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(Re)Mapping Justice in Saskatoon:
The wâhkôhtowin Project's Digital Justice Map[1]

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Introduction

In recent years, "access to justice" has become a central concern for the Canadian legal profession. Multiple high-profile reports and studies have considered the issue and proposed solutions (Canadian Bar Association, 2013; Action Committee on Access to Justice in Civil and Family Matters, 2013). Underpinning most of these studies and initiatives is an assumption that access to justice means access to official law and legal institutions. The focus is on reducing barriers that people face in gaining access to things like legal information, legal representation, and courts. To this end, there is growing empirical research that seeks to identify the legal problems faced by Canadians and the persistent barriers that people face in bringing these issues before the justice system (Currie, 2016). Some researchers have undertaken access to justice "mapping projects" in order to pinpoint geographically the legal and justice system services available to members of the public.

Too often missing from these dominant access to justice narratives, projects, and maps are the voices, perspectives, and experiences of people for whom Canadian law and legal institutions have been sources of harm and *injustice*. This paper seeks to intervene in these narratives by introducing a "digital justice map"[2] of Saskatoon that was created in 2016 by the participants of an interdisciplinary

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[2] The map is available online at:
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=b83485f7347e4edc991fca28fb52cc05#

community-based class called "wâhkôhtowin" (which refers to the notion of kinship and the relationality of all things in Cree/nehiyâwêwin). The wâhkôhtowin project brings together University of Saskatchewan students (from the disciplines of Indigenous Studies, Law, and English), former gang members,[3] and Indigenous high school students[4] in an interdisciplinary and community-based educational experience. The class meets weekly at a community centre over the course of a semester to read legal and literary texts, and to discuss and share stories—many deeply personal—about law, justice, and injustice. During the 2016 iteration of the class, the group created a digital "story map" about justice and injustice in Saskatoon, intended as both an archive of our collective learning and a teaching tool for others to use in educational or professional contexts. Informed by critical Indigenous "counter-mapping" theories and methodologies, the project emplots stories, images, and analyses relating to class members' experiences of justice and injustice in an interactive online digital map. The map is significant because it de-centres and critiques official justice institutions (courts, police, prisons) and locates justice, instead, in everyday places, practices, and relationships within and between communities. In so doing, it represents an intervention into ongoing Canadian discussions about access to justice and narrow definitions of justice itself, as well as offering a unique counterpoint to existing justice mapping projects.

In this paper, we first discuss the concept of access to justice as it is typically taken up in discourses within the legal community, and we introduce several recent Canadian access to justice mapping projects. In the next sections, we turn to an overview of the wâhkôhtowin course and the justice map, situating the latter within the frame of critical Indigenous mapping theories and methodologies. We then

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[3] Participants were members of STR8 UP, a gang prevention and intervention organization in Saskatoon. See http://str8-up.ca/
[4] The students were from Oskayak High School, Saskatoon's Indigenous high school. See https://www.gscs.ca/studentsandfamilies/schools/OSK

provide detailed analyses of select parts of the digital map, as well as additional sociohistorical context, in order to highlight the critical contributions of the project. Ultimately, we argue that our project is a reminder that those considering access to justice should re-orient themselves to consider the places, stories, and lived experiences of those who are impacted most directly by the Canadian justice system and who have the most intimate knowledge of the inequities of the colonial present. This, we argue, invites a critical re-evaluation of many current access to justice maps and narratives.

Figure 1: Home page of the wâhkôhtowin digital justice map

Dominant Access to Justice Paradigms and Justice Mapping Projects

As noted above, dominant legal discourses about access to justice tend to locate "justice" squarely within official institutions of justice. In this conception, the access to justice problem is a problem of access to law, legal information, lawyers, and legal institutions. The underlying assumption is that justice will be achieved once the Canadian justice system has become accessible to all. A typical formulation is put forth by former Supreme Court of Canada Justice Thomas Cromwell (2013), who states: "our current situation falls far short of providing access to the knowledge, resources, and services

that allow people to deal effectively with [their legal matters]" (qtd. in Action Committee on Access to Justice in Civil and Family Matters, 2013, p. 39). Access to justice initiatives have therefore often focussed on reducing barriers to, and increasing availability of, legal information, services, and institutions. These initiatives assume that access to the system will help people assert their rights, settle their conflicts, and experience justice. Examples of such initiatives include simplified court procedure initiatives, the introduction of paralegals, an emphasis on pro bono legal assistance, and public legal education initiatives. Cook (2006) summarizes the dominant paradigm as one where lawyers serve "as escorts from [clients'] home communities to the elite institutions where law rules and justice is dispensed" (p. 169).

For the most part, access to justice discussions in Canada have tended to ignore the exigencies of specific local places and geographies. As Baxter and Yoon (2015) write, "[l]aw and society scholars studying the socio-economic determinants of access to justice … have largely ignored the spatial aspects of justice systems and service delivery" (p. 2). However, over the past fifteen years a handful of projects have focused on mapping access to justice in specific geographical places. For example, Gayla Reid, Donna Senniw, and John Malcolmson (2004) of the British Columbia Self-Help Committee undertook an access to justice mapping project in 2004 in order to identify and assess services available to self-represented litigants in Vancouver. The map sought to identify "services and gaps" as well as "challenges and needs" in relation to individuals representing themselves in legal matters in specified court locations (Reid et al., 2004, p. 4). The final report concluded that multiple gaps and barriers existed and that there was an "evident need for service providers to develop a common and shared model of service delivery … that goes beyond existing cooperative referral arrangements" (Reid et al., 2004, p. 50).

