whatever but it's not overtaking you to the point...it doesn't own you anymore. (Marie Perrini)

Thomas Hartford (pseudonym) is a Canadian psychologist and researcher who embraces integrative approaches to understanding the “bio-psychosocial model approaches to just about everything we do” (Thomas). He talked about the need to consider all of the different elements when understanding trauma. “I think the more of the actual picture, if there is a real picture, more of that picture be captured” (Thomas). He discussed trauma in the context of how it is experienced.

What makes one thing more or less traumatic is going to have biological basis, individual basis, sociological basis, cultural basis and there’s nothing that we have that suggests that it’s going to be anything less than idiosyncratic. It really becomes difficult then for us to suggest large-scale things that are universal and absolute but we can, I think, still suggest that there are some commonalities. I think for the most part we have a general understanding that trauma usually involves a significant departure from someone’s expectations. As you look at different ways that that departure can occur then it can be influenced by other things. There’s evidence that traumas that involve physical injury or traumas that involve ongoing chronic pain can cause more problems because there’s things that cycle and cause cycles for memories. The pain reminds me of the trauma. The trauma reminds me of the pain and it becomes an additional challenge level. At the same time, I would always be hesitant to place an absolute on anything. (Thomas)

The age and development of children will certainly play a role in how memories are stored and the meaning-making process when they are remembered. Adults also face challenges in memory recall.

I think one of the challenges that we run into is that, and it’s not just children, it can dramatically affect children, but memory is a reconstructive process. Memory is not a photograph. There is no robust evidence that we have a photograph of a memory of any kind. When we start looking further and further back in time, our memories are constructed based on our meaning, our culture, our experience, what happened immediately after, what was happening during, and what we were paying attention to or what we weren’t. I can have five people, all had experienced the same event and each one of them focuses on a different element of that event. They might remember that element with a certain amount of clarity and specificity, but they might have missed a significant other element that really conceptualized those things. It’s like when you’re photographing a police officer or you’re taking a video-tape of a police officer, depending on the perspective the camera is at, that police officer can look huge over top of a citizen or they can look small relative to

a citizen. Our perspective means so much given that we know memory is reconstructed. It leaves us open to all kinds of interpretations and potential for extra challenges with respect to trauma and trauma history. It's not to say that somebody creates something out of nothing. It's to say that we make meaning and we make memory and that means that it's subject to all kinds of additional influences. (Thomas)

Jamie Mantesso, a registered nurse with years of experience in emergency room settings, approaches how important it is for nurses to have a genuine understanding of neurological processes when trauma has occurred.

I would agree and also the impact when there's children involved, because the way they formulate memories in and of itself and the way they learn and recall events is already unique or different to adults. So, just the act of any sort of trauma on any scale and their ability to recall information or how it comes back to them is interesting to look at. Certainly with the PTSD work, we just did a study a couple of weeks ago, even the recall in a simulated trauma event, was challenging. I think from the perspective of nursing, not even just mental health nursing, but even from working in emerg or whatever, we don't know a lot and we don't know enough. A lot of the people that end up coming in with mental health often have comorbidities, whether it was childhood traumatization or inter-spousal kind of, whatever the case might be, there's a lot of victimization that is in the world. I certainly think that a lot of nurses might handle their care differently if we had an idea of what was going on in the brain. (Jaime)

The stigmatization of mental health difficulties is a barrier to many who need access to the supports and intervention services that facilitate the healing and recovery process. I asked Marie Perrini to share her approach to trauma-informed care.

Okay, so here's a good example. We have people in the art therapy field in the US that I respect a great deal. I believe that they're good practitioners and they're doing a lot of good work. So then they write about whatever case or whatever example of how they work and then usually some case that they describe, and a lot of time I'll see put in the beginning they'll say, "You know, I practice from this model, but I'm also a trauma-informed practitioner." And then when I get to their case they're labeling the person. It's like, "They're defensive, they wouldn't talk to me, so I think there's something repressed here." This is not the language of trauma-informed work. Because we don't talk about people that way, we sit back and think, "Well, how can I praise that? Maybe that person, I don't know yet, I'm trying to work with them and whatever is going on this session is creating anxiety; they

need to step back and adaptively cope with the situation because they're going into survival mode, how to protect themselves." And that's okay because everybody's got that, everybody does that in a different way when they're under stress. But I see all the language that's very Freudian and very way back and that's not trauma-informed and I think, "Whoa, what a minute here? You just went through this big spiel in the beginning about but you're not in the 21st century, believe me."

Marie talked about labeling people.

Nor are you telling me anything really about the context, the culture, maybe the intergenerational trauma because if you're trauma-informed you're doing that kind of a history. You don't always get a complete one, sometimes it's over time you learn more, something pops out, "Oh, why didn't you tell me..." You can't always look and say, "Why didn't you tell me that?" Maybe they just didn't think to tell you or they didn't remember it. I see that happening all the time and I think, "Okay, did they just think it was cool to say that they were trauma-informed or are they really walking the walk here? Did they just forget all of a sudden when they were writing this chapter?" Not labeling people?

We discussed how trauma means brokenness to many people, so they may use the language of being trauma-informed but the perspective is really brokenness-informed.

Yeah but the other thing is you can do an intergenerational trauma history as much as you can do, what about an intergenerational resilience history? That person's sitting there for some reason, they got to your office and they got to that space and they're sitting across from you now. So all the generations before them had something that they had that helped them survive. It may not have been totally effective and they may have contextual things like being exposed to war, or abuse or whatever but what's the intergenerational resilience? I do that kind of genogram or whatever with people because I'll say, "You got here, you're sitting here today, we can't say that about everybody. A lot of people don't make it this far. You made it this far, here today and have done so much work. It may seem like, "Wow, it's a labor, it's a hard journey." But you had to have resilience to do that. You didn't just, you weren't weak. You made it. (Marie)

According to Marie, trauma-informed care means giving the kind of praise that recognizes strength and resilience.

Sometimes just to get up in the morning is a big deal. It took me a long time to learn it. I mean, you read it and then there's a period of how you learn it. It's not

even just reading about it. When I first read about it, it all resonated but then I would catch myself.

The discussion continued, next focusing on expectations of healing and recovery processes.

Healing and Recovery

Friends and family expect you to act and react in a way they are comfortable with, something they've seen in the media. They don't understand that healing is a process, that involves highs and lows and just because you're fine one day or year, doesn't mean you will be the next (P-Survey)

Marie Perrini clarified her position on the belief or expectation that trauma survivors will reach a point in their recovery process, a clearly defined place where they are 'over it' and able to move on.

I think that's another myth, you know? I think people reach different places. I always say that to people when they're in a good place. I say, "You know, when something else comes along you may find yourself slipping back into that thing that you have recovered from, but there's no shame in that, because that's just the natural process," you know? Something else comes along and now you've got so many more skills and you should also feel like if you want to come back to the clinic or you need to see somebody it's all developmental throughout the lifespan. That's why I say we're all in recovery...

The other thing is, and I can't remember who said this. I've thought about it myself... when you go in and help people start that recovery process and you do have some success with it, you have taken away the life that they were used to, and it's very jarring. It's jarring to be well all of a sudden, when you start to feel that wellness come on, because well, the trauma if you had a lot of hyperactivation it's like the person that maybe deals with a more bipolar reality. Take that away and it's like wow, what do I have now, you know? Either the stuff that's painful was part of your life and has to have some kind of replacement because it feels like a terrible void all of a sudden. I think that's valid, you know, in the whole process of recovering from complex trauma what do we put in its place that feels like it should be there? You've taken a big piece away.

It becomes normal:

That's why working in domestic violence, all those years when I did it consistently, children would come to the shelter and there was a lot about giving them consistency and all these supports for the shelter life. They came to this most wonderful place they didn't want to leave because they had to go back to that other one. A lot of times people end up back in that other place again, and if they're successful they may go through several times of going back until they finally start to get on that pathway, but you know, we always used to sit in team meetings and say, "You know, we're making it so super perfect. Then, we're going to send them back to where they were. Are we doing them a disservice?" Not that we should create chaos here, but they're going to go back to chaos, so how do we decide what we ought to do in terms of consistency but also give them support when they go back into that environment. That was their normalcy. Shelter wasn't their normalcy. Three meals a day wasn't their normalcy. Somebody to listen to you any time of the day or night wasn't their normalcy. They didn't have a clean place to sleep. That wasn't their normalcy.

Mary Arpin discussed how pain and survival patterns can be what is familiar to victims.

Pain. Pain becomes a word used to describe an inability to move forward. Expecting people to adapt to change that isn't their norm. After the crisis what has changed? When the supports are there it doesn't all fall on you, it's more of a joint effort. Once that's gone it's easy to slip back into a dynamic of pain, feeling stuck in it, survival patterns that are often systematically crippling. (Mary)

Marie suggested it is crucial for therapists to recognize the unresolved trauma and to evaluate interventions.

You can give all the guarantees even if you have the perfect solution to get them away from their violence or their bully or the perpetrator, and what is the body saying? The body hasn't caught up in most cases. They're still feeling like when's the shoe going to drop, you know? That's the really interesting thing about it. I do think I see... What's interesting in the literature I think is mostly it's our therapists. They tell their best case where there's been the success. It's normally what they end up doing. But I know, like anybody, they've faced a lot of ones that never really got resolved. (Marie Perrini)

There are several challenges to meeting the needs of victims throughout their recovery processes, yet it is equally important to recognize that not all victims are willing, or even able to access the support of a therapist or others while navigating the process.

Accessing Therapeutic Supports

Cheryl-Webster is an art therapist who commented on how stigma and access to services are barriers many victims must overcome before they can get the supports they need. She discusses how clients she works with sometimes face wait periods of over a year before gaining access to publicly funded mental health programs.

What it shows me is that anyone I've worked with as a therapeutic artist, the women I've worked with around sexual assault, is that going to see somebody, there is a feeling of embarrassment in sharing it all, all the details. There are questions like is it going to help? Can I see you weekly? Is it affordable? (Cheryl-Ann)

According to Cheryl-Ann, often, programs and individual therapists are uneducated or otherwise poorly equipped to offer trauma-informed care, especially when working with people struggling with complex issues. For example, Cheryl-Ann talked about situations where the stigma associated with needing mental health support may further compound the challenge to access.

I think some people come to an art therapist because we're not psychiatrists. We're not therapists in a stuffy office that looks like a medical building. We're not gonna sit there with our clipboard and ask how does that make you feel. So it's sort of like I'm not seeing a therapist, I'm seeing an art therapist. I'm not crazy, I just need art therapy to make me feel better.

There's also the institution that's been built around therapy practices has been considered medical, there is stigma, you are unlikely once you do access services if you'll be seen more than once a month. And in one case, the police officer who was on a sexual assault case, cautioned the victim to think about how reporting the assault would ruin the perpetrator's life. So she was put off reporting. Now she wants to move on, but she hasn't processed any of it so she's engaging in really risky behavior, including drug use, where she is retraumatized multiple times. So now she comes with the trauma, but because of her self-injury, she comes in with shame too.

When trauma is part of a lengthy or difficult trauma history, Cheryl-Ann explained the importance of therapist self-awareness, especially when there is a risk of vicarious trauma.

I'm really careful what's going on for me. Clients sometimes need physical and emotional support. I have a client who I feel very uncomfortable with, and I truly question whether I am equipped to give her what she needs. But she's been on a wait list, and she finally got called in to see somebody but it's a practicum student. So while I feel like I'm not equipped, to send her to see a student doesn't feel right.

A collaborative or team approach might help clients access various resources needed in the recovery process. Jo-Anne Dusel, Director of the Provincial Association of Transition Houses in Saskatchewan (PATHS) talked about connecting the stories of victims of intimate partner violence with policy makers. PATHS received federal funding for an art therapy pilot program intended to ease the effects of victimization.

I was thinking was when we bring these, we're going to identify some key informants as well as doing some research, online survey focus group, that type of thing, but when we bring in our key informants, first of all we're gonna make sure they're not in crisis at the moment, but I liked what you were saying about using art therapy as a different way of telling their story to help process a little bit, because we want to be very careful about not retraumatizing them but when you tell your story, if you're telling your story not because another person needs to tick off boxes, but you're telling your story now because you're going to have an opportunity to tell your story to someone who's in a position to actually change policy and legislation, I think it might feel a little bit different, but I like the idea of including the art. (Jo-Anne Dusel)

Jo-Anne shared a print of a collaborative art mural that was made by the women in one of the art therapy groups.

Yeah, and it's got the wheel with the four colors and each individual decorated a person in a way that was meaningful to them. Yeah, and it's actually a large-scale thing, and everybody got a print like this at the end of the group. I never thought of adding the art into that one, just because I don't know why I never thought of it, but I certainly see the value as we're working with our smallish group of key informants to help them process and make sure that they're safe and comfortable

moving forward in doing this work, but a key piece is the connection with the policy makers. (Jo-Anne Duse)

In this way, art-making and storytelling come together in ways that meet the needs of victims while potentially being part of a larger change when the stories are shared.

Another healing intervention discussed was the potential for connection between humans and animals.

