

SOLVED CASES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION:
ANALYZING THE NEED FOR ADR TECHNIQUES
IN INTERGROUP COMMUNICATION IN THE
MISSING AND MURDERED
INDIGENOUS WOMEN CRISIS

By

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Solved Cases and Conflict Resolution: Analyzing the Need for ADR Techniques in Intergroup Communication in the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Crisis.

This project focuses on analyzing language through Critical Incident Analysis to discern whether or not miscommunication, and lack of trust, could be contributing to the staggering number of missing indigenous women's cases that remain unsolved by analyzing the difference of experiences between those with solved and unsolved cases. The goal is to explore whether ADR techniques potentially could help by changing the communication, and trust, established with information shared through intergroup communication. This exploratory research hopes to look at whether intergroup communication factors could be connected to positive or negative outcomes.

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I dedicate this project to the women whose cases I discuss: Rosenda, Leona, Kaysera, Tina, Ashley, Jermain, Savanna, Hanna, Henny, Ashlynne, and Selena. May your stories never be forgotten and your lives always honored.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
a. Prevalence of MMIW	5
b. Potential Barriers to Resolution.....	8
c. Intergroup Communication.....	10
d. Connection to the Research	12
III. METHODOLOGY	13
a. Data Collection	16
b. Initial Coding	31
c. Results.....	35
1. Unresolved Cases.....	35
2. Resolved Cases	51
IV. DISCUSSION.....	63
APPENDIX A	71
REFERENCES CITED.....	76

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Figure 1: Rosenda Strong.....	18
2. Figure 2: Leona Kinsey.....	19
3. Figure 3: Tina Fontaine	20
4. Figure 4: Ashley Loring Heavyrunner	21
5. Figure 5: Jermain Charlo	22
6. Figure 6: Kaysera Stops Pretty Places	23
7. Figure 7: Savanna Greywinds.....	25
8. Figure 8: Ashlynnne Mike	26
9. Figure 9: Hanna Harris.....	27
10. Figure 10: Henny Scott.....	28
11. Figure 11: Selena Not Afraid.....	30
12. Figure 12: Comparison of Final Results.....	36

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Table 1: Cases used for Data Collection.....	17
2. Table 2: Groups for First Level Coding.....	33

I. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2021, a young white woman named Gabby Petito went missing in the Grand Tetons in Wyoming, receiving global media attention and bringing hundreds of law enforcement and search parties to comb this rural area to find her. While this was amazing for her family, it highlights the vast discrepancy between the treatments of some cases over others. One of my contacts told me (off the record) that it hurt to see the world come together to search for one girl when she was aware of so many missing young indigenous women in the same state that had been left to grow cold. She was not wrong. In the past decade, 710 indigenous women and girls have been reported missing in Wyoming alone, and almost all of those cases are still unsolved (Kesslen, 2021).

The Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) Crisis and the exploitation and mistreatment of indigenous women began with the colonizing of the Americas (Krogmeier, 2017). There has been a disregard for the safety of indigenous people and even laws specifically created to control their lives, such as the creation of reservations and residential schools. Owing to historical precedence, it may not come as a surprise to many that the violence towards indigenous people, women, in particular, continues to this day. Approximately 84% of indigenous women will experience violence in their lives (Rosay, 2016), making them two times more likely to face violence than women of other races (Association of Indian Affairs, n.d.). That number is only those cases of violence that are reported. Despite continued violence and exploitation of the indigenous

community, only in recent years has it become more evident to the public that indigenous women are still in danger. This violence is not a thing of the past, as many people would assume it is still a clear and present threat to indigenous people.

Social media has been the turning point in the uptick in public interest in MMIW cases in the past few years. Thanks to outspoken family and friends taking to a wide range of apps such as Twitter, Instagram, and Tik Tok, cases that were not getting their deserved attention were suddenly brought back into the public eye. Grassroots efforts using #mmiw on these platforms ask the public to share and duet (on Tik Tok) to bring renewed attention to the cases they feel are not getting proper media attention (Forgie & Ryan, 2021). Because of this push for more concentrated public attention, there have been recent legislative activities created to uncover more information about violence against indigenous women and to help solve reported cases: The Not Invisible Act of 2019, which was explicitly about creating new positions in the Department of Justice that would work more closely with tribal groups (S.982 - 116th Congress, 2020); Operation Lady Justice, an executive order that was signed into effect in 2019 to collect data and cultivate information surrounding MMIW cases (U.S. Department of Justice, 2020); and most recently, Savanna's Act in 2020, which directly addresses the need for new training for police forces involved in MMIW cases (S.227 - 116th Congress, 2020).

Thanks to these new legislative actions, other actions exist that also show support for MMIW cases. For example, President Biden declared May 5th to be

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Persons Awareness Day (United States Government, 2021). While a symbolic gesture, it tries to ensure that the public sees this crisis and discusses MMIW cases. In 2021 a significant legal change was enacted that deeply affected the legal rights of reservations, the Supreme Court declared tribal police may detain and search non-indigenous people on reservation land, a huge step because it gives more power to reservation police in solving cases (Kennard, 2021). These actions show that the potential for change is incredible right now, but many of these acts are merely gestures and cannot actively aid the victims and their families.

This project aims to focus on analyzing the language used by those most directly impacted by or involved in cases of MMIW to discern whether miscommunication and lack of trust, contribute to the staggering number of MMIW cases that remain unsolved. In particular, using Critical Incident Analysis, I explore if a connection might exist between specific behaviors and interactions resulting in a negative or positive outcome. In addition, I analyze the different experiences between those with resolved and unresolved cases, intergroup communication, or communication between the separate groups involved in a case, and how that communication may positively or negatively impact a case being solved. Finally, through this exploration, I consider whether conflict dispute resolution techniques might aid in communication regarding MMIW and, ultimately, help improve the outcomes of these tragic cases. Though there has been work done to aid in the legal obstacles in recent years, as I discussed above, this is only the tip of the iceberg and there are still a lot of legal changes that need

to be made to help indigenous people. There are likely many factors that led to unresolved cases. However, this project assesses whether there is a connection between less trust and communication in unsolved cases than solved cases and if this exploration could lead to further research and positive changes in methods aid the MMIW crisis.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two prongs to the research for this paper: the research on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) and intergroup communication. This project involves the intersection of these two fields. The section is broken down into literature on the Prevalence of MMIW, Potential Barriers to Resolution, and Intergroup Communication, ending with Specific Research Goals for this paper.

a. Prevalence of MMIW

Unfortunately, criminal activity and violence have been prevalent in indigenous communities for generations. Though accurate reporting is complicated to find owing to lack of documentation by police and government bodies, there are estimates that there could be as many as 5,712 missing indigenous women in the United States (Native Women's Wilderness, nd). More research has been done regarding Canadian MMIW case numbers than in the United States. Still, there is uncertainty about the exact number of MMIW cases in Canada; there is estimated to be about 4,000 (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). Studies that indicate a lack of data collection show that this results in uncertainty surrounding the number of missing indigenous women (UIHI, 2016). Uncertainty about the exact number of missing can make it difficult for researchers to know how prevalent these types of cases are. A lack of accurate numbers means it can be hard to comprehend the prevalence of MMIW cases. There are many reasons for the lack of data, but it is evident that the numbers being reported and in the

media do not match those reported by families (UIHI, 2016). The difficulty in tracking MMIW cases is a huge issue. Tracking issues connect to the lack of trust between the police and indigenous communities. The lack of accurate record-keeping means that there are cases that is not getting enough attention or is not being worked on by law enforcement. It seems to show there has not been enough done by law enforcement to ensure that these cases are appropriately documented, mainly because of the gap between cases families report and those present in the databases.

When looking at prevalence, it is essential to consider why these types of cases are as extensive as they are, because it goes hand in hand with why cases are not being solved. One proposed issue that affects the prevalence of MMIW cases is demonstrated extensive violence and abuse inflicted on indigenous women, especially in the form of intimate partner violence, which is tragically common for indigenous women (Rosay, 2016). This likelihood of violence could indicate why so many women are at risk of becoming victims of MMIW, but also one of the reasons that law enforcement may not be taking their disappearances seriously. Many indigenous people believe the police are unlikely to respond to instances of violence in their communities, especially if they have been called before and will undermine disappearances in these areas thanks to this (Perry, 2006). What this means is that past experience has shown indigenous communities that going to the police will probably be a disheartening event, because they expect to be dismissed by law enforcement it means cases may be

left unreported or not taken seriously as the cases are seen as connected to women escaping violence, which the officers don't worry about.

Another factor that connects with potential violence in daily life is the lack of safe methods to get from place to place, which comes from high rates of poverty and living in areas under-served by public transportation. Many reservation communities are in rural areas, which contribute to issues of transportation, especially because of the high rates of poverty among indigenous people; the median income for Native Americans is \$40,315, significantly lower than other racial groups, and they have the highest rates of poverty of any racial minority at 25.4% (Muhammad et al., 2019). Research has shown that this lack of resources leads to hitchhiking and other dangerous modes of transportation (Morton, 2016) that can lead to missing or murdered women.

Another common reason for the prevalence of MMIW cases is mental health needs that contribute to rates of violence, along with a lack of access to mental health care for indigenous peoples (Hardy & Brown-Rice, 2016). Mental healthcare access is a massive issue for many indigenous people, especially if they live on tribal land where less than half of people have access to mental health service, many providers are underqualified, there is a lack of access to crisis care, and almost none of the providers have any background in multicultural care (Hardy & Brown-Rice, 2016). Reduced access to quality mental healthcare results in a lack of help for those experiencing crises. In addition, issues of mental health access are connected to the lack of police response to indigenous communities and many other communities of color in crisis (Thompson & Kahn, 2016). These

factors can contribute to the cases as there is little help for violence, which can result in a lack of closure for those involved because it means that law enforcement may not be giving enough attention to cases that they think come from other factors which can lead to a large number of MMIW cases remaining unresolved.

b. Potential Barriers to Resolution

Research topics surrounding the prevalence of MMIW discussed above, venture to look at specific reasons these cases occur to help understand how they can be solved and prevented. Related to this are barriers that prevent the cases from being solved once they are discovered. Many factors connect to why MMIW cases are not being solved at a very high rate, but a few significant barriers are as follows. As was discussed in the cause section, lack of mobility can connect with dangerous methods, such as hitchhiking, which can lead to a higher level of MMIW cases in the area. The women are often blamed because they chose to use these methods, something that regularly leads to law enforcement taking a longer time to begin investigations, on top of which these are rural areas that may not have a large amount of police presence to deal with missing people. Victim blaming is a barrier, even though these factors led to hitchhiking and lack of access to transportation, the indigenous women using this practice are blamed for going missing, and the cases are dismissed or not appropriately investigated as law enforcement see their risky behaviors as their fault.