Subsequent access to justice projects in Alberta have similarly responded to the perceived need to address and map barriers and gaps

in services available to people attempting to navigate the justice system. The Self-Represented Litigants Mapping Project (SRLM) was initiated in 2006 to "document the range of government and non-government legal services available to SRLs [self-represented litigants] in three regions of Alberta" (Stratton, 2008b, p. 14). A much larger-scale mapping project in Alberta followed the SRLM Project. This was the Alberta Legal Services Mapping Project (ALSMP), which was initiated to "create a province-wide 'map' of legal services that provide the Alberta public with information, education, legal advice, legal representation and/or other support or assistance related to all types of legal problems" (Stratton, 2008b, p. 16). In addition to specific findings about access to justice issues in all eleven judicial districts in Alberta, the ALSMP report concluded that "Alberta's geography and demography pose significant barriers to ensuring equitable delivery of, and access to, legal and other services" (Stratton, 2011, p. 19).

Finally, an Ontario mapping project assessed "how far away lawyers and their clients actually reside from one another in today's legal services market" and investigated "how this s*cope of practice* varies according to specialization, firm size, urban versus rural location, and other demographic characteristics of lawyers and clients" (Baxter & Yoon, 2015, p. 4). Using a colour-coded map of Ontario to illustrate their findings, Baxter and Yoon (2015) identify a "patchwork quilt of lawyer distribution in the province" (p. 14). They conclude that the "geographic reach of lawyers is not … strictly confined to their immediate locale but instead extends over different ranges of geographic space, depending on the service being delivered and the characteristics of lawyers and their clients" (Baxter & Yoon, 2015, p. 46).

The mapping projects described above focus their attention on barriers to accessing legal services and legal institutions. Thus, lawyers, legal aid offices, courts, and legal information services are of central importance in these maps. Although providing important knowledge about the distribution and availability of these services

and institutions, these projects do not engage with or invite critical perceptions about the justice system itself; nor do they consider community members' definitions or experiences of justice and injustice. It is these kinds of critiques of the Canadian justice system and city spaces that emerged during the wâhkôhtowin class and are represented within the digital justice map.

The wâhkôhtowin Justice Map: (Re)mapping/Counter-mapping Justice in Saskatoon

Saskatoon

The wâhkôhtowin class takes place in Saskatoon, a city of about 250,000 people located in the province of Saskatchewan on Treaty Six Territory/Métis homeland. Saskatoon is a growing Prairie city, with a population of Indigenous people (who make up about 10 percent of the total population) (Anderson, 2013, p. 34), white settlers, settlers of colour, and a growing number of arrivants[5] (Byrd, 2011, p. xix) from around the world. As in other Canadian cities, colonialism, racism, and poverty in Saskatoon are closely linked (Spence, 2013; Hansen & Antasnen, 2014; Peters & Lafond, 2013; Lemstra, Neudorf, & Opondo, 2008). As a structure rather than an event (Wolfe, 2006), settler colonialism is constitutive of life in the city of Saskatoon and the province of Saskatchewan more generally, including people's relationships with official institutions, such as the justice system. Recent statistics show that in Saskatchewan, 92 percent of male youth and 98 percent of female youth admitted to custody are Indigenous (Malakieh, 2018, p. 20). Rather than drawing attention to the "overrepresentation" of Indigenous people in the justice system, these statistics should be seen to highlight how the system is working not in error, but to shore up the settler colonial state through the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands and

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[5] The term "arrivants" is used by Jodi Byrd (2011) to refer to "those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe" (p. xix).

communities.[6] This removal is secured through the surveillance, policing, and displacement of Indigenous bodies.

Within the city, certain neighbourhoods are exclusionary spaces for Indigenous people: Dhillon (2017) writes that racism impacts Indigenous youth as they move from the "Westside to the Eastside of Saskatoon across the South Saskatchewan river over one of the city's eight bridges" and when they "enter restaurants, bars, and clothing stores they are not expected to enter" (p. 30). Peters and Lafond (2013) found that more than a third of participants in their Saskatoon-based research study had stories of negative interactions with police, concluding that "[f]or many First Nations people, then, the public areas of the streets are not safe … [P]ublic space is not something that they can safely appropriate for everyday activities without the threat of police harassment. This, of course, reminds them that their right to use these spaces is under the control of the dominant society" (p. 93).

Yet Indigenous people and communities remain strong in Saskatoon. Peters and Lafond (2013) discuss "spaces of resistance" (p. 102) in the city, as well as the power of informal social networks. Saskatoon is the birthplace of the international Idle No More movement for Indigenous justice (Kino-nda-niimi Collective, 2014), and the home of groups working on multiple issues, including food sovereignty and missing and murdered Indigenous women (Okemaysim-Sicotte, Gingell, & Bouvier, 2018). The vibrancy and resistance of Indigenous communities in Saskatoon caused Dhillon (2017) to reflect that Saskatoon could be recast as "an *Indigenous city*; a city that bears the traces, scars, and open wounds of settler colonialism, but also a place where both the strength and fight of Indigenous youth are ever present, inseparable from Indigenous peoples' resistance and spirit to foster brave new worlds" (p. 250).

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[6] See Robert Nichols (2014), who argues against the use of the term "overrepresentation."

The wâhkôhtowin Class: Origins, Pedagogy, and Methodology

The wâhkôhtowin class was born out of a desire of the four facilitators (the three authors, in partnership with Oskayak High School social worker and educator Stan Tu'Inukuafe) to create a collaborative, interdisciplinary, and meaningful community-based educational experience. The project brings together three groups: university students (from the disciplines of Indigenous Studies, Law, and English), Indigenous high school students from Saskatoon's Oskayak High School, and members of STR8 UP, a grassroots organization that works to support individuals who have decided to leave gangs. The wâhkôhtowin class has been offered three times (in 2013, 2014, and 2016), with slight modifications in the curriculum each year. In the first two iterations of the class, we focused on the operation and impact of the Canadian justice system, looking at the themes of policing, the criminal trial, incarceration, and restorative justice alternatives, and taking as our main content our students' lived experiences of these interlocking systems of oppression. We have reflected elsewhere on the pedagogy and outcomes of these earlier iterations of the class (Buhler, Settee, & Van Styvendale, 2014; Buhler, Settee, & Van Styvendale, 2015).