The Human-Animal Bond

I wanted to say something about dogs for sexual assault victims. I was raped, touched, groped, etc by both men I knew and ones I didn't since I was 8. I have never gotten proper treatment and know that it has affected me very poorly for my life. I can't remember a month going by where I haven't wanted to go to sleep forever, wanted to die. I need a dog by me to sleep. I prefer on the bed with me. Otherwise I need to take high dosage sleeping pills. If a dog is there I can be safe for a few hours. Nobody gets that, my husband least of all. Please keep promoting the use of dogs for people like me. (Nora)

A collaborative approach to victim support can include the use of various integrated therapeutic techniques or modalities, like art therapy and animal-assisted interventions. Cheryl-Ann uses art therapy and the presence of a therapy dog in her practice.

Therapy in general, we all need to work together in our various modalities. For example, River²³, she really connects with River when she's here. So she spends quite a lot of time with her and that seems to help tremendously. (Cheryl-Ann)

²³ River is a female Standard Poodle who interacts with clients as they wish in a private practice setting.

Looking more deeply into understanding the human-animal bond, Cheryl-Ann talks about the healing dimensions of her personal relationships over the years with snakes, sea lions, and dogs.

I always had animals, I always wanted animals and I wanted a snake. Part of it was rebellion. Looking back, I think part of it is that my Mom should have known what was going on, and I think she did, but she didn't stop it. We always had animals around, dogs, kittens, chickens, and they were not really connected with us. They weren't well cared for. So there were two edges, because the animals weren't treated well and I was always drawn to them, but they were dirty. But my Mom was disgusted by snakes, and I wanted a snake and managed to get a job as a snake handler, but I also liked the danger. I didn't go with a little snake. I had a 12-foot and a 16-foot Burmese python. And it struck me a number of times in my life, living with the danger of these creatures, most people were terrified of them and I was always pretending I wasn't, but I absolutely was. When it came to other animals, it had something to do with feeling loved, which I craved and didn't get by my parents. So craving that, the only way I was able to feel it, was with an animal. I can't even express the immense amount of love, the care for them, the touch, the kinesthetic touch, poodles, horses, and I worked with sea lions, but dogs have been the big one... just having the fur to nuzzle into, feels like being held in love. When I first got out of my childhood home, I asked for my dog but they wouldn't give it to me. I think if they had, I think the first wave of screw-ups I got into might not have happened.

Earlier conversations with Cheryl-Ann included discussion about the distinctions between service dogs and therapy dogs. We both understood how important it is to make the distinction so that people who really need public access will get it. I shared with Cheryl-Ann how I am unsurprised when people, particularly at a time when so many are engaged with social media and their digital devices, feel that having a human-animal bond can be important. I am unsurprised when people say they want to travel with their peacock (NBC News, 2018) or therapy squirrel (Global News, 2018) or a dog. It may speak to a larger issue which is the sense of isolation and disconnectedness that so many people feel and the way animals can meet the need for touch and connection.

I have an art therapy client who is a service man. He's a big guy. One session, in particular, he was struggling and River [therapy dog in training] was a puppy and I just put her in his arms. He just lit up. In fact during one session, his partner sat on the floor with River and I thought alright, this session is happening on the floor. So I sat on the floor too. River is very gentle with them, seems to know what they want. There's not an easy way to help people when they're ready to heal. The cost, the access, it's almost like we say we're ready to support healing, but we aren't really. Maybe there should be a corner in public libraries where you can just sit there with a puppy or a therapy dog. (Cheryl-Ann)

Interventions that facilitate and support healing and recovery by recognizing the complexity of the trauma response, but also the diverse needs of individuals for expression can be enhanced when there is also an opportunity to have safe and appropriate touch.

Kim Gramlich, the Coordinator of the Delta Police Victim Services in British Columbia, is also the handler of CABER, a yellow Labrador Retriever. CABER is considered a courthouse facility dog who works with victims and witnesses of crime, often with young children. Gramlich is a board member with the Pacific Assistance Dog Society, an organization that helps train assistance dogs for work in their communities. Gramlich says CABER is very important to the people he works with day to day. These dogs are often brought into places where there has been a great deal of stress. The dog is expected to stay calm and very still. In a telephone interview, Kim Gramlich described the qualities they look for in a facility dog. Gramlich said access to public spaces for facility dogs is by invitation only.

Gabe (pseudonym) spent several years incarcerated in a Federal penitentiary, where all inmates are serving sentences of more than two years. Gabe has lived among murderers and other dangerous offenders. Many inmates have a history of addiction problems. Prison is no place to drop your guard or share feelings openly with others.

When he was eligible for release, Gabe was given the option of staying in a half-way house in Prince George, British Columbia, where a dog training program is offered to inmates after release. He wanted the opportunity to work with dogs but moving back to where his family lived was more important. Gabe says his dogs are one of the most important aspects of his life. “If there had been a program like the one in BC here in Saskatchewan, I would have jumped at the chance to be part of it.” Now Gabe simply enjoys spending time with the dogs in his life and appreciates the way they give and receive unconditional love. “Dogs have no judgements about you based on past mistakes, they just accept you for who you are,” he said. “A relationship with a dog can make you feel hopeful at times when nothing else can.” At times, as Gabe described, interactions with animals may be key to having a sensory, trust-based relationship with another living being. The following section examines the possibilities and priorities in education as identified by study participants.

Summary and Discussion

The assumption that trauma and victimization is visible, and that it can be and will be recognized is problematic. According to several survey participants, the explanation for the perceived failure to recognize or respond to victimization is varied and complex. For example, some trauma stories do not surface until long after the event(s) occurred. The mechanisms of traumatic memory storage are such that events may not be readily accessible through language, and some memories may be fragmented and embodied (Perry, 2017). Marie and Thomas both described biochemical processes involved in traumatic memory (Perry, 2009). Cheryl-Ann talked about her awareness that trauma

memories are imperfect, even as a timeline of events. Edna talked about how her memories of trauma were embodied and her difficulty in reconciling memories with cognitive processes. Jaime, Lawrence, Janet, and Toni identified ways in which having a trauma-informed understanding of memory processes could help police, emergency and medical responders, and counsellors interact with victims.

Even when police and other professionals are involved in assessing trauma, or acting on reports of suspected maltreatment, the private spaces (Johnstone, 2006; Roos, 2013; Farley, 2005) in which victimization occurs can shield perpetrators. Spurgeon Root, a trauma counsellor, shared a “real case scenario” and talked about the intentional grooming of child victims of sexualized abuse to illustrate how, even for teachers who interact with a child daily, signs of trauma may not be obvious. The discussion moved into trauma-informed approaches to healing, recovery and therapeutic interventions.

Trauma narratives, ways of telling the story, certainly have expressive value to the writer (Roberts & Erez, 2004), produce an account of what happened (Wemmers, 2009), and in addition may contribute to a developing epistemology and axiology of victim experience (Van Dijk, 2009). Moreover, expressive writing provides the latitude that may be necessary in the reframing or restorying process (Anderson, 2001; Cornassel, Chaw-Win-Is, & T'Lakwadzi, 2009) so that the meaning-making moves beyond the trauma toward a more holistic affirmation of strength. Wendy's story, as well as the stories of Edna and others, challenges the shame and stigma of victimization. There is prosocial value in the stories shared through narrative victimology (Van Dijk, 2009) that conveys not only the story of individuals but also shares common cultural and political experiences with others.

Marie Perrini (Lusebrink & Hinz, 2016) addressed the sometimes-unrealistic expectations that trauma recovery is a process that leads to a finite state of being. She critiqued intervention approaches that fail to recognize the embodied nature of trauma but also how recovery occurs in the context of what is normal for victims beyond the temporary supports that may be available in a crisis. Normal, as explained by Marie, may mean trauma has already been integrated into day to day reality for victims, even at a physiological level. According to Marie, working with the body is a key piece of the recovery process. Cheryl-Ann is an art therapist who enhances her practice with the presence of a therapy dog (O'Haire, 2015). She identified problems of access to mental health services and touched on the problem of the stigma that many associate with the need for mental health support after trauma. Nora shared how the animals in her life uniquely provided a sense of safety and comfort after being sexually traumatized multiple times in her life, starting with childhood. Nora had persistent symptoms of PTSD. The dogs gave her the opportunity for safe and appropriate touch (Dell & Kilty, 2012). Despite problems associated with crisis interventions, Jo-Anne Dusel shared the positive results of an art therapy pilot program offered to women victims of domestic violence.

When trauma occurs, a complex biological response occurs (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014), orchestrated by neurological networks engaged in a stress response (Malchiodi, 2015). Education and research can be key to the development of methods and intervention techniques that assist people in an ongoing recovery process.

Priority Four: The Case for Victimology Education

Even with the relative absence of formal victimology courses and programs in Canada institutions of higher learning, it is challenging for individual disciplines to develop victim-centred and trauma-informed approaches to knowledge formation and mobilization.

Moreover, no evidence was discovered in the literature review of brief victims' service worker programs or training workshops that approach victimology from theoretical perspectives that analyze or problematize the systemic and societal causes of victimization.

Nonformal Learning – Training and Workshops

Nonformal education is unlikely to focus on victimization prevention, victim-centred policy development, or to have the capacity to support the research needed for the development of the field. Most programs of this nature offered in Canada do not lead to accreditation or other formal recognition. As an illustration are the various victims' services volunteer programs that may range from several hours of training, to several weeks. For the most part, the focus on such programs is to help make workers, paid and volunteer, aware of the services that may be available to victims and to help with navigation of the criminal justice system. The opinions of the majority of the survey participants, however, is that education is crucial to the development of sound practice in professionals and responders and have expectations of the possible benefits.

With a general agreement that victimology education would assist professionals, advocates, and volunteers who interact with victims, the mechanisms of delivery

continue to be seen as a challenge. During a conversation involving several core collaborators from across Canada (assisted by technology and the ZOOM® application), ideas about program priorities and delivery were explored. Toni (pseudonym), a mental health counsellor and therapist, envisions community-based organizations as consumers of victimology training programs.

Again, the mechanisms of how to execute these kinds of collaborative relationships are, I'm not sure how to do that but I could certainly see from my clinical experience a need in schools as well. Possibly even part of training for NGOs or community-based organizations who work with kids, all those various agencies, sports and boys and girls clubs and stuff like that, they might also be natural to be resourced with some of this information. So, not so much as coming on board and being partners in teaching and researching but more the consumers of some of that body of information as it evolves. (Toni)

Jaime Mantesso, a registered nurse educator, acknowledged disciplinary development as a priority but imagined how certificate programs may be desirable for people unlikely to seek out a degree program. She continued the discussion with Toni.

Not everybody's going to want to take a degree that. So, I think the more people that could get access to even some of the information, the better. Keeping in mind that you also want to build that discipline as well or whatever your ultimate goal is. But I think having separate pieces might be a good fit. So, I like the idea of NGOs and definitely teachers, all those kinds of things that get left by the wayside just for them to pick up because that's where we spend most of our time. So, that's a great idea. (Jaime Mantesso)

Toni developed her ideas a little more.

Yeah, I agree. I think even daycare workers or educational assistants some of those paraprofessional courses could have elements because how do I interpret a behavior through this lens? If they were a victim, this is what you might see and this is how you might respond to them, as opposed to assuming they're bad because they have dis-regulated behavior. My focus is more on teens and kids but, the people that respond to them and give them messages about their experience. I just think it's really an interesting part of the whole picture. (Toni)

Janet, ex-RCMP officer and victims' services workers, agreed that a certificate program could have potential for outreach to family members and others who support victims.

I think in terms of having an opportunity to have access to programs maybe at a certificate level for people who are already in the field. I know I get calls from people sometimes who have a family member or it could be a teacher, mostly family members or friends and they want to know how to support a victim but they don't know enough about victim behavior victims don't go to their families or friends because their friends don't understand them because they don't understand the changes that have happened in their thinking, in their brain, in their experience, in their memory. So, having opportunities to get that kind of training actually would make the experience of daycare workers or teachers or nurses a much better experience. Because when you're informed and you can see people coming from a place that you really do have a handle on and you do understand, it makes you do better work and it makes you feel better about how you've interacted with that person. So, it's a win-win. (Janet)

As the facilitator of the discussion, I responded to the comments of others.

I think absolutely we need to acknowledge the experience that already exists, the experience and the knowledge and find a way to help be clearer about what that is and to present it in a meaningful way. The other thing is that as a university-based program, rather than as a training program, we're going to be also facing the reality that instructors for the most part, will be expected to have the equivalent of a master's degree or a graduate certificate with experience in order to be able to instruct. Where will the instructors get the opportunity to build on what they already know with a more victim-centred approach to education? (Heather M)

Janet and Jaime were quick to respond.

I see the need for a graduate program in terms of looking to the future and having people who are qualified, capable and knowledgeable of moving that information and teaching along, becoming instructors, becoming professors or whatever. I also see a need for people who are already in the field, even if they'll have access to something that may not be as daunting as a master's degree but having access, I'm thinking of police training, police academies and nursing schools where there's modules that can be integrated using very qualified instructors, which I could see a graduate program over time doing, providing that, filling that gap. Right now there is a gap in who can bring this knowledge forward, there's research but who can bring it forward in terms of teaching. So, I see people in the field like people my age, who aren't going to position to go back to university for a graduate degree or

may not want to take that many courses but would like to take something that looks like a certificate, mostly for the learning. So, I'm just putting it out there in terms of a bridge, looking to the future but also, what about now? (Janet)

Yeah, every way you look at it, there are pros and cons. I like the idea of it being accessible so that people that are well into their career or, and maybe it's a, I don't know how you feel about having two different avenues, like the certificate option or maybe it could be whatever it is branched into a bigger thing. So, maybe there's some way you can structure it so that it could be either or, I'm not too sure. Oh within nursing, yeah I would say so. We're also a newer faculty at the U of R, so we're used to change and moving, kind of continually transforming at this point. I really think that we're doing a disservice by not having anything really in there from any sort of victimology standpoint, but it is coming. A couple of years ago we added a unit specifically on violence within our mental health nursing course, so we are open and moving towards it. I think the U of R is as a whole. We deal with a lot of groups that certainly have been victimized and a lot of different groups that would benefit from having additional information from the police service, like the police college all the way through to the school of policy, so yeah I think you're at a great campus and I'm not sure where else everybody else's thoughts lie but certainly with U of R, I think we could definitely get things right across the board. (Jaime Mantesso)

Toni, as a mental health counsellor who works in school settings, was positive about victimology education as an adjunct to existing teacher education programs.