Another barrier to resolution comes from the perceived disposability of indigenous women who are often treated by police and courts as less human and thus less worthy of attention or resources (Razack, 2016). This dehumanization comes, in part, from the stereotypes of indigenous women being more likely to be addicts or engage in sex work. When individuals are treated as less important because of lifestyle, it is dehumanizing because it reduces life to only one negative aspect instead of a whole human, leaving their families to feel they are being treated as more disposable than those who didn't have struggles. Directly related to disposability are policing issues in indigenous communities. Police are more likely to assume that women are runaways and blame victims, especially in areas close to reservations or large diasporic populations of indigenous people. Police may thus not take reports seriously from families and are less willing to work with indigenous community police (Palmater, 2016), who do not always have the resources to solve these cases on their own. Because of this lack of police aid, there is an inherent lack of trust between families in need and communities of color. There is demonstrated research that shows stereotyping negatively affects the quality of the investigation into reported cases (Kahn et al, 2017).

There is a need for more resources on tribal land, as it seems that women are reporting violence at a higher rate than the police are reporting. The lack of reporting may come from a lack of accurate data collection. Jurisdiction issues may also prevent accurate reporting. Both of these issues connect to communication between police and tribal departments, and families who are

reporting cases (Crossland, Palmer, & Brookes, 2013). Inaccurate data collection can cause many cases to be missed by law enforcement or to fall through the cracks, so they are not getting the attention they deserve, which seems to be directly connected to resources. Suppose there is open communication between law enforcement and families. In that case, it seems less likely that cases would end up being missed, so it does appear that lack of reporting could directly stem from intergroup communication failures. The barriers to resolution may come into play when speaking about cases, as it helps to understand the research behind what may be causing MMIW cases to take longer to be solved than other cases. If they are solved at all.

c. Intergroup Communication

Research surrounding intergroup communication suggests a connection between trust and facilitating any positive relationship between groups, especially when sharing information, which is done more often when trust has been established (Yuan, Olfman, & Yi, 2016). Trust plays a part in how groups communicate and interact, so understanding what a trust relationship looks like is an aspect of intergroup communication. It is theorized that trust can be broken down as follows: whether or not the truster believes that the trustee has integrity and benevolence, but most notably whether or not they can perform the task, they are being entrusted with (Mayer et al, 1995). Trust is a psychological state and represents how one individual sees their relationship with another when involved in a risk/vulnerable situation, trust relationships can determine how someone

assumes another will act in the future and how they see past actions (Dirks & Ferrin, 2001). Understanding how trust is essential to intergroup communication can be understood by seeing trust as connected to the above-presented ideas where it is presented not only as a physiological state but also as an emotional relationship. When looking at International Relations, for example, it is proposed that empathy could impact trust between groups because it could change the understanding of past actions and allow groups to find common ground (Head, 2012). Trust within the Criminal Justice System has a similar outcome to International Relations. A victim's specialist (someone who empathizes with the victims) has a positive impact on the intergroup dynamic and how they view the outcome of the case because of the trust relationship they establish (Bradford, 2011). It is clear that the research suggests that open sharing of information will lead to trust, so communication is essential to keeping trusting relationships between groups, especially in working situations (Mooradian, Renzl, & Matzler, 2006).

Trust and communication are essential to mitigate fear, as fear between groups causes communication to become more complex (Renzl, 2008). Trust can be seen as social capital (values that aid in cooperation in-group), which are important to how groups communicated and if one group has a stronger position of power (Bakker et al, 2006). Knowledge-sharing creates trust in intergroup dynamics; it leads to positive outcomes in working relationships (Gold, Malhotra, & Segars, 2001). Even so, knowledge-sharing can also be used to manipulate communication by withholding information from others, because one person has

more information than others creates an imbalanced dynamic between groups (Cabrera & Cabrera, 2002). Trust building and communication are important for facilitators to help groups productively share knowledge and avoid using it against others (Hsu, 2014).

d. Connection to the Research

In the case of this research, these issues of intergroup trust are being explored in connection with the way that federal and local law enforcement communicates with tribal law enforcement and families of missing women. One of the critical things explored is whether or not there is an issue of trust between these groups that may play into the dynamics from the papers in this section and how that could positively or negatively impact how cases are solved. It is important to consider the prevalence of MMIW cases to demonstrate why this research is needed and to show how many people could potentially be affected by MMIW. The barriers are important to consider because they seem to demonstrate a reason to assume difficult communication intergroup already, which would validate the ideas behind this research project. Finally, understanding the importance of positive intergroup communication could be used to look at the data collected for this project and at the places where communication failure may contribute to a lack of trust from indigenous communities.

III. METHODOLOGY

This project uses a qualitative research design that focuses on language and storytelling to see if conflict resolution techniques could facilitate intergroup communication between state police, tribal police, and families. I used a few different techniques to collect the data used for this research. The primary method of data collection comes from existing interviews that are available in public formats, either written or recorded; the advantage to this method is that it has allowed for more voices to be included and to hear people speak at different phases of the case, which makes a difference to how they feel emotionally. The secondary method of data collection used for this project is interviews with individuals involved in MMIW cases. The data used for this project was collected from two different groups of people: those involved in unresolved cases, and those involved in resolved cases.

Realistically, these cases are not rare. As was discussed in previous sections, there could be as many as 5,000 open MMIW cases in America. Owing to this, it felt attainable to use 5-10 cases for each group. When dealing with people, it is always best to remember that not everyone will want to speak with researchers, especially about such sensitive subject matter, so this range seemed to take that into account while still providing a sample for exploration. People not always being willing to speak is one of the reasons that existing interviews were so important in the end because it could provide data from individuals that could not be contacted directly for this research and allowed for their stories to be told. This project aimed to include individuals from these groups (police, tribal police,

and families) connected to each case to gain insight from all the groups involved in the cases examined so that I ensured that there was a diverse range of experiences represented.

After conducting (and listening or reading) the interviews, I created transcripts to analyze these documents using the key terms: Trust, limitations imposed by law (jurisdictional issues), and communication breakdowns. These key terms are the guiding points to the project's exploration into whether or not there are connections between how people felt the different cases were handled. For the written documents, such as newspaper articles, I used the already provided text for analysis, but that was not as easy with audio or videos. Therefore, when possible, I used the transcripts provided by the interviewer. These transcripts are often readily available, especially for podcasts. However, when those did not exist, I transcribed them based on close captioning so that all of the data was in written form for analysis.

The data breakdown and subsequent exploration were done using Critical Incident Analysis, which is a method that looks at how a behavior or action impacts (either positive or negative) an outcome (Rosala, 2020). I used this approach to understand outcomes based on behaviors and narrative responses. Using Critical Incident Analysis, research and data were examined by looking at the language used in a given quote and how that is connected to the key terms presented above. Once the data was sorted into the three categories (trust, jurisdictional, and communication), it was further separated into negative and positive. After that basic coding, I also use the Critical Incident Analysis

technique to look for themes that occur within each data set. The themes used are based on what ideas come up the most often and how those connect to the case outcome, or if they seem to do so. Next, by looking at the data, I compared if there seems to be a more symbolic language of trust, fewer legal limitations, and fewer communication breakdowns in the second set of resolved cases than were present in the unresolved cases.

The Critical Incident Analysis method helps to identify how actions and behaviors can lead to negative or positive outcomes, which is the goal of the exploration in this project. Some examples of similarly conceptual projects using Critical Incident Analysis to look at communication are the following: a research study that examined communication failures and how they contributed to breakdowns of care for hospitalized patients between doctors (Arora et al, 2005); an analysis of working relationships between obstetric staff and their managers to see if positive relationships improved this relation (Chipeta et al, 2016), a project hoping to determine what factors would produce a poor outcome in sedation events (Coté et al, 2000); and, communication indicators to that show if a gift was well-received (Roster, 2006).

Using this methodology for the project, I began an exploration into how communication changes and language contribute to solving MMIW cases. By looking at the data collected, I explored whether the group of unresolved cases had more markers connected to the key terms than the group of resolved cases, which was hypothesized to have less. In the end, the research will show if communication between the groups might facilitate better outcomes of cases

because there is less fear of sharing knowledge and more trust established between groups.

a. Data Collection

There could be close to 5,000 missing indigenous women in the United States alone and close to that many in Canada, which meant that choosing cases for the unresolved group would be easier, but it also meant sorting through a large number of potential women and their cases. In Table 1 below I have listed all the cases used for this research and whether they are resolved or unresolved. In this section, I will go through the process of deciding on these cases and also give details on the cases themselves. This gives a human element to the individuals I will be speaking about. I also think it will be easier to understand the results section if some case details are known.

The easiest way to decide which unresolved cases would be appropriate for this project came down to a few factors: whether there was social media coverage surrounding their case to grant ease of potential contact with people involved (all the unresolved cases have this), at least two were chosen because of geographic proximity to Oregon (Rosenda Strong and Leona Kinsey) in order to potentially meet with individuals and to bring attention to local cases, a variety of years of occurrence to demonstrate how long these cases can go unsolved. The last factor was whether or not there was media coverage of the cases when they occurred. With the variety of years qualification connected with social media coverage, older cases can be harder to find people to speak with. There were

many whose family and friends are using social media now to bring attention to their cold cases, and those cases seem likely to have another perspective. The last qualification was primarily selected to ensure that there would be information available about the cases and existing interviews so that there would still be data to analyze if contact with people involved was impossible. Using these relatively simplistic parameters, six cases were chosen to represent the unresolved group:

Name	Resolved	Unresolved
Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner		X
Ashlynne Mike	X	
Hanna Harris	X	
Henny Scott	X	
Jermain Charlo		X
Kaysera Stops Pretty Places		X
Leona Kinsey		X
Rosenda Strong		X
Savanna Greywind	X	
Selena Not Afraid	X	
Tina Fontaine		X

Table 1: Cases used for Data Collection

1) Rosenda Strong (Figure 1) went missing from Toppenish, WA in 2018. She was 31 at the time of her disappearance and a member of The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla and a descendent of the Yakima Tribe, as well as being a mother to young children (Gontcharova, 2019). Her body was found in a freezer almost a year after she disappeared from a casino, at which time the case was classified as a homicide (Hagen, 2021). Her family continues to push for support from the police and is actively supporting other MMIW cases by holding events to bring awareness (Mclean,2019).