In 2016, based on previous student interest in a wider range of topics, we expanded our definition of justice to include not only criminal justice and state interventions (including policing and practices at jails and prisons), but also social justice and community organizing. Entitled "Justice and Injustice in the City," the class retained its focus on sites and practices of injustice perpetuated by the settler colonial state, but situated and broadened this emphasis in relation to other, interconnected urban phenomena. Topics included the gentrification of Saskatoon's inner city, food insecurity, the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, and systemic homophobia and transphobia. Over the course of the term, members of the class shared stories about their experiences of living in Saskatoon as university students, high school students, and as people formerly

involved in street gangs, respectively, and we took up legal and literary texts related to the course topics.

The 2016 class met weekly for three hours over the fall semester. The group was made up of two Law students, two Indigenous Studies students, two English students, six members of STR8 UP (all former members of gangs in Saskatoon), and one student from Oskayak High School.[7] We held the class at a community enterprise centre called Station 20 West, located in the heart of one of Saskatoon's "core neighbourhoods" and a site and symbol of community organizing and strength (Buhler, Settee, & Van Styvendale, 2014). The location was selected in part because it was accessible for STR8 UP members, who would have had a more difficult time accessing the university on the other side of the river (see Kouri, Guertin, & Shingoose, 2016).

The name wâhkôhtowin is a Cree/nêhiyaw law that refers to kinship and connotes relationship and connection between all living things, having "at its heart the betterment of all our relations and our extended communities" (Settee, 2013, p. 7). The concept of relationship was one that grounded our pedagogy throughout the class. We were also inspired and guided by the Inside-Out model, which brings university students and prisoners taking university classes together inside prisons.[8] As explained by Davis and Roswell (2013), the Inside-Out model is grounded in the assumption that "all human beings—whether they reside behind bars or on the outside—have innate worth, a story to tell, experiences to learn from, perspectives that provide insight, and leadership to contribute to the community" (p. 3). In other words, Inside-Out pedagogy values reciprocity, relationality, and collaboration, and builds on the experiences and knowledge of both "inside" and "outside" students.

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[7] Ideally, the class has at least four high school students. In 2016, logistical constraints limited the number of Oskayak students who could participate.
[8] See http://www.insideoutcenter.org/. In Canada, the program is known as Walls to Bridges. See http://wallstobridges.ca/

Similarly, the wâhkôhtowin class is based in the understanding that all participants have experiences and knowledge to share about the subjects being discussed—and, in fact, that the knowledge of those with lived experience is central, rather than peripheral (as it often is in university contexts), to collective understanding. Our classes commenced each week with a shared meal and conversation: this encouraged participants to get to know each other and set the stage for meaningful discussion. Sitting around a table in a large circle, we would then embark on an "opening round," where each participant had the opportunity to share something about their week. Next, we would turn to the specific topic for the day, and in a second round of discussion, each student would share their knowledge or understanding of the topic, whether it be through lived experiences, academic study, or even popular culture. During the class on criminal sentencing, for example, STR8 UP members shared direct experiences of sentencing procedures in criminal courts, some of which are represented in the digital map (see location #15); most of the university and high school students did not have direct or even indirect experiences of court processes (although one of the Law students spoke of representing a client in a sentencing hearing). This sharing of personal and lived experiences formed what we called the core "texts" of the course. We would then turn our attention to a legal and/or literary text relevant to the topic at hand. In the class on criminal trials, we read an excerpt from the Supreme Court of Canada (1999) decision in *R v Gladue*, which directs judges to consider systemic factors when sentencing Indigenous people, as well as a passage from Syilx author Jeannette Armstrong's novel *Slash* (1985), which depicts the criminal trial as a racist charade set up to fail Indigenous people. Participants then analyzed these texts in light of their lived experience and knowledge, coming to a more nuanced analysis of both.

In the 2016 wâhkôhtowin class, we added an experiential learning component, setting aside time each week for a "field trip" relevant to the class topic. This component was inspired by a local community

organizer who has given "walking tours" of the Riversdale neighbourhood to students in our other classes, pointing out specific locations where he has been subjected to state-sanctioned violence— for example, being "carded" and harassed by police simply for "walking while Native." On the day we discussed gentrification and recent changes to the historic Riversdale neighbourhood, we arranged a similar walk with the guidance of local Cree artist Kevin Wesaquate, whose work is featured in the map (see location #14), and PhD student Ben Fawcett, whose work connects gentrification in Riversdale with ongoing dynamics of settler colonialism (see location #11). We "read" our differential experiences of the neighbourhood in relation to "Gentrification," a poem by Coeur d'Alene author Sherman Alexie (2009), and a local editorial on "urban change" in Riversdale, which celebrates settler history and the recent economic "revitalization" of the area while erasing historic and ongoing Indigenous presence. For some students, the walk was their first time in Riversdale on foot, having previously been deterred by racialized constructions of the neighbourhood as a "dangerous place." For others, this was home, although the encroachment of trendy businesses and rising rents may signal impending displacement.

In addition to the walk, we visited community-based organizations relevant to specific course topics: during the class dedicated to food insecurity and Indigenous food sovereignty, we visited CHEP (Child Hunger Education Program) Good Food Inc., located at Station 20 West, to learn about their programs and services. Some of these programs, such as the community garden program, are featured on the digital map (see location #9). Another week, we went to CLASSIC (a free legal clinic) to discuss the barriers to legal services that exist for community members living in poverty, as well as the supports provided through CLASSIC's clinical law program (see location #13); and another time, we visited OUT Saskatoon (see location #10), an organization that supports the 2SLGBTQ community in Saskatoon, where we learned about appropriate terminology to use when referring to people of diverse gender and sexual orientations. We integrated such experiential learning

opportunities for a number of reasons: to allow our students to bond with each other in spaces outside the classroom; to expose them to community-based organizations and organizers they might not otherwise encounter; and to ground our collective learning in specific locations, rich with storied histories. Perhaps as a result of this embodied approach (an extension of our core pedagogy, discussed in Buhler, Settee, and Van Styvendale, 2014), our classroom conversations often turned to what Soja (2009) calls the "spatiality of justice and injustice," revolving around themes such as social inclusion and exclusion; confinement as punishment; barriers to release from prison and post-incarceration; transgression; and mobility and border-crossing in the "divided" city of Saskatoon.