What I think about another area of collaboration is even within the old bastions of the education colleges because I work with teachers who are called upon to respond and accommodate the needs of victims in the school and they have no concept of how to respond or what might be at play and there's a lot of assumptions that come in and fill that void. So, in the day-to-day lives of children and youth who've been victimized, the school is where most of their socialization, social relations focus around school. I know teachers are baffled like I don't know how to respond to this. I've got a client who was a victim of a violent kidnapping and sexual assault and she has a real range of responses within her school to accommodate her, anything from special considerations around testing or being excused to go to appointments. Some teachers, they don't know how to respond to her appropriately. So, I think it could, you wouldn't think education would be the natural but I see a real need for that to be inserted or built into basic education for teachers so they're responding. (Toni)

In a meeting with Jo-Anne Dusel, whose work has been with programs and transition houses for women victims of intimate partner violence, we discussed the challenges of professionalism and education for transition house workers.

I am hesitating at where to jump in. I mean, certainly from... If I go right back to my roots as a shelter worker, one of the ways in which having a, sort of, structured education, specifically for, working with victims of intimate partner violence... One of the benefits of that would be that the staff doing that work would be seen as professionals. Educated, respected professionals and when they're interacting with other systems, that their word would count for more than it currently does. It also may mean that they would be able to access a higher wage, so that people who are educated and good at what they do would actually stay within the organizations that are doing this work, rather than come in as students, because they're passionate about the work and they're really good and they get trained up in our member agencies and then they get their degree and now they're going to go to social services or go to health - because they can make double the wage that they make working directly with the victims in the shelter. So, there's that. We would be able to, yeah, perhaps make a case to government that, "You know what? The work that we do is based on evidence and the services we're providing are professional services and therefore, our agencies should be funded to reflect that". And then we could better support the families that we see, because the staff wouldn't be overwhelmed, because we know from our own research that many of our staff... what, probably 60%, what tends to happen is the really good ones move on, having said that, I worked for 20 years in the field. I always had other work, though. I was always doing something else. I had other income from something else that I was doing and that was part of it that I was able to do that, but you're talking about, again, specifically shelters, they're run single-staffed a lot of the time. There's one staff person for 20... Regina Transition House you could have 27 people, all of whom have experienced trauma and are currently in crisis, plus that's the person answering, excuse me, the 24-hour crisis line and responsible for, basically, anything that happens.

The responsibility can be overwhelming and despite the responsibility, wages for transition workers overall, are low.

So, there's those sorts of considerations. Then there's the education for... I loved it when you were talking about education for lawyers, for example, medical personnel. So, doctors especially, nurses. People who are employed within the health region. It's probably easier to get at them, in terms of, educating them around impacts of trauma and trauma response and just to identify those who are experiencing violence. Doctors, because they're contractors, the health system doesn't really have any ability to say, "You need to take training on this". So, you

need to go to the college of medicine and have it integrated within the college of medicine for what they need to know. And that's true across all the systems. Teaching, too. Even if you were to set up a certificate program for teachers that focused on trauma, because let's face it, teachers are dealing with traumatized kids every single day without any clue, often, no clue really, what they're looking for or how to handle it. And no resources if they even do identify it.

Continues:

But because the association defines which certificate programs they'll recognize and which they won't, it's not just say, "Okay well, here's a certificate," it's, and there was one in Alberta. I forget which educational institution- and it was \$3,000 to register. I remember seriously considering taking it. And if my employer had been willing to pay for it, I think I might have. And it would have been a good investment, probably, on their part, but I mean, it's a nonprofit agency in a small city and they didn't have the funds to do that so, yeah, I don't know that anybody in Saskatchewan actually followed through. So it's a huge issue.

It's affecting us in the workplace, our health, our health outcomes, teachers in schools are seeing it. It's so widespread and we're ignoring it, and we're giving less than one percent of our federal budget is going to support that. So especially if by working together with community across different disciplines, if we could collectively go to government and say, "You know what? Here's evidence. There's an elephant in the room you've been ignoring for decades, and it's time that we put some funds to this issue, 'cause there will be, we know there will be savings. This research has been done. You do interventions at an early stage or prevent the violence from actually occurring, you are going to save money in the long run." You just need a government with the vision to actually buy into that and start investing, and then when there's resources and you can come to the community and say, "Look, we want you to help us out," or "We want a partner to deliver this training out in the community," and there's actually, like, "Sweet, you mean we can do this work in cooperation with you, but you're gonna give us a check that's gonna help us pay our rent, 'cause none of the project-based funding that we receive wants to pay the rent that we actually pay for our offices." That sort of thing. (Jo-Anne Dusel)

I asked Jo-Anne, if she were to view transition house workers as victims services workers, and there is discussion around that (McDonald, 2017), would an alliance with transition house workers weight the argument in favour of professionalization? I mentioned the report by Susan McDonald on the professionalization of victims services workers. The report is a collection of findings from various people who contributed, and

one argument was that police and the courts would take victims services workers more seriously and their recommendations more seriously if they had some kind of professional status.

I totally agree with that sentiment. I think it's something I have to... I know that kind of distracts me as well. I'm impatient. We actually do have a submission in, a proposal to the Federal Victims of Crime Fund. I think it's just called the Victims Fund. It is about education and it is about victims and when I first started taking notes when you were talking about victims telling their story, because part of what we want to do is help victims tell their story to policy makers, and we do have connections with policy makers. We have the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Services, we have letters from the Deputy Minister that they will cooperate with us should we receive the funding from F Division RCMP, so the entire province from Regina City Police.

At the conclusion of these various conversations, there was general agreement that building bridges of access to education was the main priority, with nonformal training and adjunct programs being one possible way to deliver access to information that could be implemented in the day to day involvement with victims. Nevertheless, there was a persistent interest in formal, university-based learning.

Formal Learning – Challenges and Barriers

Participants were asked to indicate their preference in university program types. The top priorities were an undergraduate degree program with victim studies as a possible major, followed by the choice of a graduate certificate for professionals with a degree, who may later want to ladder credit into a Master's program.

I came right out of university, here. I did a criminology... well law, with an emphasis in criminal justice. And, I got really interested in victim issues we didn't take in criminology. We were focused always on the offender and criminal behavior in that sense, and not looking at the people who are harmed by it. So I got really interested, and did a placement with a victim focused agency. And then, I

started working here. I have been here, ever since. So, going on 18 years. And, now the executive director here. And, been in heavy experience of contributing to the development of the victimology program, which is one of the few I think, that exist in Canada and around the world, focused on victims specifically, and survivors of violence. I think there's a huge growing interest, as well in the field, in people who want to perhaps work with victims and survivors. When I was at Carleton back in... Well, I guess '96, to sort of 2002, when there was not a single course. And as far as I know as I've been taking students from the criminology program for quite a while, or since I graduated. So, I'm not sure what there is even today, at Carleton. I know University of Ottawa does have Irvin Waller there, who's been doing work with victim's rights, and sort of has a course that he does every year. And, he's been there for many years. But, even locally here, Algonquin is certainly one of the leading, you know, academic institutions anyways so far. But hopefully we will get more on board with projects like yours, Heather. (Heidi Illingworth)

Lawrence (pseudonym) is a retired city police officer with the distinction of being one of Canada's first Indigenous officers. His perspective on formal victimology education acknowledges the importance of integrating experiential gained day to day, working with people in the community.

I think we're in a unique special position of actually establishing the standards, because we have vast experience. I think we're in a very unique position as we live in, unfortunately in a very violent part of Canada, of having vast experience. [More] than a lot of these other jurisdictions waiting years and years for it. We're getting it every day. I think that creating a Canadian study of victimology that's accessible and will allow us to train trainers and instructors, should absolutely be a priority. That's why I think this whole study, this is an opportunity for us to take leadership positions where we unfortunately haven't [in the past]. (Lawrence)

Dale Spencer is an associate professor in the Department of Law and Legal Studies at Carleton University. He and Sandra Walkate are editors of the 2017 publication, *Reconceptualizing Critical Victimology: Interventions and Possibilities*. Dale's perspective is informed by his experiences as one of the few people who teach victimology at a Canadian university.

My course which is sort of like a survey of, basically every week I'm sort of taking a different core element of victims or victimology as a discipline. So I'm kind of giving them [students] splatterings of it, I'm not really able to touch down too much. I do half of one lecture on genocide and politicide. Half of one of our lectures is on green victimology. So it strikes me that as a discipline it only, it almost mirrors the kind of complexity that could be said about criminology. (Dale Spencer)

I asked Dale about a course he taught at the University of Manitoba prior to moving to Carleton University.

It was a critical victimology course. It had that orientation. And one of the interesting things It was a critical victimology course. It had that orientation. And one of the interesting things that I get when I'm dealing with students who are either criminologists or law students is that they will begin with, to almost go almost straight to the offender. So one of the things that I had to really pay attention to this semester was students wanting to do stuff on serial killers. And then you're trying, you read the new abstracts which is like a way for me to gauge quality and make sure that they're not writing their papers on, you know, something that has nothing to do with the course. *They'll automatically go to the offender*. So the victim becomes almost an afterthought. It's just assumed that you know these people have victims, right? It's almost like there's a replication of the way in which these matters are treated more broadly. (Dale Spencer)

We discussed the possible barriers that prevent victimology from establishing itself in Canadian universities. Dale quipped,

Is it because we aren't as sexy as criminology? Like you're not catching the bad guys right? (Dale Spencer)

He went on.

Well one of the interesting things is that what I found at least at [my university] is I can introduce a class. And we can have a general critical mass of scholars that are doing research on sexual violence here at Carleton if not victims more generally but it doesn't coalesce, result in would be a better word, It doesn't actually result in something that looks like a program *per se*. What ends up happening at least what I've seen today and I've only been here for two years and a half years, and I actually think that Carleton in many ways is more malleable in this regard. But what you end up getting is a suggestion amongst people to start a research cluster.

So that becomes kind of the basis under which these things kind of happen. (Dale Spencer)

Although several Ontario Colleges, including Algonquin College, Conestoga, Durham, Georgian, Lambton and Mohawk Colleges offer a comprehensive graduate certificate program in victimology, there are still problems for some students who may wish to formalize their studies and request credit transfer between the college systems and university systems

A kind of a case example of this is I had a student who graduated in psychology. She was a couple of years into working at the Department of Justice, became somewhat passionate about it when did a graduate certificate at college. Graduate certificate program. And so when she came out and she went from there to us she didn't, by the very kind of orientation of her master's program in legal studies, she didn't receive any credit. And so she is doing a final research project on something that is within victimology that meets all the kind of parameters of victimology but it isn't, it's by no means something that's now, her kind of post-graduate work we'll call it broadly defined, now is going is going to consist of four years before she goes on to graduate just get an MA. So there isn't a kind of transition. I don't know if it's because of University versus college politics. (Dale Spencer)

The conversation with Dale Spencer expanded on the premise that victimology is a field of study. He iterated the value of victimology education and research, and the already existing collective will to develop and implement programs of study.

Institutional Tensions and Social Imperatives

Despite the perceived urgency of need for victimology and trauma studies courses and programs, there are real barriers faced by institutions, non-government organizations and social agencies as potential developers or consumers. Heather Peters, a core collaborator who was also in attendance at the community meeting, expressed concern as an advocate for education, over the problems of insufficient access.

I've been listening to this conversation tonight, but also knowing that in my work I see people come at their roles from a variety of different educational points. And that people's perception of victimization and trauma experiences vary greatly. We keep coming up against walls, of not having enough money, not having enough programs to do what we need. So I think I would say that advocacy for structural change is really important. (P-CM-Heather Peters)

I asked Heather Peters if she could develop her ideas a little more and perhaps suggest how education can be responsive to the diversity of needs and perspectives.

I didn't come to my role with any kind of education about victims. After a couple of years I went back to school and studied human security and peace building. I focused my research on secondary trauma for workers of organizations or institutions. For one project there were a number of firefighters in my working group. The firefighters had an understanding of how to build a program that was victim-centered. Without their perspectives we wouldn't have had an understanding of how that was an important thing to put into our project, to advocate for this approach, or to ask for funding. In my work we keep hearing about the lack of funding, the lack of support, and yet, how we need to create more programs for vulnerable populations. (Heather Peters)

Dale Spencer shared his experience with balancing institutional priorities with social justice priorities.