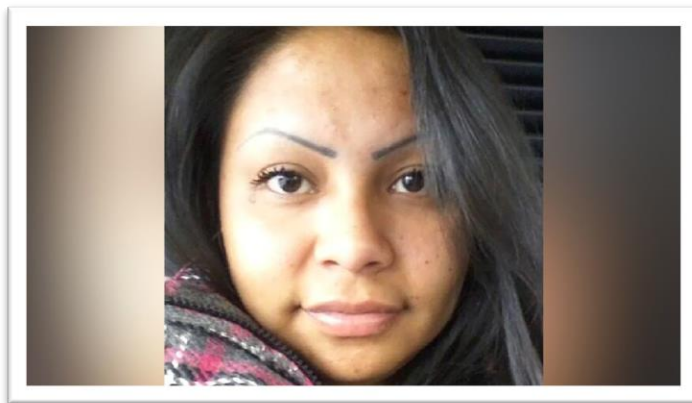


Figure 1: Rosenda Strong (Weisfeldt & Silverman. 2019)

2) Leona Kinsey (Figure 2) went missing from La Grande, OR in 1999. She was 45 at the time of her disappearance and was a member of the Puyallup Tribe (Jones, 2021). She was missing over two days when her daughter could not get in contact with her and filled a missing person's report, but tragically she was never seen again (Moffitt & Feingold, 2019). There have been people of interest in her case and some movement, but not much has changed in over 20

years since her disappearance. Kinsey's is the oldest case that will be used for this research, but incredibly it is relevant still today thanks to continuous work from her daughter, who has become an advocate for MMIW cases all over Oregon and Washington, and it also serves as a reminder that cases never become less relevant to the families of the missing.



Figure 2: Leona Kinsey
(Anderson, 2018)

- 3) Tina Fontaine (Figure 3) was murdered in Winnipeg, Manitoba, CA, in 2014, at the time of her disappearance and death. Tina was only 15 years old and was a member of the Sagkeeng First Nation (BBC, 2019). Before her disappearance and death, Tina was put into state care, where she seemed to fall through the cracks (Maclean, 2019). She was missing for over a week before her body was eventually found wrapped in a blanket in the Red River in Winnipeg (BBC, 2019).



Figure 3: Tina Fontaine (Lambert, 2015)

4) Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner (Figure 4) went missing from The Blackfoot Reservation, MT, in 2017. Ashley was a member of the Blackfoot Nation and was only 20 years old when she disappeared (Stern, 2021). Her disappearance was not reported immediately since she was an adult and her family knew she sometimes lost or didn't charge her phone. Eventually, there was a family emergency, and they realized something had to be wrong (Hodal & Silverstone, 2019). Her family reported her to tribal law enforcement, but they only performed a three-day search. Ashley's family has continued to search for her, especially her sister, who has become a vocal advocate for MMIW cases in Montana. They have not found any sign of her since her disappearance (Hodal & Silverstone, 2019).



Figure 4: Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner (Simon, 2017)

5) Jermain Charlo (Figure 5) went missing from Missoula, MT, in 2018. She was a 23-year-old mother who was a member of the Blackfoot Nation (Zoltek, 2021). Her case is still very active, thanks mainly to her family and a nonprofit in her area that has assisted with searches ever since her disappearance (Walker, 2021). Jermain was last seen leaving a bar, and her phone recorded her being dropped off by a grocery store very late at night or the early hours of the morning. She was never seen again, and there have not been any concrete leads that are connected to her case, a detective who has directly taken on working with her family to attempt to solve it (Walker, 2021).

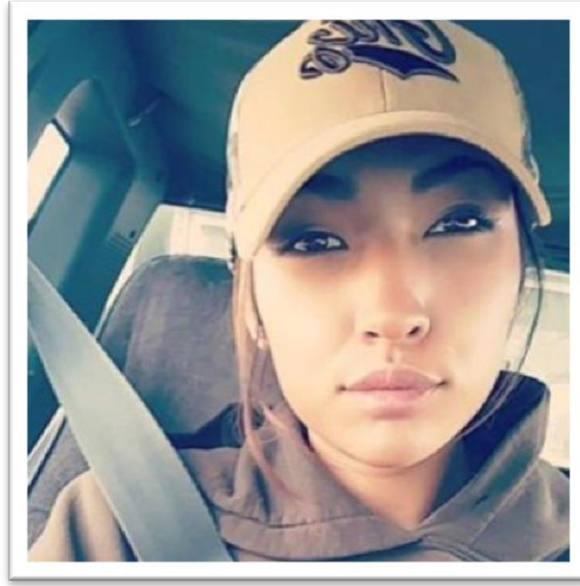


Figure 5: Jermain Charlo (Larsen, 2020)

- 6) Kaysera Stops Pretty Places (Figure 6) was murdered in Hardin, MT, in 2019. Kaysera was an 18-year-old young woman who was a member of the Crow/Northern Cheyenne tribe (Slade, 2021). She was last seen by neighbors at a friend's house when an argument started, and she ran away and was not reported missing until after her body was discovered, at which time her aunt had called to make a report to authorities (Slade, 2021). A jogger found Kaysera on August 29th, 2019, and her cause of death was not determined. No significant investigation was done on her case until October. Even though she was found in the summer, they eventually established a Missing and Murdered Persons Task Force to address the suspicious deaths in the area (Democracy Now!, 2019). Unfortunately, to date, nothing has changed in the case. The

police believe that the significant amount of alcohol in her system could have contributed, her family disagrees (Democracy Now!. 2019).

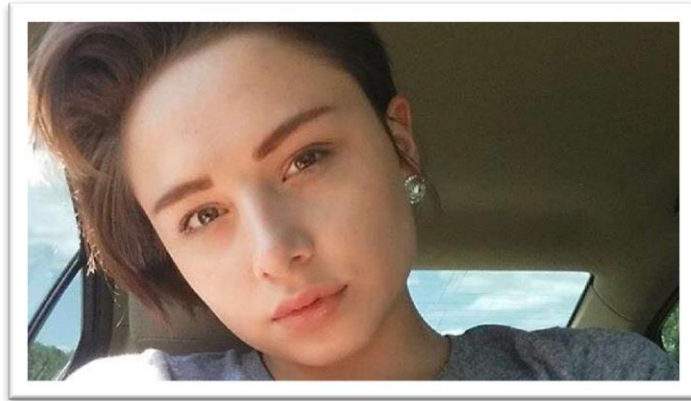


Figure 6: Kaysera StopsPrettyPlaces (Billings Gazette, 2020)

Choosing the cases for the second group proved to be significantly more difficult. Unfortunately, for as many MMIW cases as there appears to be in the United States and Canada, there is not a vast amount of available information for those cases which are considered solved. One of the main reasons for this seems to be the fact that there is a noticeable lack of media coverage of MMIW cases, meaning that when researching solved cases, there was only a finite number to choose from which have enough verifiable information to use for this project. Even more complicated is whether or not there is agreement on if the case is solved or not. This was anticipated when looking for solved cases but seemed to be an obstacle at every turn. Although there are several supposedly solved MMIW cases that the families say were prematurely closed by the police to prevent having to do further investigation, in these cases, the families are still demanding

justice and pushing to keep the cases in the spotlight to make law enforcement take a closer look. Because there were many of these cases, especially in the past few years, a few were included as part of the resolved cases group. It felt important to include these cases because it could show another layer to the intergroup communication that goes on even in cases considered to be resolved by all law enforcement agencies involved. For this research, the resolved group will include five cases, two of whom are closely related to one another because they occurred close in time and location, and both considered solved, but the family contests this. The cases are:

- 1) Savanna Greywind (Figure 7) was murdered in Fargo, ND, in 2017. She was 22 years old and a member of the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe, and at the time of her death, she was eight months pregnant with her first child (Olson, 2019). She went to her upstairs neighbor, Brooke Crews, to help with a dress fitting in return for \$20, her parents became worried, and her father went to look for her but was told that it would take a little longer (Egitto, 2020). Eventually, her parents called the police when the neighbor said Savanna had already left and police searched the neighbor's apartment multiple times before finding evidence (Swenson, 2019). On their fourth search, days later, they found a baby in the apartment who would later be identified as Savanna and her boyfriend's child who was alive and was reunited with her family (Oxygen, 2019). Sadly Savanna was not. Her body would be found soon after, Brooke Crews received life without parole, and her boyfriend William Hoehn also received a life sentence, though he is currently contesting that (Egitto, 2020).

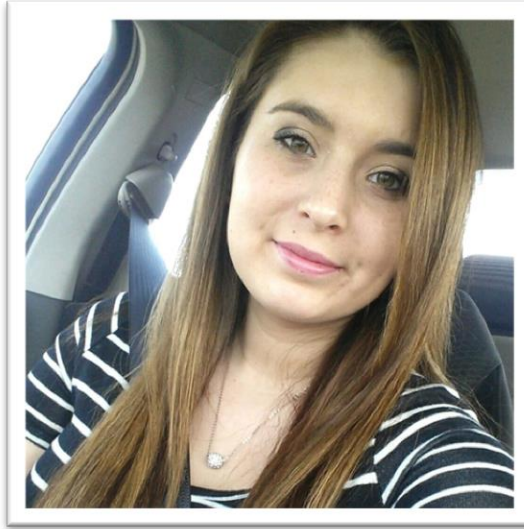


Figure 7: Savanna Greywind (Olson, 2018)

2) Ashlynnne Mike was murdered in Shiprock, NM, in 2016, she was 11 years old, a member of the Navajo tribe when she was walking home with two siblings, and a man in a red van pulled up alongside them (Monroe, 2020). He asked if they wanted a ride, her sister, who was a little ahead, said no, but the two younger children happily took the man up on his offer, her frantic sister called her parents, one of whom lived out of state, and they attempted to file a missing person's report but struggled because the police on the Navajo reservation was stretched thin (Monroe, 2020). It was not until late in the night after they were abducted that an AMBER alert was sent out by the FBI, the next day, Ashlynnne's body would be found on the side of the road, and an arrest was made, a relatively new member of the community named Tom Begaye (Smith, 2016). The man quickly confessed though he claimed he had

left her alive. Nonetheless, soon after he would be sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole (Gallupsun Staff, 2017).