The wâhkôhtowin Justice Map and Critical Indigenous Mapping

Partway through the semester, the group expressed interest in creating a final project to represent our collective learning. After seeing some examples of digital story maps, the class decided to make a digital justice map of Saskatoon, with a specific focus on the neighbourhood of Riversdale and other core communities. Students divided up into several subgroups (each made up of a mix of STR8 UP members and university students) to develop content related to individual class themes: for example, a STR8 UP member and a Law student worked together to design the module on policing, which highlights the over-policing of Indigenous people and the lethal use of police force; and a STR8 UP member and an English student created a video about hunting, showcasing contemporary practices of food sovereignty that span rural and urban spaces. Other topics included the detrimental impacts of incarceration on Indigenous families and communities; the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two Spirit people; and the relationship between urban revitalization and the criminalization and displacement of Indigenous people. Students were encouraged to use a variety of methods (including video, written reflections, visual art, interviews, music, etc.) to communicate their learning. Using a map of Saskatoon, each group chose a location associated with their

project. We then used an online digital mapping platform called "Story Maps,"[9] attaching student content to specific locations.[10] We note that the map and its contents are not the product of professional digital content creators—it is, in the end, a student (and not a professional) project. However, we believe that the map chronicles and spatializes often unheard stories and knowledge that critically question the practices that happen within justice institutions and show how justice is located and created, instead, within community spaces. As Cheryl Teelucksingh (2006) says of marginalized groups in Toronto who, through community organizing, protests, festivals, and the arts, are "inscribing their identities and their lived experiences" in contested urban spaces (p. 3), the wâhkôhtowin map challenges the "hegemonic social and spatial order" (p. 3).

Featuring twenty-four sites to visit, the map transports viewers to multiple locations—from Station 20 West, the community enterprise centre where we held our class, to the courthouse downtown; the Saskatoon Correctional Centre in a largely industrial area on the city's outskirts; and a slough on Yellow Quill First Nation, home to one of the STR8 UP members. The heart of the map, however, the place where most of the content is located, is the urban core: it is the place where we met each week and where many of our students lived; the site of the community-based organizations we visited; and the hub of grassroots Indigenous organizing in Saskatoon. This focal point is crucial, for as Métis scholar Warren Cariou (2014) observes, "Indigenous spaces such as reserves and certain urban neighbourhoods like Winnipeg's north end [or, in this case, Saskatoon's west side] have essentially become blank spaces in the colonial imagination" (p. 35). From the colonial perspective, these

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[9] The Story Maps home page can be found at https://storymaps.arcgis.com/en/.
[10] One of the Law students (Nathaniel Scipioni) did a rough cut of the digital map. We were fortunate to have funding through the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network (Prairie Region) to then hire photomedia specialist Aloys Fleischmann to complete the technical aspects of the project on the Story Maps platform. Originally, our intent was to have students involved in the video-editing and map-production process, but due to time constraints we were unable to do so. We recommend that instructors looking to do similar projects build ample time into their syllabi for such skill-building activities.

spaces are seen as a new kind of *terra nullius* (or empty land), the founding, justificatory logic of settler colonialism. While Cariou (2014) argues that such "blank spaces" are "wasteland," "something that doesn't even register in the colonial mindset at all" (p. 35), it is important to remember, too, the ways in which such spaces are racialized—that is, produced *as* "Native spaces." As a "way to normalize new and latent forms of racism" (Teelucksingh, 2006, p. 9), this racialization of space not only obscures the diversity of living communities, but perpetuates what Soja (2009) calls "locational discrimination" (or the inequitable distribution of material resources across space). And by "construct[ing] many Indigenous bodies and spaces as illegitimate, degenerate, and ultimately *out of place*" (Fawcett, #11), the racialization of neighbourhoods such as Riversdale works to justify the increasing occupation (or "revitalization") of such neighbourhoods and the displacement of Indigenous people.[11] By featuring stories about justice and injustice based on the complex lived experiences of wâhkôhtowin students, the map refuses this logic of elimination, while underscoring its entrenched material effects.

In so doing, our project engages with mapping theories and methodologies articulated by Indigenous Studies scholars, particularly the work of Mishuana Goeman (Seneca), Dallas Hunt (Cree), and Shaun A. Stevenson. Goeman (2013) argues that maps, like colonial law, are a "disciplinary technolog[y]" (p. 20). She details how maps have been and continue to be used as tools of colonial power, supporting and naturalizing the "colonial organizing of land, bodies, and social and political landscapes" (Goeman, 2013, p. 3). As Hunt and Stevenson (2017) point out, map-making is never objective; as technologies first of empire and now the settler colonial state, maps function to "displace Indigenous knowledge systems and seek to manage Indigenous presence" (p. 375). And certainly, as they

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[11] Canada's colonial geographies exhibit this same pattern of violent expulsions and the spatial containment of Indigenous people to marginalized areas of the city, processes consolidated over three hundred years of colonization. See Razack (2002, p.129).

further note, "[m]aps are the product of choices regarding content, arrangement, intent and management. Their topographic representations—inclusions and exclusions—are not arbitrary … nor are they apolitical" (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017, p. 375). Such observations serve as an important caution and context for interpreting the wâhkôhtowin map, which takes as its basis a conventional "modern map—one of geometric, abstract grids" (Goeman, 2013, p. 17): a City of Saskatoon, Bureau of Land Management map, pre-selected through the Story Maps site. The genesis of such "realist" maps, Goeman observes (2013), "coincide[d] directly with Europe's war on Indigenous people" (p. 17); they used "grids and mathematics" to naturalize imperialist notions of space and justify conquest (p. 18). As a realist, "scientific" (Goeman, 2013, p. 17) map, the wâhkôhtowin map, with its linear carving of the land, its numbered parcels, colour-coded lots, and colonial place names, bears the ideological weight of the genre and its "violent spatial legacy" (Goeman, 2013, p. 19).