One effort that I was a part of, and it actually fell apart, was they tried to get a police science program together and I was going to be teaching courses like police and victims, police cybercrime, that kind of thing. They were trying to see whether I would have an interest in this and this is one of these programs that try and kind of conjoin both what was going on at the University and College. One of the things that I found that ended up happening, and this is something that I'm sure you're far far away more aware of than me, is that when you go to initiate a program the ways in which the administration think of these things is far different than the way in which we think. Does that make sense? They're thinking more in terms of you know how we can monetize these things. How many courses would people be taking? How many students can we get into the course year in that classroom. and how can we map it on. So one of the things that you're doing really well which is make this kind of more viable than even the way in which George [hypothetically] the guy who's initiating all this and end up falling apart is if you're trying to map it onto existing infrastructures and say OK here's how we can develop it, here's the way in which we're already doing x,y and z. I think that's what is in the current context. The so-called neo liberal university we still have to think practically about what exists already. (Dale Spencer)

The purpose of this study was to identify priorities in victimology education in an effort to create a resource that may be useful in creating bridges of understanding between stakeholders. Consequently, any probative discussion with specific institutions was limited.

Experiential (Informal) Learning – The Voices of Victims

There are few opportunities for victims to directly participate in victimological knowledge creation and mobilization. This may be primarily due to the status of victims in criminal justice and other processes. It was a priority of this study to create opportunities for the democratic inclusion of the voices of victims. The findings are presented in such a way that the stories of victim participants are shared in the context of the conversations that took place. The responses are organized and presented as responses to four questions that query the perceived awareness of stakeholders of the rights and needs of victims. Specific concerns related to police and first responders, victim interactions with actors in the criminal justice system, and teacher interactions with child victims are identified as priority areas of concern.

Police, First Responders, and the Criminal Justice System

There were significant concerns with interactions with police, first responders and actors within the criminal justice system expressed by participants throughout the study, especially as identified by anonymous survey participants.

We set victims up for failure in terms of having their needs met even before we get out of the gate. And so, it would be interesting to know what victims are

looking for and then how we can... you know that could be part of the victimology and trauma studies program. To see what victims are looking for and how we can best serve them, help them see what it is they can hope for from different systems so that those expectations aren't a set up for disappointment. (Wendy)

Survey respondents answered question 1(See Appendix E), which concentrated on police response to reported victimization. The question asked, “How well do you feel responders and professionals understood what you were experiencing at the time the victimization occurred?” Some of the responses were:

The police on-scene (Ottawa Police) unfortunately were not helpful. They were indifferent, and spent time talking and actually joking around with each other rather than talking to me or answering my questions. When I did have questions they were not answered I was told to just finish writing out my statement. The assigned officer to the case was much more helpful, understanding and empathetic as was the victim service worker. (P-Survey)

Based on my experience with the numerous police officers, they each lacked any sense of compassion or sensitivity, which in most people is innate. (P-Survey)

However, when another participant reported an incident months later, they claimed that it was police who best understood what had happened.

They didn't ask if I'd been victimized and I didn't tell them. The paramedics and hospital staff didn't understand what had happened. A few months later, I told the police. They understood it very well. (P-Survey)

Janet reflected on police training and education in particular.

My experience as an ex-RCMP is, and also working within the justice system is that there is resistance to learning... and there are a lot of people who do work and cross paths with victims of crime who often don't recognize even their own knowledge gap. And are therefore resistant to knowledge because they feel, you know, they don't need it. It's like you know, I don't need gas, my tank is full, and then you go five miles and you realize you're out of gas. So, anyways, that's just one of my observations in the work that I do. (Janet)

Although she is now retired as an RCMP officer, Janet's position as a victims' services worker requires frequent interaction with police.

I spent the last 37 years of my career in various aspects of working with victims of crime versus a police officer, then as a worker at a transition house with women centers and back into police services and now with the department of justice as a victim services officer. I'm certainly aware that there is not enough good information and teaching opportunities or learning opportunities for people particularly really situated to make individuals better at what they do. I'm very interested in having that introduced into police curriculum more, into bureaucratic curriculum and having even unions understand that they need to train people up before they place them in positions that serve victims. My experience as an ex you know RCMP is, and also working within the justice system is that there is resistance to learning, and there is a lot of people who do work and cross paths with victims of crime often don't recognize even their own knowledge gap.

I know that with victim services here, we have been getting some information on violence and trauma informed work. I'm really cognizant and police are becoming more cognizant of how little they know of how the brain operates when individuals have experienced a violent crime. I think certainly having the police involved at some point, even for them to know that there needs to be some considerable additions to their training, that assists officers to get better information from victims, that would be valuable. (Janet)

Janet went on to talk about unpacking bias, essentially describing a critical reflective process, in order for police and other responders to recognize how victim interactions – especially when some may not readily 'believe' what a victim is reporting, impacts victims in ways that may cause secondary victimization.

I think that that is always helpful because we always need to continue doing personal work in order for us as individuals, police officers, nurses, instructors, teachers, we have to know where we're coming from. What I find really interesting Heather when you said that is, what I find in terms of bias sometimes with some of the individuals that, my co-workers, that some of their bias towards victims or against victims has to do with their bias about perpetrators. So, people being a certain kind of person so therefore, they wouldn't do that type of thing. So, there's a lot of unpacking that needs to be done because sometimes we want to believe the victim or say some people want to believe a victim but they don't want to disbelieve the perpetrator, because the perpetrator wasn't something that they saw him there for. (Janet)

Thomas Hartford unpacked the problem of police bias a little more.

Our relationship with police is very complicated at the best of times because we ask police to do at least two very different things. We ask them to protect all of us and what that means is a fluid concept at any given time. We also ask them to enforce all of the laws. That puts them pretty much inevitably in conflicts of our individual interests no matter what. In that same way, all of the people and all of the first responders, police, paramedics, fire, you name it, I think they're at risk because they don't get a lot of exposure to all of the people of any background. They don't get a lot of exposure to the citizens who don't need help. They get exposure to the ones that do need help. How they manage that need for help and how that gets displayed to the police and the paramedics and the fire, the correctional workers, and the communications teams, those are all very complex challenges. It's one of the areas where I try and remind myself. For example, the police aren't focusing on all of the people who are not speeding. The police are pulling up, for example, when they use a speed trap, the police see the people who refuse to stop speeding and they see the results of the people that won't stop speeding. They get rightfully frustrated because, "Why are you speeding? You're not in that much of a rush." In our case, you're in Regina. It's going to save you what, 30 seconds? I think the interplay there is so complex and every element of it warrants attention. (Thomas)

The same conversation continued.

One other thing too Heather, I just need to say it is. I know we talk about the exercise of unpacking the invisible knapsack of bias or acknowledging privilege. I think that anybody, anybody, whether they're a nurse a lawyer a teacher you know victim services worker and on and on and on. A police officer. We all have to unpack those things so that we know what we're bringing to the table. And that we own it because victims don't deserve our baggage. (Janet)

Yes. Like privilege. Privilege and bias of all kinds. One of the things that I found surprising is the resistance that some students and professionals have to the idea that their bias exists even if and when they made a commitment to interacting with clients in unbiased ways. They really struggle to recognize that the point wasn't to deny bias or to insist that with a commitment, you know, that they could be sure that they weren't going to interact with bias. The point, I think, is to recognize what the biases are there in the first place and to acknowledge them. And the role of critical reflection. I don't think, I think people need to learn that because generally we don't have a culture I think that openly encourages critical reflection. To me that would be one of the priorities. (Heather Peters)

Absolutely. Yes. When I was a young police officer, looking back there are definitely things I would have done differently. You know I see that I had some attitudes. I practiced reverse discrimination because I felt guilty. So all of these things I get to look back you know through a... the looking back lens. And so you know, we're at different stages in our lives to where we can access this kind of training when we're ready for it as well. (Janet)

I think that's one of the attractive ideas about starting first with a post Baccalaureate or a graduate certificate for people who are already you know already have degrees, who are already working in the field and consequently will already have some experiential knowledge, that this will allow those people to really develop a more comprehensive understanding. (Heather Peters)

In conversation, I asked, at what point does the cumulative impact of working with that day in, day out result in someone just shutting down just to get through and then that bias turns into a locked in jadedness? Is this an expression of vicarious trauma in responders? Thomas Hartford replied.

I think we forget that for a lot of them that the trauma and stress are very diverse, there's certainly what we sometimes call a criterion-A trauma. They're also experiencing tremendous stressors on multiple other fronts. They're often short-staffed. They're all being told to do more and more with less and less. They're being told whether they're paramedics, police, fire, corrections, communications, or whoever that if something goes wrong, they're often automatically at fault and then the onus is to prove that they were not at fault. Unlike the rest of the population that has the benefit of innocent until proven guilty, they may work within notions that they are guilty until proven innocent if something goes wrong. That's a very difficult stance to endure. The onus is in a very different place for them. In a recent study, one public safety person said when a mistake happens in their field, the people are treated as if everything switches. Instead of having support from their team members, if there's a mistake, if there's an injury that happens, if something goes wrong, someone should have been saved that wasn't or could have been maybe saved that wasn't, they often feel, effectively, criminalized. One of the big resiliency factors that we know that exists for trauma is that you have a support network, people that are there to say it's okay, it's going to be okay, we're going to be there to help you out and things like this. In many cases, there seems to be evidence those same people often don't receive that same support from their own support networks.

Thomas shared examples to illustrate possible situations in which police trauma is compounded by the pressures of performance in crisis situations.

If the people that in theory were there to help you are now attacking you, you're in an ugly space, especially if then the onus is on you to prove that you didn't do something wrong. You may need to prove to yourself or others that you didn't fail to resuscitate that person if you're a paramedic or you didn't fail to give that person enough time if you're a police officer. That you didn't fail to run through a wall when you should have, as I heard from one of the firefighters years ago, that they were looked down upon because they should have plowed through a wall in order to go and save somebody else. Just to be clear, the firefighter was made to feel they had failed because they didn't run through a wall. It's a very different world for our public safety personnel. (Thomas)

Heather Peters also recognized the problem.

There's a huge question in how organizations and companies are supporting their workers who are in this. I think it's quite narrow to view this as just having 900 victim service workers because we know that people who are working with people who have been victimized are across so many sectors. This conversation reminded me of one of my coworkers whose daughter is a nurse and started waking up screaming in the middle of the night. Her mom thought that maybe she was experiencing secondary trauma from stories she may have heard through work. In talking with her daughter, she realized that she was experiencing perpetrator trauma. People come into the ER who are hurt and then she needs to give them needles and stuff which is to help them, but also, causing them more pain in the interim. It also just highlights this complexity of how harm hurts people on so many different levels. (Heather Peters)

Dale Spencer homed in on problems with training of police officers, based on a study he conducted.

In the study that I'm doing now that's multi-phase. I did 70 interviews with police officers and two focus groups in ten different police service organizations across Canada. And one of the kind of key questions was what education and training did police officers receive in relation to victims? And so it ranked and varied from saying something to the effect of they get in a half an hour speech by someone that's in victim service units within the police or it would be something like an hour and a half and the training that they would kind of receive as part of that is if you look at a site and you suspect there's a call to say, or like maybe it's found that there's say images on a computer that they're down there are of children that are of a sexual nature, that they would be just told to you know shut off their computer

and are not sure off the computer unplug it and disconnect from a power source. So these kind of conversations that are had.

But there is no or not at least not a lot of emphasis placed on teaching police officers how to adequately interact with sexual violence or sexual assault victims, without, like being empathetic without intervening in negative ways with evidence meaning not leading the victim in some way shape or form. So... so I think it's important from a pedagogical standpoint at least to at some level have would-be police officers taking say a course in university that would speak to these problems. So that that's an interesting thing that I'm finding because it is almost like there's a complete avoidance and hesitancy in dealing with issues related to sexual violence victims. (Dale Spencer)

The next questions looked more broadly at the needs of victims, typically in the immediate aftermath of an incident, and what was perceived as helpful or unhelpful in the interactions with responders. The opinions and experiences described by respondents to the survey are included in an analysis of the ways in which education can prepare responders to better understand and meet the needs of victims. For example, the survey asked what victims wished police and other first responders understood about victimization.

Q3 (See Appendix E) In your own words, what do you wish responders and professionals better understood about you, and your experience?

Responses included:

I wish that the paramedics or hospital staff had understood that there might be more to my injuries than was assumed at the time. I wish two staff members had asked me directly and independently, then compared answers. They didn't understand the shock I was in at all. I wish they had sent a social worker to give me a safe place to share the details. (P-Survey)

I reported [to police] when I did because I thought someone else was at risk. It doesn't matter when you report, just that you are. You should be treated with the same respect and dignity no matter whether the assault is historical or current. (P-Survey)

That my experience was life-altering, I was horrified, traumatized and in a state of shock for weeks if not months. (P-Survey)

There are signs that responders and professionals should be educated to recognize. There are so many children trapped in abusive situations and they feel that no one can help them because they don't know any different than the lies that the abusers are telling them. (P-Survey)

Q2 Please describe what you found most unhelpful in your interactions with the responders and professionals first interacted with.

The fact that I wasn't asked if I had been assaulted, despite my many injuries, has caused me to feel resentment that I didn't get the care I would have if they'd bothered to ask. (P-Survey)

What was unhelpful was having the responding officers refuse to answer questions or explain what would happen next. (P-Survey)

It was very unhelpful that the medical staff never asked if I felt safe at home or if I had been assaulted. (P-Survey)

Q5 Please describe what you found helpful in each and any of your interactions with the responders and professionals you first interacted with following the victimization experience.