Figure 8: Ashlyne Mike (Quintero, 2017)

- 3) Hanna Harris (Figure 9) was murdered in Lame Deer, MT in 2013, Hanna, who was 21 years old and from the Northern Cheyenne tribe, was out celebrating the 4th of July with friends, having fun for the first time since the birth of her son ten months prior (Bobic, 2020). The next morning her car would be found abandoned on the side of a highway with a flat tire, but Hanna was nowhere to be found, over four days later her body was found on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, her body was so decomposed that there was no way to know whether or not she had been sexually assaulted or precisely what had happened to Hanna (Baugh, 2018). Eventually, two individuals

would confess to others that they were involved in her murder and would be arrested shortly after. Garrett Wadda and Eugenia Rowland would both be convicted, Wadda getting ten years for being an accessory after the fact and Rowland 22 years for second-degree murder (Bobic, 2020). There is still much mystery surrounding Hanna's death, given the decomposition and the loss of time in her search since the police didn't react immediately.

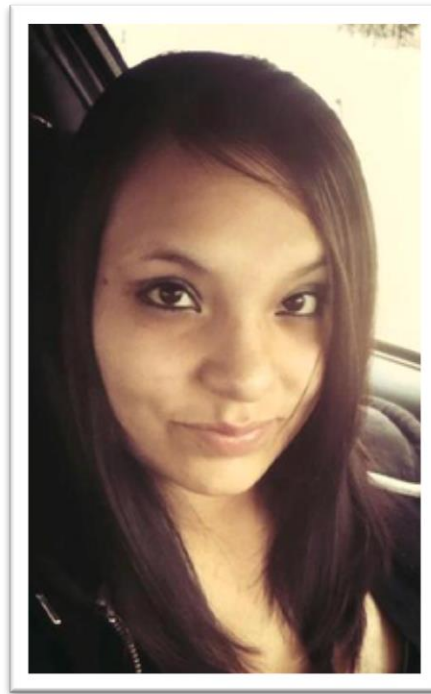


Figure 9: Hanna Harris (Justice for Native Women, 2016)

- 4) Henny Scott (Figure 10) died in Muddy Creek, MT, in 2018, Henny was 14 years old and a member of the Northern Cheyenne tribe, living on the edge of the reservation (Chang, 2019). She was at a residence when she walked outside on the 8th of December and would not be seen alive again, because of this her family reported her missing when she didn't return home after that

night but was met with opposition (Chang, 2019). Her parents advocated for her, pushing for searches in the area they assumed she would be based on her last phone call to her mother, Henny's mother Paula Castro went on social media in search of anyone who had seen her but was unable to find her without aid (Chang, 2019). Both Henny's parents went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to report her but were met with little effort, telling them that kids party and get boyfriends (Chang, 2019). Sadly a group of volunteer searchers from the tribal community would discover her body in an area behind her last known location. Her cause of death would be determined to be hypothermia, and the case is officially closed, though her parents do not support this closure (KULR, 2019).



Figure 10: Henny Scott (Chang, 2019)

5) Selena Not Afraid (Figure 11) died outside of Billings, MT, in 2020, Selena was 16 years old when she went missing and was a member of two nations, the Crow and Nakota (McBride, 2020). She was last seen on New Year's Eve of 2020 when she was left at a rest stop by the friends she had been out with the night before while celebrating the holiday (McBride, 2020). The friends she was with were in their 20s, even though she was only a teenager, and her family immediately became uneasy when they heard stories saying that she didn't even want to get in the van and then ended up being left behind when there were mechanical issues, the driver then called to get a ride for Selena and another passenger, however, Selena wasn't there when the relative arrived (Willardson, 2021). Her family would camp out at the rest stop for weeks after her disappearance, searching the area and handing out flyers to gain support in finding her, eventually joined by the Big Horn Sheriff's Department, Department of Interior, and the BIA (Cavallier, 2020). It would be a Department of Interior search team that found her body within about a mile of the rest area, her death would be ruled as being caused by exposure, and the case was officially closed (Willardson, 2020). Her family is still fighting to reopen it and force law enforcement to look closer at the circumstances of her death (Casanova, 2020).

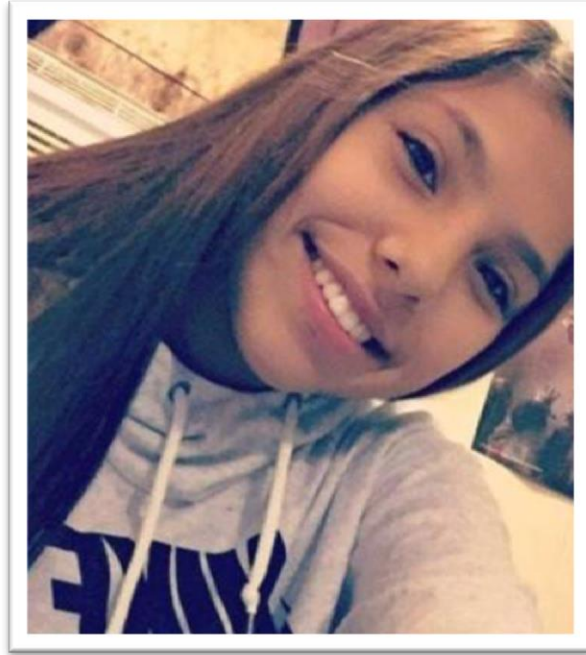


Figure 11: Selena Not Afraid (McBride, 2020)

For the data collection of this paper, as discussed in the methodology section, I used mostly pre-existing interviews. Fortunately, thanks to an uptick of interest in true crime in recent years, and a push to have more attention brought to MMIW cases, it meant that there were a lot of different interviews available, the best part of this was that it meant that the data selected for use in the project could be carefully selected to reflect a similar line of questioning to the type being asked of those who were explicitly interviewed for this paper. The reason this was important was so that the data could be comparable and consistent. When it was possible, videos were used, or at least audio interviews to gain more insight into the way the person told the story and where they placed importance, which could help demonstrate whether or not they saw the situations and moments they were discussing as positive or negative to their case. For podcasts, it was generally

possible to find transcripts of the interviews for use in the project (as stated in the methods section), but this wasn't always true for T.V. shows and YouTube videos which were important to include because they had a lot of access to people involved in the case, owing primarily to them having more resources and time. With these types of videos, without accessible written forms available, to use the quotes from these interviews, I transcribed the information by hand, which allowed all of the data to be in written form by the time data collection was complete. Written information, like newspaper articles, was used to ensure that there was enough data to feel as though the information could be relevant. When using written documents, the context came from the author's narration and was the best documents for information and positionality from the police departments because they were more likely to speak to the press than other interviewers.

b. Initial Coding

The primary goal of this research project is to look at how resolved and unresolved MMIW cases are affected by issues of trust, communication, and jurisdictional obstacles in connection with how they communicate intergroup. Accordingly, collected data was broken down into statements related to these ideas and addressed how the different groups (families and tribal/non-tribal law enforcement) feel these issues affect the case. I coded the information by hand for this project since the issues being addressed are somewhat subjective and need context to decide which category they would fall into. The data was all in

transcript or quote form (for those that came from shorter interviews or articles), so the first step to coding the information into useable data sets was to read through and highlight areas that related to each important aspect. If the data had to do with trust, communication, or jurisdiction it was separated into one of these three groups, and within these three categories, the data was then coded into which group the speaker belonged to (family/friends, state law enforcement, and tribal police) so that it would show if these issues were related to intergroup communication (for representative examples see APPENDIX A). The groups for coding were broken down into two main groups: the case status (unresolved/resolved) with three subgroups of key terms (jurisdiction, communication, trust), which were then separated once more into three more groups that represented the players involved in the case (family, police, tribal police) giving me these groups (Table 2).

Putting the data into these categories allowed for ease of interpretation as I was able to see quickly which group (unresolved/resolved) had more markers of trust, communication, and jurisdiction issues.

The next aspect of the coding was determining if the statements were about positive experiences or negative ones. This aspect was needed because it can help visually demonstrate whether or not the unresolved and resolved groups have different experiences in the way that other groups were communicating with them. For example, a negative experience in the trust category would mean that something was done by one of the other groups that would take away from the

trust in the relationship (even if this was done unintentionally), while a positive one would more likely contribute to better interactions as the case progressed. After the transcripts had all been highlighted, the data was able to be fully separated into the groups created above in Table 2. Then the data was separated once more to include negatives or positives, it resulted in 36 total groupings.

Case Status	Key Term	Player
Unresolved	Jurisdiction	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police
	Communication	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police
	Trust	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police
Resolved	Jurisdiction	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police
	Communication	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police
	Trust	Family
		Police
		Tribal Police

Table 2: Groups for First Level of Coding

When it came time to look more deeply at the results, connecting the excerpt to which groups were involved and whether the data piece was negative or positive indicated how the information related to the main theme of deciding if there was more negative in unresolved groups and more positive in resolved. Of course, some of these groups ended up much smaller than others, simply because of the amount of data used for this project, but still, the many categories were

necessary to gain the best understanding possible from the information I had in my data set.

The next step in coding the data collected was to look at the percentage spread of positives and negatives in each of the different groups. The idea behind this was that it could give a starting point to look at the data and see what could be affecting more or less of each type of interaction, and to see if it in any way related to the initial idea posed in this paper that there were more positives present in resolved cases than in those which are unresolved. These numbers created a reference point to look at each set of information, a visual representation of the type of information that could be gained, and also it easily showed which areas the most needed help when it came to intergroup work, as it would demonstrate if there were more positive or negative interactions happening. With the data separated in these ways, it allowed for more cohesive themes to be seen, since it meant that the focus could be on one aspect of communication and small movements of the case at one time, and was broken down into finer parts that could show where the changes could be made if researchers hoped to find ways of aiding in the intergroup communication in MMIW cases. The last step was to look at the themes arising within the subsections and connect them. With this done, I could look at all of the data more efficiently and decide what themes were most common amongst the three main groupings (jurisdiction, communication, and trust).

Within each subsection, the cases are also separated so that when doing a deeper analysis of the data, we can look at how more of one type of interaction (+ or -) could be affecting intergroup communication. In that same grain, within the subsections and cases, it is also noted who is speaking, as was stated before, which can also show where positive and negative feelings could be starting and shed light on if these experiences could be changed by having some different communication techniques involved.

c. Results

Figure 12 illustrates the overall results of the coding. Looking at the distribution of negative versus positive incidents indicates that there were more negative incidents and behaviors in the unresolved cases and more positive ones in the resolved cases. To look more closely at the findings, I will break down each of the six sections seen in Figure 12 to demonstrate the type of incidents that fell into these categories.