In response to the logics of colonial maps, Hunt and Stevenson (2017) describe recent Indigenous "digital, resistive mapping practices" (p. 379), which "de-emphasize the hegemonic effects of colonial cartographies, while using the very same cartographic tools" (p. 378). They use the term "counter-mapping," noting the centrality of narratives and stories in these mapping practices (Hunt & Stevenson, 2017, p. 379). Similarly, Goeman (2013) proposes a decolonizing practice that she calls "(re)mapping," which she defines as "the labor Native authors and the communities they write within and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map making, to generate new possibilities" (p. 3). She explains that the use of "(re)" in parentheses connotes the employment of "traditional and new tribal stories as a means of continuation or … stories of survivance" (Goeman, 2013, p. 3), stressing how Indigenous peoples have always "had and still have their own claims on the land, beginning with creation stories" (p. 19). These and other oral stories "would convey distances, villages, landmarks, and so forth" (Goeman, 2013, p. 20). (Re)mapping is thus

"about acknowledging the power of Native epistemologies in defining our moves toward spatial decolonization" (Goeman, 2013, p. 4); it is about recognizing that "it was the power of the word and marking of Native place passed on through stories that refuted settler power" (p. 21), and continues to do so. In Indigenous storytelling, Cariou (2014) too sees the promise of "re-map[ping] the terra nullius once again, so that Indigenous faces and voices can no longer be ignored. Indigenous poetry [and, we would add, other forms of creative expression, as found in the wâhkôhtowin map] can accomplish this by opening our senses to what is already there, by giving us the tools to see past the boundaries that colonization has put in place" (p. 35). These expressions can "mov[e] readers subtly out of their accustomed realities … trip the reader up just a bit … not so that the readers fall down and lose their way … but so that they lose their balance a little" (Cariou, 2014, p. 35). Informed by the idea of "Native stories and forms of telling as maps" (Goeman, 2013, p. 24), we hope that the wâhkôhtowin map does just what Cariou describes: that it trips readers up and prompts them to (re)orient themselves to an anti-colonial understanding of access to justice, and indeed, of justice itself, as a relational, storied practice that cannot be separated from the lived experiences of community members, especially those who have intimate knowledge of the injustices of the colonial present.

Reading the Map: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Food Justice, and Prison Activism

Here, we turn to a closer discussion of a few of the map's topics, which were initially selected for the course based on the experience and expertise of both the students and professors (Buhler, Settee, & Van Styvendale, 2014). Because space does not permit a detailed overview of all the features and locations identified on the map, we will introduce only three: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), Indigenous Food Justice, and Prison Activism, focusing on what the wâhkôhtowin students had to share about their experience and knowledge of each topic and showing how these

narratives broaden and unsettle dominant ideas about justice. As noted earlier, other scholars have taken on access to justice mapping projects in order to locate the legal and other justice-related services available to the public, without attending to how these services are, for many Indigenous people, the cause of harm and injustice. Our map flips the script, highlighting these harms, as well as putting forward a more holistic understanding of justice—one that not only questions standard sites of legal or criminal justice, but shifts the focus to a larger picture of social justice, rooted in Indigenous epistemologies. By mapping sites of injustice and justice beyond a strictly juridico-political framework (i.e., beyond institutional apparatuses and norms), the map insists on understanding justice through an Indigenous notion of relatedness (Henderson & McCaslin, 2005). Through the juxtaposition of various (ostensibly discrete) instances of injustice on the map, viewers are invited (sometimes explicitly, other times more indirectly) to think through the interconnectedness of these issues (e.g., the relationship between food insecurity and the criminalization of Indigenous people, for example, or between institutional racism in policing and the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women). That is, specific injustices must be understood as part of a larger web of social conditions shaped by the settler colonial state. The map also asks viewers to consider the idea of justice as rooted in establishing or strengthening relationships—amongst individuals and within and across communities (both human and other-than-human). Henderson and McCaslin (2005) call this "justice as healing" (p. 3). In other words, justice, from an Indigenous perspective, is often understood in terms of healing relationships as way of achieving "balance and harmony in families and communities" (Henderson & McCaslin, 2005, p. 7). Many of the stories on the map locate justice in this relational context—what we might also refer to as wâhkôhtowin.
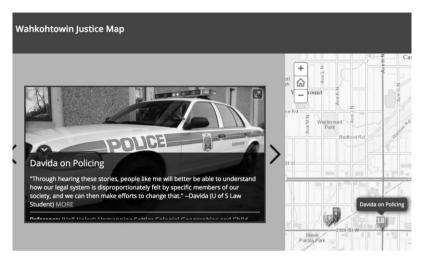
Below, in addition to a description and analysis of the student-generated content for each topic, we also provide a discussion of the topic in its broader sociocultural and historical context. We provide this analysis as a way to encourage those who employ the map,

whether for individual knowledge or in educational or professional settings, to situate the stories told there in a much larger context of settler colonial realities, anti-colonial resistance, and Indigenous resurgence. This article, which we have linked to the map (see footnote 2), provides a starting point for viewers who want to know more, and we encourage such parties to do their own supplementary research based on the sources provided here, as well as a list of additional sources posted to the map.