They [police] were very eager to help and went beyond. Explained the process even though I had no clue what I was supposed to do. Gave me some guidance as to what are my options and what are the procedures. (P-Survey)

Referrals and case updates were helpful as well as patience and empathy. (P-Survey)

The paramedics and hospital staff were very helpful in treating my physical injuries. When I told the police later, they were very compassionate and supportive, helping me through the reporting stage. (P-Survey)

Doctor listened to what we expressed as needs and was instantly responsive. The Police had no interest or concern in addressing our needs. To the point of avoidance/ignoring us. (P-Survey)

They were kind and gentle. (P-Survey)

Notably, there was an emphasis on empathy and compassion being perceived as either absent in cases of victim dissatisfaction or present in the case of interactions perceived as being helpful. What followed was consideration of how the valuable skills

and insights of experiential workers, and adult learners, if those could be included in victimological knowledge formation and praxis.

Teacher Needs in Trauma-informed Classrooms

Teachers, like other professionals, are challenged to meet the needs of trauma victims while carrying a heavy load of responsibility especially when working with children and adults. The challenges are complex. Astrid (pseudonym) is an elementary school teacher who attended the community meeting.

I think we're ill prepared to deal with what we're dealing with in the classroom. When students are coming in. And we're poorly trained in any kind of trauma training, or counseling at all. We're dealing with this day to day, and classrooms sizes are getting bigger, they're not going to get smaller. For example, I have 30 kids in my classroom and when one story comes out, I'm dealing with that and an hour later I'm dealing with something else that's coming up. And I'm not even thinking about me in any of this and at the end of the day when I have no support, or the counsellor is being shared by 6 schools, and I can't get my person in until I get a form filled out and then if they don't qualify for that even though I think they qualify, I'm by myself and I'm dealing with it by myself. And at the end of the day I send them back into that trauma. And at the end of the day I'm not sleeping because I'm worried about Jimmy (pseudonym). Then I go back to school and do it all over again. It's over and over and over. I'm ill-prepared to be dealing with this, but then I'm not even thinking about how I'm absorbing their trauma. At the end of the workweek, on Friday, I'm sitting there and I'm thinking, I didn't do enough.

I have this guilt of I didn't do enough for this child, or I didn't do enough for my classroom. And then I project it onto my path. We're pushing and pushing and pushing. And going to everything we have in our building. Everybody's turning us away. Saying you need to deal with that. You have this child, you need to deal with that. So at the end of the day as a teacher, you think I didn't do enough, that's a failure on my part. I'm failing their families. I'm failing. (P-CM- *Astrid*)

There were several teachers in attendance at the meeting.

That's probably my fear too. Feeling that way. Teachers are sent a 40 page document. They talk about bullying, they don't even talk about victimization, they just use the word bullying, bullying, bullying as if just happens in a vacuum. They don't talk about any of the underlying causes of bullying that are very very very very real. Very real to what they're dealing with as teachers. When you have a

provincial policy document that basically presumes that bullying, which is a power issue, happens in a vacuum you've got a big problem. We need to deal with all the different dynamics that are involved with bullying and victimization. (P-CM)

Our formal training says this is what it looks like in the classroom. You don't deal with problems. You don't deal with disclosures or anything else. You teach. I know I had sounded earlier like I was blaming the cutbacks, and big classes and that's not really what I meant. I more meant if we learned more compassion as teachers and helped each other and were real with each other. If we're not trying to outdo someone else, or I have a worse story in my class, or I have a bigger problem. If we sit down and talk to each other about real things, or (unclear) reach out to that child, or that teacher in ways that help support them. Seeing something's going on and, helping. What can we do? To not be like, that's a terrible child, and nobody wants them in the classroom. Nobody wants them in our school. Nobody wants them in our community. I think teacher try to do the best they can but I think a lot of the time there's resistance to children who are not the average child. Children who don't fit the cookie cutter, are challenging or there are other issues going on. We need to do a better job of listening to each other. Or having our own counsellor talk to us knowing that it's not just my problem, it's all of our problems (P-CM).

The progressive contributions to victimology are considerable, yet there continues to be gaps in the distribution and mobilization of knowledge. The epistemological challenges in knowledge formation may best be reconciled by first establishing an axiological position in victimology.

The Inclusion of the Voices of Victims

In addition to the challenges inherent to victimology as a field, axiological tensions exist, whereby the epistemological context of victimology knowledge is traditionally situated and generated within an adversarial criminal justice system where victims still have no formal status. Matheos, as a participant, shared his belief that the stories of victims, the community-based knowledge of advocates, teachers, workers and responders, and other leaders at the community level can enrich the scholarly knowledge

that emerges from the disciplines. When the scope of victimology and trauma studies is broadened to reach beyond criminal victimization and to include human rights violations, exploitation, racism, gendered violence, and systemic victimizations, the field is enriched. This position is in agreement with the position taken by Zehr and Umbreit (1982), who argued that victims should be given a voice and listened to. Nevertheless, questions remain about how lived experience and tacit knowledge is evaluated and represented.

Lived Experience and Knowledge Creation

Gibb and Walker (2013) suggested there are problems when trying to form standardized knowledge resources that can be shared with a vast number of people, yet documentation of ‘best practices’ and standards in knowledge goes beyond merely increasing access to knowledge. The authors argue that tacit knowledge emerges through work practices and relationships, and arguably through the lived experiences of victims. The integration of tacit and experiential knowledge is challenging.

What would that look like? If we’re doing a trauma-informed perspective in approaching the education, do we need people who have lived the experience or do we need people that have scientific background? Do we need somebody with both? Perhaps one question that I’d ask is at what point can we say that somebody is coming from enough of a trauma-informed perspective to be able to provide the education that we’re looking for? (Thomas Sanford)

I think lived experience is really important but I don’t think it’s the only piece. I think education, people who have done some work in educating themselves and when I say education, I don’t limit it to going to some kind of post-secondary institution and collecting a degree in something. I mean to say education that’s provided by maybe people who have some critical consciousness around what the subject matter might look like. For me, I think there’s a bit of a tension here, some tensions here for me because academe is situated in a particular way where if you’re educated then you’re an expert. Also, academe is also predominantly people

of a certain persuasion, mostly people who are white, heterosexual for example. Those lived experiences and those understanding what's filtered in through our courses. I think for me, the people that are going to be facilitating in an education, and when I say that I mean what we call a profession or teaching or whatever it is needs to have varied interests, varied social identities and different understanding about what trauma might look like, might be for different groups of people. (Delores Mullings)

I think education and self-awareness as Dolores was saying, that critical self-analysis of how we and educators are informing and living personally with the trauma that we see and experience and teach about is very important. When we talk about trauma-informed practices, often we're talking about, I think probably things that you all as professional teachers put into your teaching practices that have choice and creating spaces of safety or at least places where people can think critically. Those are important trauma-informed practices that we put into our education I think generally but are important to me. (Heather Peters)

There were participant concerns that the focus on the rights and needs of one particular group or victim type may overshadow the needs of other groups who, for example, may not be as visible as others.

The Scope and Breadth of the Field

In another group conversation among core collaborators, Delores Mullings discussed, as one example, the apparent absence of critical race theory in some of the victimology literature.

So, in my experience working with mostly women and children in shelters and hospitals and sexual assault centers, I'm wondering here, how do you take up the issue of race, in this work? 'Cause in my experience, the, you know, people's race, and other social constructions, do play a part in not only how they are victimized, but also how society recognizes them as survivors. Right? So I'm wondering, how do we pick that up in here, and give space to that? So, Indigenous studies is there, so, that'll take care of maybe groups of Indigenous people.

But, I'm just wondering about people and race. But, how do you see that being picked up by institutions in Canada, right now? Or, is that being more responded to at a community level at this point, if at all? I don't feel like it's institution. So, for example in Ontario, and my experience is really for the most part in Ontario,

around community services, that support keeping this kind of waste. So, what is the name of the legal clinic, that supports African Community and Negro Clinic for example? They do a lot of work around. Well, it's a law clinic. So, you know, they do a lot of work around big teams of anti-black racism, for example, or, survivors of anti-black racism. So for example, black queers would take care of... In the sphere of queer studies, black queer studies would definitely, as a part of queer studies, would take care of, you know, black queer people, for example. But, there's the piece around queerness and race, that black queer studies can't do. Right? Because, they can't do for everyone else. So, I'm not so sure. I just know that it's important. Because in all our institutions, racism is a central part of it. From my experience when people take up intersectionality, the race piece gets lost because, you know? There's an attempt to make all instances of discrimination or oppression, or social reconstructive positionalities look the same. But, I try to stay true to my experience of where the whole piece of intersectionality comes from. (Delores Mullings)

Heather Peters spoke next. Heather works for the Mennonite Central Committee as the Restorative Justice Coordinator for Saskatchewan. In that role, she supports advocacy in education for things that are broadly and specifically grounded in restorative justice practices. Heather does a great deal of community-based work rather than within the courts and justice systems.

So, Critical Race Theory and Victimization, that would be a really important course. I think also, there tends to be kind of a blanketing of vulnerable populations, and discussion of hate crimes. But, sometimes as you say, when you start throwing a blanket over issues, you know, you lose. You lose on... You don't home in. (Heather)

Delores continued...

Also, Heather, do you know what I wanted to say too? Please don't think of me as a naysayer. But, these things I think are important to bring up right up front, so that we're not moving ahead and then all of a sudden I'm saying, "Well, I was thinking about this thing." So in terms of the AOP, the Anti-Oppressive Practice? I think we need to consider, there's a huge critique around that concept. And the critique is more coming from racialized people around how social workers use AOP in a non-critical way, and how sometimes the way the practitioner operates can actually create oppression inside the institutionalized oppressive system, particularly when there is no recognition of power, and power relations, and how those things occur

in relationships with people who are less powerful or less politically or financially dominant, for example.

Heidi Illingworth reflected on how crime may be approached in a traditional, victims of crime course.

I would agree for sure, that maybe intersectionality is an important approach. But, we definitely would need to look at specifically including, you know, if you're looking at a course... I'm trying to think of in the victimology program here in Algonquin. I believe what you were referencing about maybe crimes against someone who's black, would just be lumped into the hate crimes section, in a victims of crime course. Like, there's not a specific focus on race necessarily. I'm trying to think of the second term courses. And, I think it's important if we are developing any sort of readings for a potential program, that we have to focus specifically on race issues, and maybe, the anti-oppression frameworks are not appropriate as you say, Delores. (Heidi)

In an earlier conversation, Dale Spencer echoed concerns that the depth and breadth of the field is subsumed by a narrow focus.

I think what I'm noticing is that I end up, so this is a kind of another point which I am sure has come up in some of your other conversations, is the general understanding of victimology as a discipline. So there isn't that, it often is either overshadowed by kind of feminist movements regarding ameliorating pain and suffering of women which is valid in its own right. But on the other hand the aspects of victimology that kind of get pushed aside or subsumed consumed or just generally are not understood is it's kind of beginnings out of the post-war period, the broader studies that don't necessarily look at you know forms of violence against women and the more broader work like Paul Rock on murder or the aftermath work that he did. And there was that was done by Walkate, like on burglary and the effects of burglary on people when there's other work history. So this kind of breadth of the discipline is generally not understood and because it's not understood it's not really a place to have any real, and maybe I'm being a bit dismissive here, and maybe I should be posing this more in terms of its potential, but I see what ends up happening is it gets subsumed with that other kind of work that is being done from a feminist lens rather than seeing it as something that has a much broader base of topics of interest than only women. (Dale Spencer)

The discussion led again to questions regarding how an axiological approach to victimology, one that positively and democratically evaluates the knowledge

contributions of victims and others, can contribute to the development or maturing of the field through education and knowledge creation.

Summary and Discussion

The findings presented as Priority Four are organized according to categories in adult education of nonformal, formal and experiential learning (Rubenson, 2007). In the case of many victims' services workers who have access to workshops and nonformal training, most of the victim and trauma studies survey participants claimed to have received as little as one to three hours of training. The vast majority of survey participants were of the opinion that education may be key to their ability to meet the needs of victims. Moreover, the absence of victimology education may even harm victims (Tamarit, 2010) through secondary victimization (Campbell, 2001). Toni suggested, based on her experience as a mental health counsellor, the various agencies who work with victims, especially child victims are potential contributors who could help co-developers of courses or certificates. Such certificates could support professional credentialing and the rise of the 'knowledge worker' (Gibb & Walker, 2013). Most survey participants identified a first preference for the development of an undergraduate degree program with victim studies as a possible major, and a graduate certificate for professionals with an existing degree as a second priority. Jaime, as a nurse educator, was encouraged by the idea of certificate programs that provided learners who are already working in the field with an opportunity to build on existing knowledge, especially for those who are unlikely to pursue a degree program. Jaime and Toni both saw the potential for non-government agencies to be consumers of certificate programs,

as well as professionals like nurses and teachers. Although many professionals may be interested in nonformal training, or certificate programs, there remains an interest in formal education.

Heidi Illingworth described her experience as a student as an example of how even in relevant disciplines like criminology, law, justice studies and psychology victimology courses are rare. Even rarer are courses with a comprehensive review of victimology theory (Growette Bostaph, et al., 2014). Lawrence talked about the value of knowledge gained through experience in policing in Saskatchewan, where the violent crime rates are proportionately high. He recognized how access to victimology education can be instrumental in helping trainers in police services create more awareness of victim needs and help prevent secondary victimization (Mawby & Walkate, 2002).