1. Unresolved Cases

Using the visuals provided, it is evident that the overwhelming majority of experiences connected with these three issues could be classified as negative. This was especially true when asking people to discuss jurisdiction issues (Figure 12), as over 80% of these experiences were negative, and only a very small amount (14%) had seen any positive. Most of the positive jurisdiction comments were connected with changes that were made because of the case, for example, a proposal of new legislation that was made by the family of one of these MMIW

cases, which results in positive change even if the case didn't have a positive outcome. As for the other two sections, there is still a clear trend towards negative experiences, though there are slightly more positive trust experiences that people talked about concerning these unresolved cases.

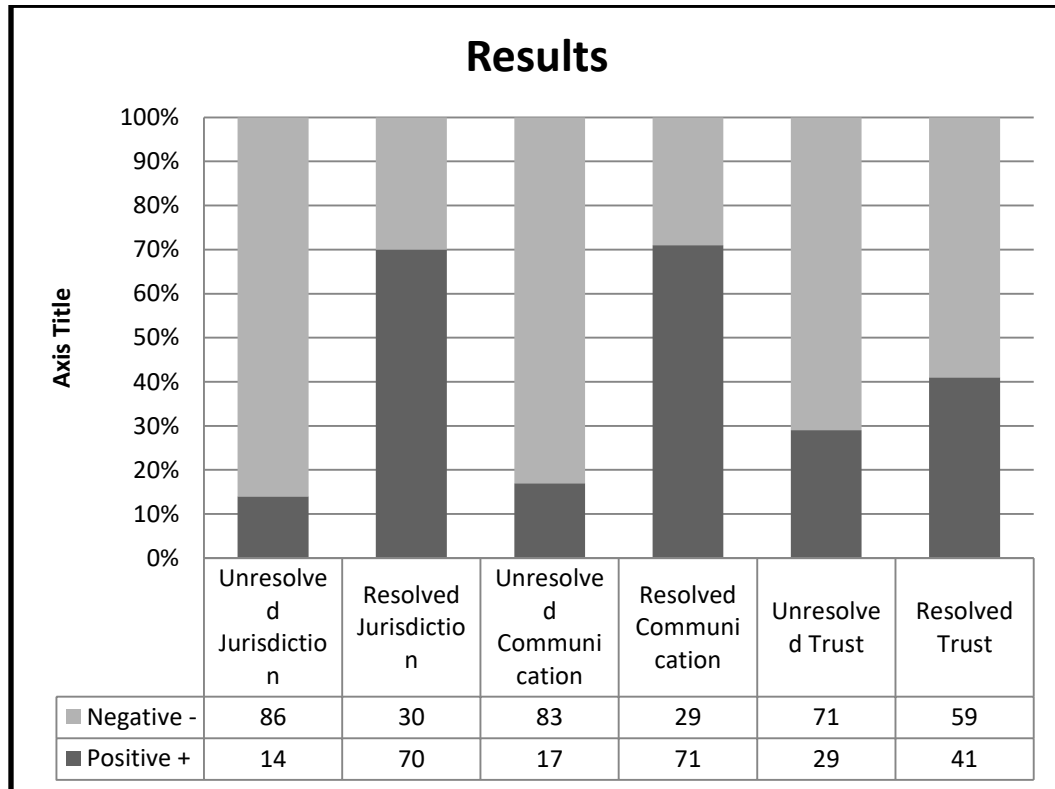


Figure 12: Comparison of Final Results

A few themes that arose in the jurisdiction issues when discussing unresolved cases were: who takes on the case, the time between search and reporting, tribal police reach and resources, failures leaving the family to search alone, and legal obstacles. A large percentage of the negative experiences connected to the first two themes of who takes on the case and time between

search and reporting because the first days of a missing person case are so important when it comes to determining if the cases will be solved. The negative unresolved data was also largely connected with families, and the positive section was more police and tribal police. To demonstrate how these themes were seen in the data, I will be giving examples for each of the themes that occurred in the negative and positive sections and will be stating to whom this data was attributed.

In an interview with a police officer involved in Jermain Charlo's case, the officer stated that it was over ten days until he received that case, as he had been on vacation, the case had sat on a desk until he inquired about it, which he regretted and immediately contacted the family when he returned. However, he noted that missing adult cases weren't dealt with as quickly because adults have a right to disappear (Walker, 2021). In that same case, her family explained their side of the experience, talking about how they tried to report Jermain missing to multiple places, including the tribal police, the city of Missoula, and the county, all of whom told them no and left the family to jump through more hoops to find a place to report Jermain's disappearance (Walker, 2021).

What happened in this case was not uncommon for the other unresolved cases. There were at least five other mentions of negative experiences regarding reporting and determining which department was in charge of the case. Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner's older sister Kimberly expressed her pain surrounding how her sister's case was handled from the beginning. Although the tribal police tried

to help, eventually they couldn't do much, and time was moving quickly. "It was ridiculous. One of the [tribal] officers actually apologized to me. He said he was sorry about my sister and that he was working overtime on the case, but that nobody was taking it seriously," (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019). Kimberly made it clear that no one was hearing her sister's case and that it was just getting further away from her disappearance, stating, "When a person goes missing, there isn't a book that will tell you: 'You need to do this and do that.' You have to just learn it on your own," (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019). Kimberly was left frustrated by the lack of easy reporting and immediate action which meant that she had to keep pushing to get help for Ashley and continue going to different departments to find someone who would take on her sister's case.

Her comments also connect with other themes in this section, the resources of the tribal police and the failures leading to family searches. In her quote, Kimberly mentions that the tribal officer felt bad, but there were just not enough people to help her, which led to her family feeling abandoned. When discussing this feeling of abandonment Kimberly said: "There's rumors about her being hurt and her body put places, being all cut up and scattered on the mountain...That's why I search for her. That's why I go out in the mountains and look. I don't want my baby sister laying out there alone...I am asking you to recognize that Indigenous women matter, and the way our missing and murdered women cases are handled needs to be corrected." (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019). Ashley's family was left with no choice but to lead their searches alone because the only people even hearing their case could not do anything, all because of

jurisdiction issues that left Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner between spaces that would determine who was in charge.

Of course, the Loring-Heavyrunner family was not alone in this feeling of being abandoned by jurisdictional neglect. Leona Kinney's family also felt that there was not enough access and aid for indigenous communities, that there was not enough documentation of information connected to these cases because they are moved between different law enforcement which makes it difficult to track down clues "rumors have flown around and until we can either find her or find evidence linking to somebody, it's just speculation," (Hellmann, 2019) Kinsey's daughter Carolyn says. Carolyn also felt that they were left to keep track of clues themselves because no one was willing to continue working on her case long term and that she had to often bring things to the police for them to look into, as different law enforcement agencies didn't always know who was in charge of the case (Jones, 2021).

The last theme that arose was related to legal issues which prevent the cases from being solved or leads to them happening in the first place (according to the individuals in the interviews). One such example of the latter comes from Tina Fontaine's case. Those involved with Tina's case seem to believe almost it was inevitable. Thanks to years in foster care, Tina was kept from her family and left vulnerable because the system took her from her tribe, her family, and her advocates. An individual involved in Tina's case said that her death should be a motivator for changing laws so that kids who come from addiction aren't failed

again, and get “justice and reconciliation” unlike Tina (Maclean, 2019). The comments on Tina’s case seem to fall in-between negative and positive. The family seems to believe that jurisdictional changes could prevent further cases like hers (a positive +), but that Tina being left alone and not being reunited with her family or being reported quickly meant that it also added to the negative jurisdiction issue of no one knowing who was in charge of a vulnerable adolescent.

Kaysera Stops Pretty Places’s case also suffered from jurisdiction issues as she was found outside the reservation. Her case should have been dealt with by the state, which did not conduct any investigation quickly or even try to do anything despite her being a minor. The FBI also didn’t get involved, which they should have since she is a tribal nation member, and there wasn’t proof that this crime occur off the reservation (Democracy Now!, 2019). A lawyer involved in Kaysera’s case, advocating for her family and helping them communicate with law enforcement, points out that the United States took away tribal criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, which means that they are dependent on other law enforcement agencies, and that is being made difficult because of the legal framework in place, leaving tribal police with little ability to help and many cases left unsolved (Democracy Now!, 2019)

As is seen in Figure 12, the positive comments for this section were very limited and, as stated before, are more about optimism for the future of their cases because of a newer change. This optimism was evident in Rosenda Strong’s case.

Her family said that the FBI became involved which was hopeful for finding out who murdered her, and they were pleased that the correct jurisdiction was handling the case. The FBI becoming involved meant there would be more resources available to help find out what happened to Rosenda, the family has also expressed that the FBI is working with the tribal police so that they can help solve their citizen's case (Ayer, 2019).

The communication section of the Unresolved cases (Figure 12) had a similar distribution as jurisdiction issues in that over 80% of the comments were classified as negative. The themes that seemed to arise amongst this group of comments were: not being able to get information about case progress, being ignored when coming forward with ideas and having information get lost. Many of the discussions and conversations about communication also, for obvious reasons, tie into the other two sections because the reality is that almost everything that is happening has some communication aspect involved. For this section, the quotes used were the ones that seemed to mostly focus on communicating specifically, either as a barrier or aid, as will be seen in the examples below.

The most prevalent fact in my research was the inability to get information about case progress. There were several different reasons that people felt this was happening, but most seemed to agree that law enforcement did not want them to realize that there were stalls in the investigations or that they hadn't done any

work on them. Kaysera Stops Pretty Places's aunt gave a vivid example of this type of negative communication:

“Our family understands that Kaysera went missing. My sister reported her missing. She went to Big Horn County officials several times and went in person, and out has not been told any details. We were finally notified that her body was identified on September 11th, several weeks after she was found. And it's been an ongoing struggle in terms of getting from anyone in Big Horn County.” (Democracy Now!, 2019).

Despite the family constantly attempting to get information about the case, they were not even informed that Kaysera had been found dead. Though an extreme, this sort of treatment seemed to be sadly common amongst unresolved cases. In Kaysera's case, the family had been pushing for information, and, in their mind, it was almost malicious. That law enforcement was not telling them because, in the family's words, they were bothering officers too often. Every case that I researched demonstrated some communication issues that stemmed from the police's failure to share information. This was evident among state law enforcement and tribal police.

Families are generally told that because these were ongoing investigations, there were few answers available. In some instances, the family would say that they weren't getting answers, but the police would say it was because they simply didn't have any to give at the moment, as was the case in Rosenda Strong's case. The family commiserated about the lack of healing for their family because the police were unable to tell them when she would be returned and allowed a traditional burial (Hagen, 2021). One thing to note is that

there seemed to be an agreement that communication was slightly more open when the family members were speaking with tribal police, but that the tribal police often did not have enough information for that to be relevant. This feeling is expressed by the tribal police officers, a few of whom express sadness that they aren't able to do more.