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG): In a video posted to the wâhkôhtowin map, STR8 UP member Travis shares a horrific story about the violence inflicted on his cousin, an Indigenous woman (see location #20). A man in a truck abducted her, drugged her, and tied a barbed wire around her neck. He then proceeded to drag her around behind his truck, doing donuts in a field until a passerby intervened. While his cousin survived, Travis remarks that the case remains unsolved: "As soon as they found out she was a Native girl," he says of reporting the crime, "they didn't really care, [and] basically they said she was just another Native girl." Travis's story is important in its emphasis of what is well-known to be the systemic under-reporting and under-prosecution of crimes against Indigenous people in general, and Indigenous women in particular. The Manitoba Justice Inquiry of 1999 "explained that many police have come to view Indigenous people not as a community deserving protection, but a community from which the rest of society must be protected. This has led to a situation often described as one of Indigenous people being 'over-policed' but 'under-protected'" (Amnesty International, 2004, p. 18). In a different section of the map, Law student Davida comments on the injustice of this hyper-policing: "Many of [the STR8 UP members in the class] spoke to the lack of respect and animosity police had towards them and their endeavors to leave gang life. Not only did they feel targeted because they are Indigenous, they also shared many experiences of police targeting them, and sometimes their families, because of past involvements" (see location #18). She reflects on the

importance of such stories, noting how "through hearing [them], people like me will better be able to understand how our legal system is disproportionately felt by specific members of our society, and we can then make efforts to change that" (see location #18). Read together, Travis's and Davida's stories illustrate how, through the simultaneous hyper-policing and under-protection of Indigenous people, "the colonial city … continue[s] to cleanse itself of those bodies considered not to belong" (Landertinger, 2016, p. 15). By recording these stories on the map, Travis and Davida assert and remember Indigenous presence by highlighting the ways in which the police, as a settler institution of justice, works to discount and erase Indigenous bodies and stories. The location of Travis's story at the site of the new (2014) Saskatoon Police Service headquarters (north of 25th Street East near Ontario Avenue) is thus strategic, sitting as it does alongside a photo of Lionel Peyachew's Wicanhpi Duta Win (Red Star Woman), a statue dedicated to missing and murdered Indigenous women that was commissioned by the police and now sits permanently outside the new headquarters (see location #21). Juxtaposing Travis's story of systemic racism in policing with the photo of Red Star Woman underscores the gap that exists between police rhetoric and symbolic gestures and the lived experience of Indigenous people such as Travis.

Figure 2: Davida on policing

While Travis's cousin survived a brutal assault, we know that there are many Indigenous women who do not. Between 1980 and 2012, 1,017 Indigenous women were murdered in Canada (Innes, 2015, p. 48–49), and an estimated 174 went missing.[12] In response, the past decade has witnessed the formation of many local Indigenous women's initiatives, and the mobilization of these groups into what has become a national and international movement for justice for Indigenous women, girls, and Two Spirit people. Rather than accessing justice (solely) through police, Indigenous women have established grassroots coalitions, enacting justice through individual and community relationships. In Saskatoon, as Settee explains in an interview featured on the digital map (see location #19), "we've established a missing and murdered Indigenous women organization [Iskwewuk E-wichiwitochik (Women Walking Together)]," which "works with the families of the disappeared women … We do things

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[12] These numbers were released by the RCMP in 2014. Due to systemic under-reporting and under-investigation of the cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, advocates consider the numbers to be much higher, possibly up to four thousand.

like we attend court with them and we help pay for their expenses during court proceedings, but we also lend very real assistance on the ground when people go missing, [and] we do a number of public educational events.... The thing is to be very respondent to the issues when they happen right then," Settee stresses, so "that the families don't feel denied of justice because oftentimes when they go to the justice system the needs are seldom met adequately," as evidenced in Travis's story.

This grassroots movement to access justice for Indigenous women has been strengthened by public outcry from church members and other solidarity groups. In September 2016, the Government of Canada launched an independent National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Led by four Commissioners, the Inquiry is a response to the demands and actions of Indigenous families, communities, and organizations, as well non-governmental and international organizations, such as Amnesty International. The Commissioners' mandate is to "look into and report on the systemic causes of all forms of violence against Indigenous women and girls, including sexual violence"; to "examine the underlying social, economic, cultural, institutional, and historical causes that contribute to the ongoing violence and particular vulnerabilities of Indigenous women and girls in Canada"; and to "look into and report on existing institutional policies and practices to address violence, including those that are effective in reducing violence and increasing safety" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2018). In addition to personal testimony, the Commission includes Institutional hearings (Part II) and Knowledge Keepers and Expert hearings (Part III). More than 1,200 testimonies have been shared with the Inquiry by family members and survivors, and these troubling and heartbreaking truths have created the foundation for Part II and Part III hearings.

It has not been a straight path, and the process has been fraught with frustration for some family members, as well as Inquiry staff. Some complaints have reflected the limited time frame for families to

present their concerns and the stories of their missing loved ones, as well as concerns about the transparency of the process. Some committee members have quit because they felt that the effort has fallen short of their expectations. These resignations speak to the level of complexity and the frustration that Indigenous women and their communities face in regards to MMIWG issues, the possible limitations of state-sanctioned inquiries, and the need for a broader coalition to work for justice for Indigenous women and their families.
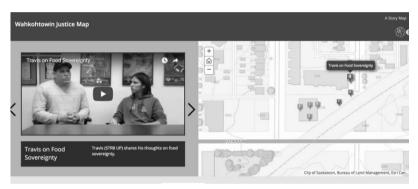
As the National Inquiry into MMIWG (2018) states, "Shining a light on all the causes of violence, murders, and disappearances is a daunting task. But it is a necessary one. We are exposing hard truths about the devastating impacts of colonization, racism and sexism." Examining the roots of such truths, historian Sarah Carter (2006) describes the treatment of Indigenous women since the arrival of newcomers and the settlement of Canada. One might argue that the current treatment of Indigenous women began when Canada was establishing as a nation and official policy and practice permitted colonial agents to routinely sexually abuse Indigenous women and treat them as little better than workhorses. As Carter (2006) explains, records reveal that this treatment was actually informal government policy; official policies were sanitized versions of the real actions of government and police representatives. Taking such context into account, violence against Indigenous women and the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women must be understood as part of a colonial continuum. The Commission's goal is to raise awareness and offer recommendations that will ensure the safety of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQ individuals. But national inquiries need to be held accountable by citizens' groups and it is important that voices from groups such as wâhkôhtowin—voices like Travis's and Davida's—are heard and honoured.