Dale Spencer reviewed some of the challenges to developing victimology programs, namely the complexity (Zuri, 2012), interdisciplinarity (Karmen, 2016) and scope (Spencer & Walkate, 2016) of the field. Moreover, according to Spencer, the challenges to constructing programs with content relevant to disciplinary and community interests are structural problems within universities where the need for social justice programs competes with cost-recovery priorities. University extension and the “adult education *movement*” (Carter & Martin, 2013, p. 278) is conceived as a “pedagogy of social justice” (p. 278) and community development, founded on a set of social purposes, and rooted in a concern for the less privileged (Nesbit, 2013). The traditional, critical perspectives in adult education inform fields of study that have emerged from grassroots, community-based concerns for social justice. Heather Peters talked about her frustration in advocating for program development and suggested advocacy for education is parallel

to pushing for social and structural change. Victimology is a field of study with similar roots in the victims' movement (Karmen, 2016). The passion and outrage of victims of crime ultimately led to the enactment of the Canadian Victims Bill of Rights in 2015, giving victims of crime recognized legal rights in criminal justice processes for the first time in Canadian history.

There is a shift in focus toward recognizing the rights and needs of victims and there are now more than 900 victims services providers across Canada (Munch, 2015). The demand for education of providers is great, yet there is no evidence of dedicated victimology programs and corresponding research plans from Canadian degree-granting institutions. There is a graduate certificate program offered at various Ontario College campuses in the Province of Ontario, and online, however credit for courses completed in the program may or may not be eligible for transfer to degree programs at Canadian universities according to Dale Spencer. The Université of Montréal appears to be a comprehensive program as well, although access will be limited to those who are fluent in the French language.

It was a priority of this study to create opportunities for the democratic inclusion of the voices of victims, an ethics of voice (Riecken et al., 2004). Victims with lived experience, and workers with tacit experience (Horlick-Jones & Sime, 2004) in the field were invited to identify priorities when asked to identify how education might contribute to an awareness of the rights and needs of victims. Many participants spoke to concerns with a perceived lack of empathy and compassion with police and other responders while acknowledging the helpfulness of compassion when it was put into practice (Doty,

2013). Specific concerns related to police failure to recognize and understand trauma, and even failure to believe victims when reporting incidents to police.

Janet as an ex-RCMP officer, offered her perception that for police, there is perhaps a ‘resistance to learning’ while emphasizing how having an understanding of the neuroscience of trauma (Finkelhor, 2008; Malchiodi, 2015; Perry, 2017; van der Kolk, 2005), how trauma is processed, could help police respond to victims in crisis with greater understanding. Education is key. Problems of police bias and secondary victimization (Campbell, 2001) are also anchored in the complicated demands of police work whereby, as Thomas pointed out, police interaction with the public takes place in difficult situations. Janet nevertheless argued for the importance of recognizing and unpacking police bias. Heather Peters observed that critical reflection, necessary for deconstructing bias, is not normally promoted socially. She suggested education, especially at a post-baccalaureate level, could be instrumental in this regard.

Vicarious trauma, as discussed by Thomas Hartford, Heather Peters and Dale Spencer, can be a real problem for police and others who work with victims, leading to empathic stress fatigue (Klimecki & Singer, 2012) commonly referred to as ‘burnout’ and even to PTSD (Collie, 2006). Teachers, like police and nurses, face challenges in dealing with child victims with little in the way of education to prepare them, or administrative support from within. Ingrid, as a teacher participant at the community meeting (P-CM-*Ingrid*), said the isolation and pressure of feeling ill-prepared or turned away when seeking support, makes it extremely difficult to incorporate a trauma-informed perspective in the classroom. There may also be problems in the way empathy and compassion are understood (Klimecki & Singer, 2012). The constant exposure to

human suffering may desensitize police and other first responders if the experiences are processed neurologically in the pain centre of the brain as vicarious trauma (Hoijer, 2004). As Klimecki and Singer (2012) explained, many and even most caregivers will experience *empathic distress fatigue* as a form of burnout that can lead to reduced levels of helping. This may, however, be avoidable when a cognitive approach to the suffering of others is other-oriented, rather than self-oriented. In other words, when individuals imagine what the situation would feel like if it happened to them (self-oriented) brain activity occurs in the region associated with pain. However, when the distinction is made that it is the suffering of another (other-oriented) brain activity is redirected. Cognitive neuroscience as studied at the Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education, Stanford University (2013) demonstrates how compassion can be cultivated as prosocial behaviour. Contemplative practices in mindfulness can be learned as a way to improve the capacity for empathy and compassion.

Victimization is a complex social problem that demands insight into the causal, preventative and remedial factors that are *both* disciplinary and transdisciplinary (community-based) and facilitate crossings of “epistemological, methodological and traditional practice-research boundaries” (Messing, Adelman, & Durfee, 2012, p. 641). The integration of academic and non-canonical knowledge perspectives and insights can help produce new solutions that lead to constructive social change and sound praxis in the field. The tacit knowledge which has emerged from, for example, “grassroots and non-governmental victims organizations” (Victims of Violence Canadian Centre for Missing Children, 2014, p. 15) and is sustained through knowledge sharing communities as demonstrated by the participants who formed an intentional community

within the landscape of practice as defined by this study. Tacit knowledge emerges from the sharing of the knowledge from the continuous practice in the community” (Eveleth, 2014, pp. 43,44). This description of the diverse communities within a transdisciplinary²⁴ landscape of practice (LoP) looks optimistically at the possibilities of border-crossing and toward the potential integration of knowledge. Yet questions remain as to the praxis of such an endeavour.

The tensions expressed by Thomas Hartford, Delores Mullings, Heather Peters, and Dale Spencer are centred around questions of whose experiences become foundational to understanding victimization. For example, critical race theory evaluates how “race, and other social constructions, do play a part in not only how they are victimized, but also how society recognizes them as survivors” (Delores). Dale Spencer suggested that because the scope of victimology is not generally understood there is a risk, in his view, that some issues are subsumed when there is a narrow focus on dominant issues. Heather Peters agreed that one issue folds into another citing how hate crimes can be subsumed under a blanket overview of vulnerable populations. There is much work to do.

Priority Five: The Epiphany

A significant, yet unexpected finding emerged from the data analysis, namely the identified need for the development of an axiology of victimology.

Axiological refers to values and human qualities, in their diverse modalities, at the collective and individual level. We set ourselves to create a knowledge about that

²⁴ Transdisciplinarity is conceptually invested in border-crossing and “entails making connections not only across the boundaries between disciplines, but also between scholarly inquiry and the sphere of tacit and experiential knowledges” (Horlick-Jones & Simes, 2003, p. 445).

which is axiological, an axiological epistemology, for knowledge societies in continuous change” (Corbí, 2016, p. v).

It was through the synthesis of ideas that emerged from the participants in this study, and from the literature, that an I experienced an epiphany of sorts. As the analysis concluded, I continued to question the axiological tensions that exist regarding the inclusion and valuing of the voices of victims and other potential contributors with lived experience, to victimology knowledge creation. I observed how there may be tensions in terms of the value-based principles of social justice and democratic inclusion and I questioned, like Walkate, “Whose knowledge counts, how and why?” (Walkate, 2007, p. 148). This may especially be the case for those who are oriented to positivistic paradigms evident in the adversarial nature of the criminal justice system and processes (Roach, 1999).

An underpinning of the focus of this study was the wish to contribute to the advancement of victimological scholarship, including theoretical development and research in the interest of positive and fundamental social change through transformative education (Fleming, 2018). An analysis of how knowledge is produced (Hanson, 2009), with an emphasis on democratic knowledge inclusion requires critical reflection and an examination of existing ideas and practices (English & Mayo, 2012), social orthodoxies (Nesbit, 2013) and dominant discourses. Challenging knowledge assumptions may also lead to contesting what counts as knowledge (Welton, 2013). For example, Fattah (1989), in early writing expressed concern that the political activism associated with the victims’ movement and the increased participation of community-based victim advocacy groups may not always serve the victim or the justice process. The concern that the study of victimology is at risk of being co-opted by neoliberal and humanistic ideas in ways

that propagate positivism are noteworthy, yet there is no evidence in the literature that victim participation results in the devolution of victimology as a scholarly field of study. Despite Fattah's protectionist stance on the existing hierarchy of knowledge in victimology, the participants of this study agreed that greater victim participation in knowledge creation is a priority.

I conducted an extensive search for literature that explored an axiological approach to victimology knowledge. I discovered a distinct gap in the literature. Nevertheless, there was a mutual interest in exploring this further between me, as a participant, and another participant, Matheos Kontopidis.

Toward an Axiology of Victimology

The axiology of victimology knowledge, the "evaluation" of the stories of victimization as a source of included knowledge, "enriches the other 'ologies', ontology, epistemology and methodology. You've got be constructive. Anything you add, has to be constructive." (Matheos Kontopidis).

The stories of victims, the community-based knowledge of advocates, teachers, workers, and responders, can, therefore, enrich the scholarly knowledge that emerges from the disciplines. It was challenging, in light of the paucity of literature focused on an axiology of victimology, to find language in English words to adequately express what Matheos intended to communicate. Matheos, as a native speaker of Greek, proposed the word *anaxiological*. After spending time together with a Greek-English Lexicon (Liddell, 2003), Matheos, as a participant, suggested that an approach to knowledge that fails to positively evaluate the contributions of victims and others in order to build on

what is already known and what is not yet known, is an *anaxiological* approach to knowledge. *Anaxological* is a word which is not in evidence in the English language according to our mutual search in the literature.

Just as Reason (1998), Corbí (2016), Deane (2017), Laudan (1984) and Patterson and Williams (1998) asserted the importance of axiology in knowledge, or how people value and privilege knowledges, Matheos took the position that an axiology that evaluates, in constructive ways, the stories and experiences of victims is crucial. Moreover, a hegemonic (English & Mayo, 2012) or hierarchical system whereby victims still have no formal status is, according to Matheos, an *anaxiological* approach that may be ultimately harmful to victims and work to maintain oppressive systems. Roach (1999) argues that the punitive model of victim participation maintains an adversarial (arguably *anaxiological*) position, whereby the rights and needs of the victim are seemingly “pitted against” (p. 29) the rights of the offender. The Canadian Victims Bill of Rights (Government of Canada, 2015) formalized a commitment to protecting victims' right to information, the right to protection, the right to participate through submission of victim impact statements, and the right to restitution. Nevertheless, the status of victims as participants in criminal justice processes remains, for the most part, unchanged.

Gibb and Walker (2013) and suggest there are problems when trying to form standardized knowledge resources that can be shared with a vast number of people, yet documentation of ‘best practices’ and standards in knowledge goes beyond merely increasing access to knowledge. The authors argue that tacit knowledge emerges through work practices and relationships, and arguably through the lived experiences of victims. The integration of tacit and experiential knowledge is challenging. Tacit knowledge

emerges from the sharing of the knowledge from the continuous practice in the community” (Eveleth, 2014, pp. 43,44). The participants of this study, for example, formed an intentional knowledge-sharing community within a victimological and trauma studies landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015), demonstrating the potential integration of knowledges. Yet, questions remain as to the long-term possibilities for such an endeavour, when the undertaking is to develop a university-based victimology program of study informed by epistemological, ontological, and axiological theories.

CHAPTER NINE: RETROSPECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study design was intended to facilitate transdisciplinary conversations that reached across various material boundaries. The transdisciplinarity of the study provided a framework for examining two questions.

First Study Question

The first question asked, what are the priorities identified by stakeholder/collaborators organized as an intentional community within a victimology and survivor studies - transdisciplinary landscape of practice that may guide the development of pedagogical strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and survivor studies education in Canada?

Overall, the participants' agreed that there is a pressing need for victimology and survivor studies educational programs and courses. The transdisciplinarity (Horlick-Jones & Sime, 2004) of the field is such that content and learning outcomes, according to participants, should be adaptive to various professional and academic interests, as identified by the participants. An intentional group of collaborators as active stakeholders within a landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015) is capable of identifying priorities and developing specific courses or program content, as per the needs and interests of relevant academic disciplines and community organizations and agencies working with victims. The priorities identified by participants for all stakeholder groups included the following:

- 1) that victimology theory and praxis be approached critically,

- 2) that a worldview or ontology of social justice acknowledges relational power and oppression in victimization,
- 3) that victimological epistemology recognizes diverse knowledges,
- 4) that pedagogical approaches are grounded in the recognition of existing paradigms and the awareness of such can be instrumental in facilitating transformative change through adult education, and
- 5) that development of an axiology of victimology can contribute to the maturity of the field.

It was expected that the scope of the study would require breadth and depth in analysis, precipitated by the development of trust relationships at the community level as a prerequisite in many cases, to hearing and sharing the deeply personal stories of victims. When it appeared that the conversations failed to answer specific questions related to how education could improve the ways victims are understood and responded to, from the perspective of victims, a survey was added as a data collection instrument. Overall, the analysis of the data was challenging because of the scope and complexity of the material. Nevertheless, the multiple data sources contributed to the veracity and rigour of the study. The formation of an intentional community of stakeholders was intended to serve as a methodological innovation and transdisciplinary model for collaboration. Despite the logistical challenges, the viability of the methodology was demonstrated to be productive and may be useful as a model for future collaborations where the intention is to develop and implement victimology programs.