One officer involved in Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner's case explained that he felt like he failed both the family and the reservation by not having information to share, "It's tough for the family to get closure...It's tough for the community, because they place their faith in us to bring people to justice, to uphold the law, to investigate these things...If someone won't talk, they won't talk, and it just becomes another cold case, another dead end, another statistic on this reservation."(Hodel & Silverstone, 2019) This officer didn't have information to share with the family and also couldn't get any more thanks to difficulty with both suspects and other law enforcement, which left him only able to communicate in ways that were perceived as negative owing to his lack of information and lack of ability to provide closure.

The second theme (being ignored when bringing ideas to law enforcement) seems to have come into play when discussing progress on the cases and families trying to share information with police that they hear in the community. For example, Carolyn Deford, Leona Kinsey's daughter, has expressed issues with this many times, saying she was not allowed access to her mother's file until 2020 and that despite having a notebook of leads from her

investigation over the past 20 years, many of which are very promising, has been ignored by the police no matter how many times she tries to give them the information (Hernandez, 2021) which leaves her feeling like all their communication has negative outcomes.

Another example of the negative communication surrounding knowledge sharing came from Jermain Charlo's case, who had already dealt with not being taken seriously about her disappearance. When they eventually received a response, they felt ignored, "The first two days we spent calling, you know, all the hospitals and shelters. I said, "We already did that. We told you guys we already did that. So now you've just wasted an additional two more days." You know, and it took us a couple of days to get her even turned in to being missing." (Walker, 2021), family members had done all the leg work, but the police weren't hearing them say that and chose to do it again instead of following new leads which made the family feel like they weren't being listened to and that the work they were told to do was ignored or downplayed.

The last theme came up a few times, both in the form of physical items being lost and information not being recorded so that it could be used as part of the case. Of course, this section also overlaps with the other two, as jurisdictional issues could lead to misplacing information or disregarding the informer so that the evidence may not be recorded correctly. One such example of information being missing came from the Leona Kinsey case where she spent about 18 years being misclassified as white, meaning she slipped through the cracks of the legal

framework that was being created to aid in indigenous cold cases, and this fact was able to go unnoticed thanks to the refusal to share information with her family (Jung, 2021). For families, many seemed to feel like the information they shared was the most commonly ignored, and this was illustrated in Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner's case. Her family said they brought a sweatshirt in for testing, but the state police lost the item and didn't test it. The sweatshirt was given to the state police because the item was discovered off tribal land that meant that the state police were in charge of caring for this piece of evidence (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019).

The central theme presented in the positive comments was continued communication and aid. The most common instance of this theme was in interviews with the detective that was eventually assigned to Jermain Charlo's case. Despite it being two years since her case was first reported, the officer has continued to stay in contact with the family and keep working with them to ensure that no one forgets the case. Similar to jurisdiction issues, positive outlooks seemed to come more from law enforcement than from families. The officer says: "It just blows my mind-I've said this before-I mean, how do you as an investigator, an officer, an agent, whoever in law enforcement, if you have a missing or murdered female, how do you not treat that case like you would want somebody to treat your wife, your daughter or your mother. It just doesn't make sense." (Walker, 2021). He works to keep her case from being considered cold and attempts to keep the family heard as he can see her for the missing human that

she is and sympathizes with the need for communication in such a difficult situation.

Trust in the unresolved cases (Figure 12) came out as the closest to even between the negative and positive comments made when discussing these cases. Obviously, like in the other two sections, there is overlap possible in those comments classified as being related to trust and data from the past two sections. For this reason, when deciding that something was about trust, it was important to look at whether the comment related to changing the emotional responses and perception of one of the other groups involved in the case. In looking at the negative trust issues, two main themes seemed to emerge: dismissal and systems that broke promises. The first theme was the most common and tied in with the communication issues as these outcomes of negative trust are reflections of the negative communication.

Every case in the unresolved section had instances of negative trust that steamed from the first interactions with officers when reporting cases, where they were mostly met with immediate dismissal. Each comment mirrored the other family members, all saying similar things about their initial experience. “When I told the cops they said, ‘well, she’s just probably partying, getting, you know, doing drugs’” (Maclean, 2019) was the response that Rosenda Strong’s family received, being told that she was simply out and they hadn’t located her, even worse they decided that she would be out doing drugs without necessarily having

evidence for that. Hearing police talk to them this way created negative trust early on in the case, even before it had truly begun.

“It’s just a really naïve belief because we made our first posters. We did our first questions. My mom’s friends and my friend’s did our first investigation. You think law enforcement would do that. And that’s not always the case.”

(Hernandez, 2021) They were not only dismissed but also were left to do all the leg work of attempting to locate Leona Kinsey because the law enforcement involved were not working with them. There was a precedence set between the family and police that demonstrated a lack of trust because the family felt like it was showing that law enforcement didn’t believe the seriousness of Leona’s case.

“No one took it seriously...They just said: ‘She’s of age, she can leave when she wants to.’ When we talk to other families whose girls went missing, they say that’s what they got from law enforcement, too. It’s not a proper response.” (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019) This statement of dismissal came from Ashley Loring-Heavyrunner’s sister reflecting on my exact findings that too many families are left mistrusting law enforcement because their cases are dismissed as being of age women going missing of their own free will. Kimberly, Ashley’s sister, further makes an emotional plea regarding the dismissal of her sister’s case:

“We will no longer be the invisible people in the United States of America...My love for my Ashley has no limit that it allows me to stand up and never give up looking for her. I know if I was in her shoes, she would be fighting just as hard if not harder. She would be standing up demanding answers. My sister is a beautiful, intelligent young woman [who] has goals and dreams. Being a missing and murdered Indigenous woman was not one of them.” (Hodel & Silverstone, 2019).

Being dismissed outright only demonstrates to the families involved in MMIW cases that their loved ones are being seen as nothing more than a statistic and not a person who had once been living their life just like anyone else. Negative trust comes easily when cases are dismissed as it shows that there will be an issue with intergroup communication even before the other groups become involved and demonstrates a disposability of their lives when law enforcement says they don't care. A few police officers, both tribal and non-tribal, noted that this is a relatively common practice and that it doesn't serve anyone to jump on every missing adult, but that has not been true in many cases that are shown in the media, so it seems like all this dismissal does is begin a relationship based on negative trust and hinder the investigation.

The second theme of negative trust stems from major distrust in the systems already in place. It is not difficult to see how these two themes of mistrust could arise together, especially because many families and tribal police discussed that they already knew an MMIW victim before these particular cases. They may have already heard stories of dismissal that would lead to mistrust even before having the chance to experience their own loved one's dismissal. This issue was especially prevalent in Tina Fontaine's case as she had already suffered years of mistreatment from the system in place to help her, so her family didn't have trust that any law enforcement would take her case seriously. Tina's aunt said that her case was "doomed from the beginning" (Maclean, 2019) as she needed a place that felt more like home and instead was being placed in temporary shelters and

hotels, which only resulted in her being able to disappear easily and not have people notice quickly. Tragically this seemed to be true, leaving the family with little trust for the police even before they were involved in the case.

A family member involved with Rosenda Strong's case felt similar that they had reasons to mistrust the police even before they were directly connected to a case, the family member said: "People are getting killed, and it's swept under the rug...To me out there, it's like the wild wild west." (McLean & Weistfeldt, 2019) which was a sentiment that was agreed upon by other families, especially those who live in areas that have a large number of MMIW cases. The lawyer working with Kaysera Stops Pretty Places' family said it well, addressing both negative trust themes of dismissal and systems that broken promises:

"But speaking as a lawyer and looking at the legal framework, it's very clear that what happened in August was a complete disregard for not only the rights of Kaysera, but the rights of all Native women, when local law enforcement failed to investigate her death and to take all steps necessary to look for her, before finding her on August 29th. And, of course, her family wasn't notified until September. But the first 24, 48 hours that a Native woman goes missing are the most critical in terms of finding her and locating her. And in this instance, I think we have a pretty severe abdication of duties when it comes to local law enforcement and the search for her – the lack of search that took place." (Democracy Now!, 2019).

She is speaking as an indigenous woman who has worked with multiple cases in the past. This is not isolated to one case. Dismissal means that critical time is lost when it comes to finding the missing woman alive. The lawyer notes, this means that locating Kaysera becomes far less likely. Moreover, lack of trust in one case can be spread throughout the community, which leaves those families

already having some negative association with law enforcement, and a lack of trust in the systems they consider being already broken because they have failed to find other women in the past.

In Figure 12, it is clear that there are slightly more positive associations in terms of trust in the unresolved cases in comparison to those seen in communication and jurisdiction issues. There was one main theme that emerged in the positive trust comments. The positive comments were almost all about working with law enforcement that was already known to be supportive of MMIW cases and how those individuals were able to aid in navigating communication with other law enforcement officials. Essentially, the positive only came when they were finally able to connect with already sympathetic law enforcement. This was talked about a lot in connection with Jermain Charlo's case. Her family was originally dismissed by the Missoula police when they reported her missing and went to a local group, The Lifeguard Group, who worked to combat human trafficking and were willing to help make posters and create search groups, through this group the family was connected with a police officer whom the people at Lifeguard knew would work to help them and be supportive (Walker, 2021). When given an advocate in the form of the supportive officer, they had a lot more positive trust comments because they had been connected with someone open and willing to work for them and to help them communicate with the other law enforcement in his department who had originally dismissed them. I feel this demonstrates that even one positive trust

relationship between family and law enforcement can be a huge difference in a case, even if it is still unsolved.

2. Resolved

When looking at Figure 12, it is obvious that there was a trend towards positive experiences with jurisdiction issues, some even from cases which had direct issues affect them in other sections, but changed their perspective or the issue once their family member's case was solved since they worked to change the issue that affected them. There were two closely related themes that emerged from the positive jurisdiction data: taking responsibility or accountability and positive intergroup jurisdiction work. Most of the positive comments had to do with having a resolved outcome and the fact that multiple groups worked together to ensure that this happened, which is most likely why they were 70% positive. For this outcome to happen, it meant that there was data from all three groups that fell into the positive range.