Food Sovereignty: Hunger and poverty are central issues for Indigenous people in much of Canada and were a focal point for the wâhkôhtowin project in Saskatoon specifically. Our project identified food-related issues, such as the cause of food insecurity, the cure for

food insecurity, and how to mobilize for food justice. While food justice is not typically included in conversations about accessing justice, food insecurity can often lead to poor health as well as crimes of poverty; food justice is thus an integral component of access to justice more broadly. The map features four videos on the subject of food sovereignty (i.e., Indigenous control over food systems, including production and consumption [Cidro & Martins, 2014, p. 58]), two of which are located next to Station 20 West (at the intersection of 20th Street and Avenue L South, where CHEP Good Food Inc. is housed), one on Yellow Quill First Nation, home to one of the STR8 UP members, and one in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where another member lives. These locations are significant in underscoring the relationship between rural and urban spaces and communities in the production of food justice, as we discuss below.

Much food insecurity is directly caused by damaged natural environments and traditional territories of Indigenous peoples. Environmental degradation brought on by Western development has meant the loss of traditional economies, ways of life, and food sources. Co-author Settee's community of Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, is an example of many northern and rural communities. A dam built in the 1940s negatively impacted the water source and the rich river delta, which in turn impacted the water fowl, large animal populations, and fish stocks, Cumberland House's main food sources (Settee, 2013). Through the use of talking circles, Settee's current research seeks to learn about the challenges land-based people are experiencing in regards to food security. In spring 2018, Settee held a meeting with trappers from the Saskatchewan Northern Trappers Association, who described some of the contemporary impacts of resource development. Trapper after trapper gave testimony about the impact of uranium mines, clear-cuts, and mineral exploration on their traditional traplines and adjacent parcels of land, which for the most part are out of sight from the public eye. J.M. from Fond du Lac comments: "Used to be a lot of muskrats, moose etc. … then when that oil spill happened, we can't eat the fish now … at Fort Chip … in Alberta… used to go fishing there and we

had all kinds of fish used to be richest place in the north now we go there and hardly anything … no moose, no muskrat … when someone used to kill about ten thousand but now nothing … can't eat any fish … took a sample in of fish, water, mud, moose meat, caribou, rabbit … they don't know that the land and water is polluted." Another food sovereignty talking circle, this one in southern Saskatchewan, described the impact of industrial farming, including the loss of small farmland plots and traditional grasslands and waterways, on southern Indigenous people's diets.

Figure 3: Travis on Food Sovereignty

When traditional homelands are impacted, Indigenous people often resort to moving to urban centres to seek a better way of life, and access to food and food justice becomes a critical issue. Saskatoon's inner city, like many urban cores, is a "food desert," with limited access to nutritious, affordable food. Big box grocery stores, located mainly in the suburbs, have pushed out smaller, local vendors, making it difficult for people in the core communities, particularly those living in poverty, to access food outside of over-priced convenience stores and fast food chains. And yet, as our students made clear, despite these barriers, Indigenous people who live in the city are engaging in the resurgence of traditional foods and food production, as well as facilitating the sharing of foods between rural and urban spaces.

In a video interview with English student Gared, STR8 UP member Henry, then an avid community gardener in the city of Prince Albert, shares his knowledge of plants and plant medicine, explaining the process of gathering various barks for tea and berries for jam, and highlighting the medicinal properties of the dandelion plant (see location #6). Understanding good food as a "gift for our lives," Henry stresses the value of gratitude: "Creator gave us the foods, and we have to appreciate what they gave us." STR8 UP member Travis similarly speaks to the importance of gratitude, specifically in relation to hunting moose (see location #4). Because the animal is seen as having given its life for human sustenance, tobacco is put down by a tree in "thanks to Mother Earth." Travis also explains how "everything when hunting and killing moose is used and nothing is wasted"; the intestines are used for making sausages; the nose is used for soup; and the hide is used for clothing. He then foregrounds the ethic of sharing that is crucial to food justice: "Once we start hauling the meat we take it back home and divide it up amongst our family, and to families that are less fortunate. We try to feed as many people off that kill as we can.[13] That's how we take care of the problem [of hunger and food insecurity]" (see location #4). Both Henry and Travis complicate any facile assumptions viewers of the map might have about the activities, values, and knowledge of people (formerly) involved in gangs and/or the prison system. And through their discussion of food gathering, production, and distribution that span rural and urban communities, they draw attention to a definition of food justice—and justice more broadly—grounded in wâhkôhtowin—or the interconnectedness of all, including our other-than-human kin. It is the law of wâhkôhtowin (O'Reilly-Scanlon, Crowe, & Weenie, 2014) that must animate our approach to thinking about access to justice.