Participants expressed awareness that therapeutic interventions after victimization require a responder awareness of the impact of trauma (Fortier, et al., 2009; Hill, 2009; Perreault S., 2004). Neuroscience has contributed to a deeper understanding of, for example, memory processes and toxic stress responses (Perry, 2017). Increasingly, trauma-informed approaches are incorporated in mental health practices and in school

classrooms, yet teachers receive little education to prepare them for trauma assessment of their students, or to have ready resources available to support their interactions with trauma victims. Education is instrumental in providing access to recent research findings and the development of best practices, yet in Canadian universities, there are no programs of study with a dedicated focus on trauma and victimization. Furthermore, according to the study results, trauma-informed interventions that include the creation of trauma narratives, victim impact statements (Wemmers 2008) and other expressive therapies need greater attention and evaluation.

Second Study Question

The second study question asked, how might the differing perspectives, needs and work practices of a diverse range of stakeholders including societal responders, policy makers, non-disciplinary knowledge sources, scholars, and interested learners, be bridged to help determine priorities in victimology pedagogy?

Through the findings presented in Priority Four, the Case for Victimology Education, it is clear that the task of bridging such a panorama of perspectives can seem overwhelming, to say the least. It requires an integration of relevant and existing disciplinary knowledge traditions and professional practices and according to participants, the inclusion of community-based, tacit knowledge. According to some participants, competing institutional priorities further complicate efforts toward collaboration with community-based organizations and agencies, and with victims themselves, particularly given the breadth of the field of study.

Ideas regarding curriculum development *per se* received less attention from participants than concerns around the paradigmatic framework of program development. There was nevertheless a common ground of interest among participants in how content can be approached, that is, a focus on victimization and trauma should emerge from attention to the context in which it occurs. For example, the context in education may include attention to critical race theory, gendered victimization, vulnerable populations, and hate crimes as examples.

Findings from the survey revealed a surprisingly minimal level of education in responders, volunteers, and professionals as preparation for dealing with trauma and victimization. Many respondents indicated they had received only one-three hours of training, or less, before working with victims. Considering the potential for harm through secondary victimization (Campbell, 2001; Mawby & Walkate, 2002; Orth, 2002; Tamarit, 2010) when responders have an insufficient understanding of neurobiological and psychological trauma responses and the impact of victimization, the urgency of the need for victimology education is dramatic. In this, there was broad agreement among participants. This concurs with the literature.

Currently, given the paucity of available learning opportunities (McDonald, 2017), victimology education necessarily includes formal, nonformal and informal learning, and no single pathway emerged as a clear priority in program development. On the contrary, the priority identified by participants is to advance the co-creation of knowledge between academics and community agencies, including the experiential knowledge of victims, advocates, and workers.

Overall, the idea of university certificate programs which allow those already working in the field to build on existing knowledge without having to pursue a degree program was advanced by some participants as a pragmatic approach to student learning. Nevertheless, there is a need for the teachers, the instructors themselves, to have sufficient background in victimology in order to accomplish the learning objectives identified.

Limitations of the Research and Future Recommendations

It was hoped by some that the findings of the study would include specific recommendations for curriculum or program development in victimology and trauma studies. There were both inherent and unexpected limitations that made that an unlikely outcome. First, curriculum development was not a stated objective of the study. However, it was evident through the early literature review that there were existing questions that must first be addressed. The research questions emerged from that awareness.

In presenting the findings that look critically at the implications of the victim-survivor continuum, it is noteworthy that this is but one of the possible foci in victimology studies. Nonetheless, survivorship was a subject that was prioritized by several participants and as such the findings on that subject are presented as a single priority. A critical theory of survivorship requires deeper investigation than what was possible through this study. Likewise, the findings produced some insights into how media contributes to public perceptions and the construction of victims and

victimization, yet this is an area where future research that links victimization to media depictions of harm, reinforcement of stigma, and other problems is needed.

The arts-based processes engaged in, and the art pieces produced through those processes, are not included in this work. This decision was made for several reasons. The first consideration was the size and length of the dissertation. Adding images, both my own and the expressive images of others, of the various art pieces would have significantly lengthened the work. The methodology provided opportunities to discuss arts-based processes including storytelling, trauma narratives, and expressive arts therapy, and I acknowledge how art-making was an important part of my evaluative practice. Future research could include a rich inquiry into victims' experiences with arts-based processes.

The limitations of this study are commensurate with the enormity of the need to learn more. In conclusion, as victimology matures and scholarship in the field evolves, there are boundless avenues of interest and a genuine need for future research.

CONCLUSION AND CALL FOR ACTION

It may be necessary to first identify how new knowledge contributions will be evaluated in order to move forward with curriculum development in ways that reflect the maturity of victimology as a field of study.

The formation of an intentional community consistent with a transdisciplinary landscape of practice created a framework or container that encompassed academic and community-based interests. Victimization impacts individuals but needs also to be understood as a societal problem. The academic knowledge traditions in victimology are hierarchical, however, academic knowledge alone is incomplete. The participants of this study as scholars and academics, professionals who work in the field, advocates, and volunteers, as well as victims of trauma and harm created a knowledge resource that is rich with individual stories and perspectives, each from their own knowledge backgrounds. The patterns that emerged, presented as prioritized findings, suggest there is potential in the spaces between academic and community priorities to define and develop an axiology of victimology. An axiology that prioritizes the constructive evaluation of new knowledge contributions and builds on what already exists with what does not yet exist in victimology may be foundational to the ability to operationalize educational priorities.

With the exception of Van Dijk's (2009) research on narrative victimology, there is little evidence in the literature of an axiological approach to victimology. This is possibly due to the emphasis on victimology as the study of criminal victimization. Nevertheless, an axiology of victimology may guide processes of evaluation of existing academic

knowledge contributions and examine how the tacit and experiential knowledge of victims, advocates and workers in the field can build on what is already known.

Critical traditions in adult education can support the capacity of communities and individuals, learners and practitioners to grow and develop when the social influences in the world in which they live, work and participate are understood and made visible.

Justice is often spoken of as a grand narrative of big social projects – replacing capitalism with socialism, overcoming White supremacy, abolishing patriarchy, realizing true democracy and so on. But an enormous amount of justice work takes place in the pockets and crevices of everyday life and practice. Certainly, we can unionize, create revolutionary parties, build social movements, take to the streets, and develop community organizations: but we can also call out racist micro-aggressions when we see them, promote curriculum that challenges the status quo, oppose destructive organizational priorities or take the necessarily vague language of mission statements and co-opt it for unexpected purposes. Justice work is done in big movements but also in small actions (Brookfield, 2016, p. 28).

To conclude, in the words of participant Dale Spencer, “We still have to think practically about what exists already”. The disciplinary maturity of victimology is likely to rely on a willingness on the part of all stakeholders within a transdisciplinary landscape of practice to work collaboratively and discriminately on program development so that the pressing needs for education are met. The urgency is there. Through an integration of the principles of a pedagogy of social justice and community development, knowledge can be constructed and mobilized in ways that contribute to an axiological approach to victimology learning, knowing, and practice. It is hoped this development can create a foundation upon which educational programs in victimology and trauma studies can be built.

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**APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT TEXT AND CORE PARTICIPANT CONSENT
FORM**



**UNIVERSITY OF
REGINA**

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Department of Adult Education
Regina, Saskatchewan,
Canada S4S 0A2
Fax: (306) 585-4880
www.uregina.ca/educ

PARTICIPANT LETTER OF INVITATION AND STUDY GUIDE

December 16, 2018

Participant
Street Address
City and Province
Ph.
Email.

Dear Participant,

I am a doctoral candidate in the PhD in Education program at the University of Regina, Saskatchewan. I am conducting a qualitative research study entitled, **Victimology and Survivor Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice**. The research is based on a university/community collaborative method of investigation, within a Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice action research model. I am forwarding this letter to you and inviting you to participate in this study.

Victimology is a transdisciplinary field of study focused on harm, victimization, victims and survivors of crimes, victims and survivors of non-criminal victimizations including human rights violations (Quinney, *Who is the Victim?*, 1972), and the societal relationships and responses to victimization (Landau, 2014). Victimology places victims and survivors at the centre of interest (O'Connell, 2008). The data resource created by this research will help identify participant priorities that may guide future victimology and survivor studies program development initiatives. The scope of this interest is wide and includes potential learners from various existing disciplines and professional fields, such as criminology, sociology, psychology, law, justice and legal studies, education, social work, political science and medicine. The research will also contribute to the transdisciplinarity of the field and help build bridges of understanding. This can inform and create positive change in the practices of interveners and responders, advocates, actors in justice processes, policy makers and scholars. Ultimately, the beneficiaries are the victims, their families and their communities.

As a potential study participant, you are invited to engage in collaboration with stakeholders who will form an intentional community within a Victimology and Survivor Studies - Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice (VSS-TLoP), who together may guide the development of pedagogical strategies and priorities for the design and delivery of victimology

and survivor studies education in Canada. The research question asks: *How can the differing perspectives, needs and work practices of a diverse range of stakeholders including societal responders, policy makers, non-disciplinary knowledge sources, scholars, and interested learners, be bridged to help determine priorities in victimology pedagogy?* Other study participants may include individuals involved in victim's advocacy organizations, victim's services providers and social responders (police, emergency responders, medical personnel, social workers etc.), interested learners, individuals involved in justice processes, and scholars from a variety of disciplines. The participants may also include victims. There are safeguards and guidelines for analysis of the data collected which can be operationalized by: 1) Maintaining a victim centred perspective, 2) maintaining a concept of victimization as a harm-based, rather than crime-based discourse. Additionally, 3) a critical approach to analysis of the theoretical and methodological frameworks in victimology and survivor studies benefits from an intersectional perspective that includes awareness of the relational dimensions of power.

A defining boundary for participation in the research is that collaborators will have an interest or awareness of the significance of higher education in victimology and survivor studies. Moreover, although some focus groups are characterized by a small core group of individuals who are active with peripheral participation by members of the larger group, the Victimology and Survivor Studies - Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice (VSS-TLoP) as a whole, may encourage and benefit from a fluid state of participation with intellectual neighbors and stakeholders at the community level. An expected ten (10) to twelve (12) participants from across Canada will be involved. Participants are being asked to engage in one full research cycle which may take as few as four months, but may take up to six months. The steps involved in an action research cycle include making a plan of action, followed by observation, reflection, re-planning and so on. The reflective cycles that create opportunities for a deeper understanding of practice are integral to the theorizing (and re-planning) that follows. The design and identifiable moments as an iterative process of repeating steps in a cycle of action research are not a rigid template upon which the process is based. Therefore, the first interaction will involve participation in an individual interview between invited participant and the researcher/facilitator. Participants will be sent initial questions to consider prior to the first interview or meeting. Questions will serve as initiators of communication. Group meetings will take place once a month for four to six months, or until one full research cycle is complete for up to six months. Meetings will last approximately 2 hours each. Doodle polls will be circulated to help determine the times and dates when participants are available. Doodle is an online scheduling tool that can be used quickly and easily to find a date and time to meet with multiple people. The facilitator suggests various dates and times for the research participants to choose from, then Doodle creates a polling calendar that can be sent to participants for feedback and to select times and dates when all are able to participate. All interviews and meetings will be audio recorded and later transcribed. If written answers to the questions are provided this will be acknowledged and included in the study. After the transcriptions have been completed, participants will be notified and asked if they wish to review the section of the transcript that involves their contribution(s). At this point participants will be given two days to return the transcription, indicating changes or signing off that they have read the transcript and have no changes to recommend.

According to ethics standards in place with the University of Regina, participants are automatically granted confidentiality and can then choose to opt out and be identified if desired. Participants will not be anonymous. Although there is an expectation of confidentiality from each participant, and that what is heard during meetings is intended to remain confidential, the nature of group interactions is such that CONFIDENTIALITY cannot be guaranteed. Nevertheless, participant interaction is a critical part of the process and participants are

encouraged to keep what they hear confidential and to respect the confidentiality of the group. There may be risks that apply to focus group participants when discussing sensitive issues. For example, despite the expectation of privacy and confidentiality requested by the researcher, if a participant has chosen to self-identify or is known (recognized) by others, there is a possibility that identity may be discovered. Participants may, alternatively, choose to be known when the findings of this study are disseminated.

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose to answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from this study at any time, however it may not be possible to guarantee that all data collected will be destroyed. It is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data. Your participation is voluntary and you may choose to answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from this study at any time, however it may not be possible to guarantee that all data collected will be destroyed. It is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data. Should you wish to withdraw, please provide written notification by two months after the final meeting of the focus group or by July 31, 2017, whichever date comes sooner. Participants will not know when research dissemination has occurred. Written notification of withdrawal should be sent by email to the researcher directly at foxgrifh@uregina.ca. At the end of the study, the research data will be securely archived for five years and then destroyed to protect your privacy and confidentiality. However, because of the use of technology, there is no absolute guarantee that the data obtained will be completely secure.

This project has been approved on ethical grounds by the U of R Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee at 306-585-4775 or research.ethics@uregina.ca. Out of town participants may call collect.

If participants have any questions about the study they can contact the researcher at foxgrifh@uregina.ca or the supervisor, Dr. Cindy Hanson at Cindy.Hanson@uregina.ca.