The first theme was the most heavily represented, which was heartening to see as it is incredibly important since it shows that some people are beginning to see that there is a need for change to old laws and jurisdictions that are causing harm. This type of change was particularly prevalent in Ashlynn Mike's case because the Navajo nation was limited in its ability to send out an Amber Alert, which could have resulted in someone finding the young girl earlier and maybe

even saving her, at least in her family's opinion. After the discovery of Ashlynn's body, there was uproar from her family, which supported change: "The Navajo Nation is taking every step necessary to strengthen our laws and emergency response communication system. We are furthering the implementation of an Amber Alert System to protect our children from horrendous crimes like this one." (Gallupsun, 2017) This statement echoed the sentiments of most officials involved in the case, demonstrating a desire for accountability and responsibility for failing this young girl and her family by ensuring that it would not happen to another child in the future. The same sentiment was stated by Acting U.S. Attorney James Tierney when discussing Ashlynn's case: "Little in life is more emotionally taxing than losing a child to violence, and we commend Ashlynn's parents for channeling their grief into advocacy to improve the Amber Alert System on the Navajo Nation and other tribal communities in the hope that other families can be spared the heartbreak they have endured." (Gallupsun, 2017). Seeing positive changes come out of tragedy demonstrates that when law enforcement hears what the public wants and what could save others in the future, working with them to aid in this change gives the public a more positive perception of the work they do.

Henny Scott's case is one of the tragically closed and considered solved cases that the family disputes. Scott's family has been vocal advocates for change to the systems in place for helping MMIW cases to be solved and not to close them without proper investigation. Though the family has still been in a legal struggle with local law enforcement, which may be why they are not represented

in positive comments often, higher political officials have come forward to support this case and bring awareness. U.S. Senator Steve Daines spoke out, saying: “This tragic situation has continued to shed light on how law enforcement agencies need to do a better job of communicating with families and tribal members. I will continue working to help make that happen.” (KULR-8, 2019). Having officials come forward and acknowledge that there is a communication breakdown is a positive for families who feel like their cases are being mishandled.

The second theme came up most often when hearing police discuss talking to one another and working together to help solve the cases, though there were fewer instances of positive legal groundwork happening between the families and law enforcement. Even though Selena Not Afraid’s family is another one who does not consider their case is closed, it still appears that the FBI had positive jurisdictional work with the local law enforcement and was able to support them in finding her body more quickly. The fact that the groups involved (county sheriff, FBI, and tribal police) were able to send out BOLO alerts in an effective time frame and were “not going to give up searching” according to the Big Horn County Sheriff when speaking about the search, which would end discovering her body not far from where she was last seen (Cavallier, 2020). It is heartening to see instances of police working together to ensure that an indigenous girl is found, though it was with a tragic outcome.

This theme of positive group jurisdictional work is very clear in the Hanna Harris case as the FBI agent involved seemed to go out of his way to ensure that the tribal police were the ones who got to take the lead on the case and, in turn, to work closely with the community. Agent Walter spoke about feeling pressure from the community to make an arrest and how this case stuck with him as Hanna was close in age to his children, which was why it was so important to him to ensure that it was handled correctly, in the end, her killers were found far outside of BIA jurisdiction. However, John Grinzell (the tribal officer) was brought in to make the arrest: “I think one of the greatest feelings that I had in this case was to actually put Garrett Wadda in cuffs and telling him he was under arrest for the murder of Hanna Harris. To think about the family, and to help in the healing process of that was very important. To have the community start healing...”(Baugh, 2018). The community was able to heal thanks to justice being served in this case, which largely came from all of the law enforcement involved working together to find the person responsible and listen when the family pushed them to do so.

There were fewer negative comments surrounding jurisdiction issues, but of course, they are still there. The main themes amongst the negative comments were about lack of resources and jurisdictional rights to the deceased. In Ashlynnne Mike’s case, the exact issue that was spoken positively about was also a point of negative jurisdictional resources. When speaking about the case, her father says the reason for this positive change was because of negative issues that happened during the case, he states: “I’m sure that any system on the Navajo reservation

may have deterred what I went through, if we had that alert sooner, who knows, we could've still had Ashlynn. I can never tell you what that would have done.” (Smith, 2016). Because there weren't such resources already available on the reservation at the time of Ashlynn's disappearance, it meant that the law enforcement had to reach out to higher levels of authority until they were able to send out an alert, her parents have used this as a platform since her death and made a positive change, but that was a jurisdictional obstacle in solving Ashlynn's case quickly.

In Selena Not Afraid's case, after her body was located through joint effort, the multiple jurisdictions ended up having a complete failure in their working relationship. In the end, the family and community felt that all the delays in the case, and the lack of information available to them, had to do with “the result of segregated resources and divided communities” (Willardson, 2021), which left room for miscommunications and Selena's family, as well as the Crow Nation, to feel as though once her body was discovered they were immediately cut out of the investigation, something which appears to be true since they were no longer given information about what happened to her once her body was sent to the coroner.

Figure 12 shows the results of the resolved group's communication issues, which were heavily represented by positive comments. This makes sense given that the same was true for jurisdiction, and it seems that these two are very closely connected, as communication often comes from working together and positive

intergroup jurisdiction. There seemed to be one main theme that came about from the positive comments, and that was the essence of intergroup communication: instances of one group listening to another. Of course, this is somewhat subjective, but I decided that something fit into this theme if the person speaking appeared to feel heard or if action was taken as a result.

In Savanna Greywind's case, her parents and the police both spoke about instances of positive communication that occurred throughout the case and even helped to ensure that it moved as quickly as it did. Her family was immediately concerned when she did not return home from a neighbor's apartment. They contacted police, who responded by coming and searching, something they would do multiple times that night when the family continued to call in concern, demonstrating a significant lack of dismissal that was present in other cases (Swenson, 2019). Though later, in this case, her parents would express that nothing was being done, or at least not fast enough, they saw that this response, in the beginning, created a more immediate relationship between them and the police. This more open communication allowed for Savanna's family to express that they "had a feeling it had to do with her unborn baby, Savanna wouldn't hurt anybody. Savanna had no enemies." (Oxygen, 2019). This comment turned the police onto the idea that someone may have been targeting the baby, which eventually gave them the evidence needed to implicate the upstairs neighbors and find the child alive.

In the case of Hanna Harris, there seemed to have been a decent amount of examples of intergroup communication demonstrated between the family, FBI, and tribal police. As was noted in the data from the jurisdiction section, the officers from both the FBI and tribal police felt a vested interest in this case, even years later. The BIA officer said that he worked hard to keep the areas clear so that they could ensure that the investigation was not compromised, as he says: “word travels fast, they call it the Moccasin telegram. People start to try to come and look, we shut down the main roads here and tried to keep as many people out of the area as possible.” (Baugh, 2018) The officer seemed to genuinely want to ensure healthy communication with the family, which meant ensuring that he did everything he could to keep the investigation running smoothly. Hanna’s family also discusses keeping open communication with the police and even bringing in one of the suspects when they ran into her in public (Baugh, 2018), it appeared that there was a give and take communication that was not seen in a lot of the other cases in either the resolved or unresolved sections.

When it comes to negative communication, the main theme that arose was dismissing and ignoring one or multiple groups. Another interesting thing to note about the negative communication comments is the fact that they almost all came from two cases: Henny Scott and Selena Not Afraid, both of whom have families who feel as though their children’s cases were closed without cause and are currently pushing for the cases to be reopened, so they are more like the unresolved cases. Negative communication was extremely common in the

unresolved section, so it would make sense that the same would be true for these cases.

Henny Scott's parents went to the BIA to report her missing, only to be dismissed and told to check with her friends or ask if she may have a new boyfriend, and the police waited two weeks to release a missing person's alert for Henny, who was a minor and her parents should have been able to report her missing without question (Chang, 2019). Scott's mother would also say:

"The only time Aaron, the FBI agent, stopped by is for me to sign a release for her Facebook and her Snapchat, so he can go in there and look... You know, this is ridiculous. I don't think she died from hypothermia. I have pictures of her nose being broken, you can just tell her nose was broke and she had bruises. But they told me that there was nothing on her, that there was no foul play, but she was bruised, and she had her nose broke and had bumps on her forehead." (KULR-8, 2019).

Her family felt that there was adequate reason to continue investigating Scott's case by noting that her body appeared to be injured in ways that didn't line up with the decided cause of death. However, many family members attempted to speak out about the case with law enforcement or question her autopsy findings but were left feeling ignored.

This was similar to the case of Selena Not Afraid, almost eerily so, she was to be found with injury, and her family did not believe that the autopsy report saying she died of hypothermia was accurate. Still, this was determined to be her cause of death. Her family said: "Selena wasn't stupid. She's very smart. When that happened to her sister and to Preston, we spent all our time telling her about

how to be safe. What to do, where to go, who to run to...So the fact that they tell me she ran into a field -- I don't believe that" (Casanova, 2021). Her family felt they knew her better and that the way that she was found was simply not something she would do, which they tried to communicate only to be ignored. They felt that they were ignored from the very beginning when the family was camping out at the rest stop where she had gone missing; they said: "We're not going to be just a file in the cabinet...We're going to find our girl. And when Selena is found, there are hundreds of more girls behind her waiting to be found...She wouldn't have just left like that, we knew something was wrong." (Cavallier, 2020). The family tried to explain that they knew that she wouldn't just run for any reason, meaning that it couldn't have been a simple accident, but they had felt continuously ignored when they explained this to law enforcement. If Selena didn't run away, that would have meant that someone would have to have left her in the field, or at least that is what her family believes. This is argued by law enforcement.

Unlike the other resolved cases, it is evident by looking at Figure 12 that trust had fewer positive comments in resolved cases than the other two sections. The positive and negative trust issues are almost split down the middle, but negative ends more prevalent. Trust is incredibly important to creating a healthy relationship and also can shift easily back and forth when it comes to cases unfolding. Negative trust is closely related to communication because poor communication is unlikely to result in positive trust. For this reason, the themes of trust and communication are somewhat similar and often deeply interconnected.

The two main themes that arose were past trauma or associations to trauma and losing trust from poor communication. It is not hard to imagine that there could be a feeling of mistrust in indigenous communities given how many unresolved MMIW cases there are and past stories of police misconduct regarding these cases, so it does not come as a surprise that there were themes of negative trust.

Savanna Greywind's father put into words the exact feeling of many indigenous people: "I know how the police treat Native American women in Fargo. I'm a Native American. I was raised there. We're lower class; I don't know if you've ever been treated that way because of the color of your skin, then you know how it is." (Oxygen, 2019). Even if the police did respond in the end, the case was eventually closed with an arrest that does not take away past trauma and police racism in a given area. It is hard for those who have experienced past trauma from the police. Because of the past treatment inflicted on them, Native American's may have an uphill battle to have positive trust and believe that they will help solve a loved one's case.