Prison Activism: In the mid-1980s, Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) initiated the action that led to the eventual closure of Prison for Women (P4W). Co-author Settee was an NWAC board

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[13] In a conversation with Van Styvendale, Travis explained that he will often bring meat to relations in the city, as well as on his reserve.

member representing Saskatchewan at that time. The closure was initiated after thirteen young Indigenous Prairie women either killed themselves or died under mysterious conditions while imprisoned in the dungeon-like P4W. Living thousands of kilometres from home, these young Indigenous women had restricted family visiting rights, which often led to loneliness, frustration, anxiety, and feelings of loss. If justice in an Indigenous context is achieved through healing relationships (Henderson & McCaslin, 2005), then prisons are the antithesis of justice. In the wâhkôhtowin class, we read excerpts from Wiebe and Johnson's *Stolen Life: The Journey of a Cree Woman* (1998), the autobiography of Yvonne Johnson, a Cree woman from Saskatchewan who was incarcerated at P4W before it closed and who witnessed its lethal conditions. In discussing the text in relation to their own experiences, STR8 UP members shared similar insights into the toxic, violent environment of the prison, and the feelings of loss and isolation from family and community the carceral context engenders; indeed, as Rymhs (2008) and others have argued, prisons are the new residential schools. More than that, prisons are an integral mechanism of the settler colonial state, designed, in tandem with other colonial policies and institutions, past and present, to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands and engineer the breakdown of Indigenous families and communities.

In his contribution to the wâhkôhtowin map, STR8 UP member Emil writes of his experience at the Saskatchewan Penitentiary (located in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan), and of the process of the criminal trial and incarceration more generally (see location #22). Describing the isolation of the trial process, Emil shares how he "felt really lonely going up in front of the judge there. I had no friends and no family in court. No support at all. When I got my 3 years I was feeling really lonely. I couldn't cry, even though I wanted to. I just took it." He goes on to talk about his transfer to the penitentiary, where he was "intimidated by the presence of the walls and the guards … I remember being stripped and given new jail clothes," he says, "and being forced to turn around and bend over and cough and lift my

_____... I heard of the violence in there—even guys getting stabbed up for ratting or getting too close to the guards. I didn't want anything like that to happen to me, so I learned how to do my time, how to talk to others so there were no problems" (see location #22). Prison, as this story makes clear, is a site of humiliation and harm, a space of toxic masculinity (see also Comack et al., 2013) that disciplines those it contains into relationships and behaviours informed by violence, division, and distrust. Often, Emil notes, the system "wears people down," and sometimes, like his best friend Big Mike, they die in custody: "I swear I cried silently all night that first night he was gone. That's when I really felt alone … The only freedom it seemed was walking through the front doors when your time expiry was up, or when you leave in a body bag. The second was becoming more appealing to me" (see location #22). Such suicidal ideations are not uncommon for people in prison. Ultimately, however, Emil finds strength and a measure of "freedom" through the "brotherly love" that he finds, not in gangs, but through his involvement in prison in various spiritual communities and practices like sweats and ceremonies, as well as Catholic services.[14] Once released, he drifts in and out of gangs, but finally leaves the lifestyle because of his son: "I still remember as if it was yesterday. [My son] was sitting on the couch … and as soon as I walked around the corner his little eyes and mouth went wide and he said, 'Dad!' and came running to me and hugged me so hard—it was the best feeling ever for me … All he ever wanted was a father and I was back, so happy that time it tears me up thinking about it" (see location #22).

Emil's story is one of many that have been the impetus for prison activism, underscoring the importance of bringing the Canadian

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[14] One could argue that because of the supports Emil is able to access in prison that prison has served its "rehabilitative" purpose and, in that way, is a site of justice. We would suggest, however, that it is despite (rather than because of) his incarceration that Emil finds a measure of peace, and it is only through restoring relational bonds, which, in most instances, the prison works systematically to dismantle, that he creates the community he needs to survive. It is also important to recognize that access to Indigenous spiritual practices in prison is the result of hard-won battles fought by Indigenous people to secure basic human rights in carceral institutions (Adema, 2018).

criminal justice system under scrutiny and interrogating its rhetoric of "rehabilitation" and "reintegration." Certainly, Emil's experience pinpoints the colonial logics of divide and conquer that undergird the prison. While those on the outside may want to trust in the system's inherent ability to mete out justice for "victims" and "offenders," in reality, the prison is a site of further harm and injustice. As in other locations on the digital map, however, the focus of Emil's story turns to community and kin, in this case as a way of surviving the carceral context and transitioning successfully to life after prison.

Conclusion

The wâhkôhtowin justice map tells important and vital stories about justice and injustice in Saskatoon. Through the stories and insights of STR8 UP members and university students, the map disrupts dominant paradigms about the location and accessibility of justice within the city, and proposes community-driven alternatives rooted in relationships. As our students affirmed, justice is not easily found at the police station, in the courts, and certainly not in prisons; indeed, these are too often sites of injustice, where societal harms are increased rather than redressed. These insights are familiar ones to Indigenous legal scholars: Patricia Monture (1995) writes that "Canadian law is a central source of the marginalization of Aboriginal peoples" (p. 206), and Sakej Henderson (2015) observes that "Canadian law was and remains the performance of an institutionalized form of colonization" (p. 53). Similarly, Métis legal scholar Patricia Barkaskas (2018) proposes that we should be talking about the Canadian "injustice system" rather than the Canadian "justice system."

Justice can be sought, instead, in collaborative interrogations of settler colonial logics and the institutional practices of surveillance, punishment, and harm such logics undergird. Justice can be articulated and enacted through grassroots and community-driven initiatives—from local food production and gathering practices, as illustrated in urban community gardening or rural moose hunting, to

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national and international organizing, as seen in Indigenous communities' collective response to both the crisis of MMIWG and the violence of incarceration. Rather than assuming that to access justice is to remove barriers to official institutions and justice system practitioners, the wâhkôhtowin map asks viewers to reorient themselves, as Cariou observes of the function of Indigenous stories more generally, to an understanding of justice as "healing relationships" (Henderson & McCaslin, 2005). From this perspective, we see that communities are working together and actively creating the justice they want to see in the world. Whether and how justice system insiders will learn from these narratives and insights remains to be seen.

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