Your participation in this research study is greatly appreciated. Please review the participant guide and then proceed to sign the attached informed consent form to indicate your agreement to participate. A copy of this signed consent form indicating that you have read and agreed to the conditions it contains will be returned to the researcher and a copy should be retained by you for your records.

Thank-you for your time and consideration of this request, and I am looking forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Heather MacLeod,
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of Education
University of Regina
foxgrifh@uregina.ca
Ph. 306-527-4722



UNIVERSITY OF
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PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Victimology and Survivor Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice.

Researcher(s): Heather MacLeod,
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Doctoral Candidate with the Department of Education
ED. 246 Education Building
University of Regina
foxgrifh@uregina.ca
Ph. 306-737-9172

Supervisor: Dr. Cindy Hanson,
Department of Adult Education
Cindy.Hanson@uregina.ca
Ph. 306-585-4513

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

The primary purpose of this study is to advance the integration and creation of knowledge resources through collaboration of stakeholders formed as an intentional community within a Victimology and Survivor Studies - Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice (VSS-TLoP). research will help identify participant priorities that may guide future victimology and survivor studies program development initiatives. The scope of this interest is wide and includes potential learners from various existing disciplines and professional fields, such as criminology, sociology, psychology, law, justice and legal studies, education, social work, political science and medicine. The research will also contribute to the transdisciplinarity of the field and help build bridges of understanding. This can inform and create positive change in the practices of interveners and responders, advocates, actors in justice processes, policy makers and scholars. Ultimately, the beneficiaries are the victims, their families and their communities.

As a study participant, you are invited to participate in collaboration with stakeholders formed as an intentional community within a Victimology and Survivor Studies - Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice (VSS-TLoP) who together may guide the development of pedagogical strategies for the design and delivery of victimology and survivor studies education in Canada? How can the differing perspectives, needs and work practices of a diverse range of stakeholders including societal responders, policy makers, non-disciplinary knowledge sources, scholars, and interested learners, be bridged to help determine priorities in victimology pedagogy? Other study participants may include individuals involved in victim's advocacy organizations, victim's services providers and social responders (police, emergency responders, medical personnel, social workers etc.), interested learners, individuals involved in justice processes, and scholars from a variety of disciplines. The participants may also include victims. There are safeguards and guidelines for analysis of the data collected can be operationalized by:

Page 1 of 5

1) Maintaining a victim centred perspective, 2) maintaining a concept of victimization as a harm-based, rather than crime-based discourse, and 3) additionally, a critical approach to analysis of the theoretical and methodological frameworks in victimology and survivor studies requires an intersectional perspective that includes awareness of the relational dimensions of power.

Participants:

A defining boundary for participation in the research is that collaborators will have an interest or awareness of the significance of higher education in victimology and survivor studies. Moreover, although some focus groups are characterized by a small core group of individuals who are active with peripheral participation by members of the larger group, the Victimology and Survivor Studies - Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice (VSS-TLoP) as a whole, may encourage and benefit from a fluid state of participation with intellectual neighbors and stakeholders at the community level.

Procedures:

An expected ten (10) to twelve (12) participants from across Canada will be involved. Participants are being asked to engage in one full research cycle which may take as few as four months, but may take six months. The steps involved in an action research cycle include making a plan of action, followed by observation, reflection, re-planning and so on. The reflective cycles that create opportunities for a deeper understanding of practice are integral to the theorizing (and re-planning) that follows. The design and identifiable moments as an iterative process of repeating steps in a cycle of action research are not a rigid template upon which the process is based. Therefore, the first interaction will involve participation in an individual interview between invited participant and the researcher/facilitator. Participants will be sent initial questions to consider prior to the first interview or meeting. Questions will serve as initiators of communication. Group meetings will take place once a month for four to six months, or until one full research cycle is complete for up to six months. Meetings will last approximately 2 hours each. Doodle polls will be circulated to help determine the times and dates when participants are available. Doodle is an online scheduling tool that can be used quickly and easily to find a date and time to meet with multiple people. The facilitator suggests various dates and times for the research participants to choose from, then Doodle creates a polling calendar that can be sent to participants for feedback and to select times and dates when all are able to participate. All interviews and meetings will be audio recorded and later transcribed. If written answers to the questions are provided this will be acknowledged and included in the study. After the transcriptions have been completed, participants will be notified and asked if they wish to review the section of the transcript that involves their contribution(s). At this point participants will be given two days to return the transcription, indicating changes or signing off that they have read the transcript and have no changes to recommend.

Funded by:

The University of Regina – Graduate Research Fellowship

Potential Risks:

Participants are assured of privacy and confidentiality. Participants may opt out if they later wish to be identified.

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Participation in the study will be terminated if requested at any time by the participant.

Potential Benefits:

There are no direct benefits to the participants.

Compensation:

None. Child care provisions will be allowed when necessary.

Confidentiality:

Participants are automatically granted confidentiality and can then choose to opt out and be identified if desired. Participants will not be anonymous. Although there is an expectation of confidentiality from each participant, and that what is heard during meetings is intended to remain confidential, the nature of group interactions is such that CONFIDENTIALITY cannot be guaranteed. Nevertheless, participant interaction is a critical part of the process and participants are encouraged to keep what they hear confidential and to respect the anonymity of the group. There may be risks that apply to focus group participants when discussing sensitive issues. For example, despite the provision of privacy and confidentiality provided by the researcher, if a participant has chosen to self-identify or is known (recognized) by others, there is a possibility that identity may be discovered.

The findings of this research will be distributed to interested participants and stakeholders through publication of print (where funding permits), and electronic reports. The findings will be presented in articles to academic journals and as presentations at relevant conferences.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose to answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from this study at any time, however it may not be possible to guarantee that all data collected will be destroyed. It is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data. Should you wish to withdraw, please provide written notification by two months after the final meeting of the focus group or by July 31, 2017, whichever date comes sooner. Participants will not know when research dissemination has occurred. Written notification of withdrawal should be sent by email to the researcher directly at foxgrifh@uregina.ca. At the end of the study, the research data will be securely archived for five years and then destroyed to protect your privacy and confidentiality. However, because of the use of technology, there is no absolute guarantee that the data obtained will be completely secure.

Transcript Release:

By signing this document, your signature on this form indicates that you have understood the information provided to you about the study, your role as a participant, and your consent to release the transcriptions of all interviews, and meetings you participate in. You may review the section of the transcript which involves your contribution.

Follow up:

To obtain results from the study, please email the researcher at foxgrifh@uregina.ca

Questions or Concerns:

This project has been approved on ethical grounds by the UofR Research Ethics. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee at 306-585-4775 or research.ethics@uregina.ca. Out of town participants may call collect.

If participants have any questions about the study they can contact the researcher at foxgrifh@uregina.ca or the supervisor, Dr. Cindy Hanson at Cindy.Hanson@uregina.ca.

Consent: Please ensure that you have read the *Participant Letter of Invitation and Participant Guide* thoroughly before continuing on to the portion below. By signing this document, your signature on this form indicates that you have understood the information provided to you about the research study and your role as a participant in this study, and that your interview will be audio taped and transcribed. In no way does this document waive your legal rights nor release the researcher or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Please sign the consent form to indicate your agreement to participate. A copy of this signed consent form indicating that you have read and agreed to the conditions it contains should be returned via email to the researcher and a copy should be retained by you for your records.

SIGNED CONSENT

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

_____	_____
<i>Researcher's Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

_____	_____
<i>Researcher's Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

A copy of this consent will should be retained by you, and a signed copy provided to the researcher.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE



UNIVERSITY OF
REGINA

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Department of Adult Education
Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada
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VSS-TLoP FIRST INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Dear Participant,

This list of initial questions is provided for your consideration prior to the first interview or meeting. Questions will serve as initiators of communication. Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role. You are not required to provide written answers to these questions, although you may do so if you choose. Any written communication will be retained and included in the study.

1. Please tell me about your personal interest and professional experiences in victimology, the experience of victimization, and survivor studies.

- a. Personal interests and experiences.
- b. Professional interest and experiences.
- c. Educational background.

2. How has your knowledge and understanding of victimization, victims' and survivors' experiences, victims' and survivors' rights and recovery needs been impacted by education or lack thereof?

3. How can access to education in victimology and survivor studies help improve the societal response to victims, survivors and victimizations?

4. In general terms, what are the priorities in victimology and survivor studies education and why? The list below is provided for your consideration and is not intended to be representative of all issues and problems. Possibilities include:

- a. Victimology Theory
- b. Critical approaches to victimology theory
- c. Victimology Research Methods
- d. Victim participation in justice processes
- e. Community participation in justice processes
- f. Analysis and awareness of power relations in victimization
- g. Victim advocacy
- h. A theory of survivorship
- i. Victim impact

Page 1 of 2

- j. Gendered Violence
- k. Childhood Victimization
- l. Hate crimes
- m. Victimization of Marginalized and Vulnerable Peoples
- n. Protocols for Victim Injury
- o. Harm and Recovery
- p. Justice Practices such as Restorative and Therapeutic Justice.
- q. Special Topics such as the Problems of Human Trafficking
- r. Victimization and the Media
- s. Non-Criminal Victimizations
- t. How important is access to distance learners via various delivery options, considering the overall lack of opportunity for motivated learners in Canada?
- u. What are the important other issues in the development of victimology and survivor studies programs from your personal and professional perspective?

This project has been approved on ethical grounds by the U of R Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee at 306-585-4775 or research.ethics@uregina.ca. Out of town participants may call collect.

If participants have any questions about the study they can contact the researcher at foxgrifh@uregina.ca or the supervisor, Dr. Cindy Hanson at Cindy.Hanson@uregina.ca. Your participation in this research study is greatly appreciated. Thank-you for your time and consideration of this request, and I am looking forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX D: REB CERTIFICATES OF APPROVAL



Research Ethics Board Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Heather Fox Griffith

DEPARTMENT
Education

REB#
2016-170

SUPERVISOR:
Dr. Cindy Hanson

TITLE
Victimology and Survivor Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice

APPROVED ON:
October 21, 2016

RENEWAL DATE:
October 21, 2017

APPROVAL OF:
Application for Behavioural Research Ethics Review
Letter of Invitation
Consent Form

VSS-TLoP Participant Guide
VSS-TLoP Interview Questions
Transcript Release Consent Form

Full Board Meeting

Delegated Review

The University of Regina Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above-named research project. The proposal was found to be acceptable on ethical grounds. The principal investigator has the responsibility for any other administrative or regulatory approvals that may pertain to this research project, and for ensuring that the authorized research is carried out according to the conditions outlined in the original protocol submitted for ethics review. This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above time period provided there is no change in experimental protocol, consent process or documents.

Any significant changes to your proposed method, or your consent and recruitment procedures should be reported to the Chair for Research Ethics Board consideration in advance of its implementation.

ONGOING REVIEW REQUIREMENTS

In order to receive annual renewal, a status report must be submitted to the REB Chair for Board consideration within one month of the current expiry date each year the study remains open, and upon study completion. Please refer to the following website for further instructions: <http://www.uregina.ca/research/for-faculty-staff/ethics-compliance/human/forms1/ethics-forms.html>.

Dr. Katherine Robinson
Chair, Research Ethics Board

Please send all correspondence to:

Research Office
University of Regina
Research and Innovation Centre 109
Regina, SK S4S 0A2
Telephone: (306) 585-4775 Fax: (306) 585-4893
research.ethics@uregina.ca

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Heather Fox Griffith

DEPARTMENT
Education

REB#
2016-170

SUPERVISOR:
Dr. Cindy Hanson

TITLE
Victimology and Survivor Studies – Bridging Perspectives in a Transdisciplinary Landscape of Practice

AMENDMENT APPROVAL OF	ORIGINAL DATE OF APPROVAL	NEXT RENEWAL DATE	DATE OF AMENDMENT APPROVAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow up details for focus groups • Revised Consent Form • Revised Recruitment Poster 	October 21, 2016	October 21, 2016	March 29, 2017

Full Board Meeting

Delegated Review



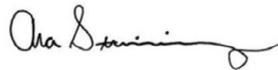
AMENDMENT CERTIFICATION

The University of Regina Research Ethics Board has reviewed the changes to the above-named research project as outlined in your memo dated March 29, 2017, and they are approved.

ONGOING REVIEW REQUIREMENTS

In order to receive annual renewal, a status report must be submitted to the REB Chair for Board consideration within one month of the current expiry date each year the study remains open, and upon study completion. Please refer to the following website for further instructions:

<http://www.uregina.ca/research/for-faculty-staff/ethics-compliance/human/forms1/ethics-forms.html>



Ara Steininger
Research Ethics Board

Please send all correspondence to:

Research Office
University of Regina
Research and Innovation Centre 109
Regina, SK S4S 0A2
Telephone: (306) 585-4775 Fax: (306) 585-4893
research.ethics@uregina.ca

APPENDIX E: SURVEY QUESTIONS USED IN ANALYSIS

1. How well do you feel responders and professionals understood what you were experiencing at the time the victimization occurred?
2. Please describe what you found most unhelpful in your interactions with the responders and professionals first interacted with.
3. In your own words, what do you wish responders and professionals better understood about you, and your experience?
4. Do you feel your interactions with the responders and professionals had any long-term impact on you? If so, please describe how you were impacted.
5. Please describe what you found helpful in each and any of your interactions with the responders and professionals you first interacted with following the victimization experience.
6. Are there ways you believe a general lack of education and understanding of the needs and experiences of victims and survivors had a negative impact on your interaction with family and friends?