Even in cases where there has been mostly positive work done intergroup, there is still the effect of past experience, which will always come into play. After the arrests in Hanna Harris' case, her family worked with local politicians to support other families asking for justice by creating the Hanna's Act bill in Montana. Hanna's mother expressed a lack of trust when hoping to get support for this act because it seems that so many people are ignored when asking for help with their cases: "It takes a lot to build up the strength to talk to people and get

people to understand your point of view...I'm scared that they won't take it serious and I hate that feeling. At least give us a chance." (Johnson, 2019). Even when their cases end up being resolved, so many aren't, and it does not come as a surprise that going to government officials and asking for help would be hard to trust and expect a positive outcome, even after their case was somewhat positive.

The most obvious two cases, which are examples of the second theme, are Henny Scott and Selena Not Afraid. Both of their families have expressed that they tried to communicate with law enforcement that they do not believe that their daughter's cases are closed and that they would not have ended up in the situations the police are claiming, but they have been continuously ignored, which leads to many experiences of negative trust. As was stated in the section on communication Henny Scott's mother did not trust that the police did everything in their power to solve her case because they said she died from hypothermia when the family had taken pictures that proved she had a broken nose and bruising on her body (Chang, 2019). Selena Not Afraid's family felt that they were not being trusted because law enforcement was just ignoring their pleas.

The positive trust section had one main theme, a positive outcome leading to more trust. For an obvious reason, that means that only the families who were satisfied with the conclusion of their case would have positive associations because they see that police did the work and deserve trust for helping them find closure. Ashlynnne Mike's father stated that he was grateful for all the law enforcement personnel that worked to help find his daughter and "all the people

who helped my family in our most trying time.” (Smith, 2016). And this type of trust is also reflected by Savanna Greywind’s parents, who said: “Today I learned how my daughter was murdered and how my granddaughter was taken from her. I am satisfied with the sentence.” (Hurley, 2021). These parents were able to see justice for their children that led to some level of positive trust. In the end, the law enforcement officials and families worked together enough that the case was resolved satisfyingly.

IV. DISCUSSION

The results of all the data collected seem to indicate that there could be a trend present that unresolved cases have a larger amount of negative themes and those which are resolved have more positive ones. Though this project only indicates the results for the data presented, it seems that the initially suspected trends are seen in Figure 12, which opens up an interesting realm of exploration. By looking at the results that have been collected throughout this project through a lens of Critical Incident Analysis, it does seem to indicate that when something is in the negative range, the behavior, or interactions between individuals, that comes after will normally not be positive for the case because negative precedence has already been set.

In the unresolved cases, there appeared to be a large number of negative incidents that happened early on in the cases, most of which came from the cases being dismissed and not taking the families seriously. The resulting behavior from being dismissed was that there was more negative trust and communication when it came to intergroup communication. It feels as though families were particularly affected by communication in the unresolved section and felt that jurisdictional hurdles were all holding back the movement of their cases. The most important aspect of trust seemed to be past trauma and the fact that their family member's case was going the same way as so many others they had heard about. These patterns of the same incidents with the police often seem to result in the same outcome, leaving cases getting less attention than they deserve and families

searching for answers themselves. Although, when looking at the law enforcement, there seemed to be more positive data, or at least that is what the officers are saying to the public, it is difficult to know how much any individual believes unless you are hearing from more open officers, such as the one involved in Jermain Charlo's case. He demonstrated that more trust could be gained with open communication and when there is a demonstration of putting in effort for the case they are working on it gives reassurance to the family. Because my data did rely on preexisting interviews it meant that I did not have control over the environments where the officers were speaking, and that meant that sometimes the interviews were for newspapers or media and may not reflect the way the officer feels about the case.

In the resolved cases, there was a much more positive skew to the data amongst all three groups involved, except for in the cases that the families don't believe are solved. One difference in these cases right off the bat was that a few had positive reporting incidents, which meant that there was at least some effort put forward in the critical beginning stages of the case. Another difference was that more of the resolved cases had incidents where the families reached out to communicate with law enforcement and had positive outcomes. Positive interactions facilitated positive trust and were effective in finding leads for the cases because there was more open knowledge-sharing. Within the resolved cases, there was also communication that resulted in positive incidents between the tribal police and state law enforcement, which seemed to help mitigate the feeling of being distrusted expressed by a tribal officer involved in an unsolved case. The

tribal police were unable to help and felt like they were letting down their community when they couldn't solve the cases because they were unable to work with state law enforcement. Solving a case seems to have a positive impact on the community as a whole, and also very often seems to connect with the families seeking ways to work for change that would benefit any future case.

With the culmination of my research, I had to think about whether or not these findings suggested that MMIW cases could benefit from conflict resolution techniques. The question I had to ask would be, could changes in communication make a difference to whether a case is resolved or not? There is evidence to support the idea that the benefits of positive and trusting intergroup communication could make a difference in the behavioral outcomes of the people involved. We need only to look at the Hanna Harris case, where the FBI and tribal police were working together and seemed to look for ways to support the family, to see that the way this case went was incredibly different from many of the others who did not have the advantage of everyone involved working together.

When looking back on the project design and implementation I can see the limitations that may have affected the process of my research. The first limitation came from the fact that every factor could not be taken into consideration and that some assumptions must be made, especially when looking at the difference between resolved and unresolved. It is possible to assume that more positive outcomes are occurring in resolved cases because of their status as solved, and not the other way around. Of course, I assume that this resolution comes into play,

and connects with the feelings of positivity that the family and law enforcement alike would express when speaking about the cases. Resolved cases are much more likely to come out positive because there is resolution, but that isn't the case for all of the cases. When the family does not agree with the choice of closing the cases there is going to be dissatisfaction and question as to whether or not they should be considered unresolved to get the correct results. I decided to use those two cases as part of the resolved group because I thought it represented a dynamic that is occurring between law enforcement and families that is significant to intergroup communication. I also found that researching resolved cases was much more difficult, mostly because there was very little information available about cases that have been closed, as well as the fact that there are simply a lot fewer solved MMIW cases than unresolved. I acknowledge that moving those cases to unresolved likely would have changed the results, because they contributed to a lot of the negative incidents in the resolved section, but I think for my research they belonged in the resolved section. That being said, in an extended version of this research, it may be an interesting change of variables, and may give another perspective that could be explored if cases like these were moved to the unresolved section.

The other major limitation that I ran into was the need to use already existing interview sources for my data. My initial hope had been to exclusively conduct interviews for this project, but unfortunately, that was not the case. Many factors went into not being able to do interviews, but it came down to time limitations of the project and individual availability. I was able to have some

interesting conversations with participants, but only fully conducted three interviews. Though there are benefits to using existing interviews: easily accessible, many different sources, ability to hear perspectives from multiple points in the case, and ability to collect data from all the groups I hoped to communicate with. Still, there are limitations to using these types of interviews, and if I was able to do future research on this topic I would love to have more discussions with the public and do interviews that I controlled. The main limitation is that could not ask follow-up questions, meaning that if a topic they spoke about was of interest or seemed relevant I would have to depend on the interviewer to expand on the topic and this did not always happen.

Interviews conducted for media outlets also have the issue of being done for an audience. Performing for the media means that the person speaking may not be as candid as they may have otherwise, and present themselves as more or less positive depending on the setting where the interview was conducted. I felt like the interviews done for podcasts give more context to the setting in which they are speaking, so it was easier to see the framework the interviewees were in, but they also almost always had a pretty clear bias in the way that the interviewer was presenting the information. News outlets felt the most like the person being interviewed may have been trying to present a specific narrative because it would be published in a news source, the speaker may have spoken differently if they had been in a more private/anonymous setting. Though there were limitations to this method, I think within the timeframe of the project the existing interviews gave the most complete data available.

I would never venture to say that changes to communication would be the only deciding factor because there is a lot that goes into solving a case, especially because I have acknowledged that my methods had limitations that meant my conclusions are not completely definitive. But I do feel that with what I have learned I can make some suggestions and assumptions. The trauma from past cases not being solved and the treatment of indigenous people means that there is a lot of work that needs to be done to heal relationships with law enforcement, as there is for so many people of color in the United States, so it may seem conflict resolution would be too simplistic a solution. However, the way that people talk to each other is essential to how they treat one another. It can help to create positive connections that would aid in changing the way individuals communicate.

The use of ADR techniques, especially in training for law enforcement, seems as though it can enhance positive communication. One way that law enforcement could benefit was to receive training in better inter-agency communication and cooperation. Because it seems as though there are issues with gatekeeping information between different law enforcement agencies that could be preventing all departments from being able to do their best to solve the case. Another type of training that law enforcement could benefit from would be in the form of mediation techniques that could enhance active listening and improve the communication methods used by law enforcement and families. Active listening is a skill just like anything else, and it is an integral part of conflict resolution techniques, if some of these skills could be taught to officers who are working

with sensitive cases it seems like these techniques could have the potential to change early case outcomes. As I have said before in this paper positive early communication seemed to have a huge impact on the way that family and law enforcement interact throughout the case. Changing the way that law enforcement communicates through ADR training could very well help improve the relationship between the police and indigenous people. Because many families have expressed that past mishandling of cases affects their expected outcome, it may also follow that seeing changes could help demonstrate an effort to improve communication and aid in actually solving cases, instead of ignoring them.

Creating places for ADR specialists to work as advocates and facilitators to aid families could be a useful tool as well. I define an advocate as an individual who represents the feelings and needs of others and helps them to express their needs in a constructively. There are already advocates that do this sort of work for families of victims of violent crime, but not enough with such a widespread epidemic. It could be useful to have people working specifically with indigenous communities and in areas that have a high concentration of MMIW cases who are familiar with the issues that indigenous women are facing. The communities need the support. The idea behind conflict resolution is to find strategies to help resolve communication breakdown, and the data presented here indicate that such strategies are very much needed in MMIW cases. Advocates could help in the form of mediation between law enforcement and families, as well as facilitating community efforts to aid in search parties and connecting with sympathetic law enforcement (as happened in Jermain Charlo's case). Having someone who has

experience in helping with MMIW cases and can speak for the families could make all the difference for families who have experienced this sort of loss.

The work for this project reveals that more research on this subject would be extremely beneficial. It could further prove that positive trust and communication can be crucial for solving MMIW cases. Improved interaction between indigenous people and police would aid so many communities across the United States and Canada. Because this is exploratory research, one should not make broad sweeping proclamations of correlation between my factors and the status of a case. Rather, the identified trends represent a new avenue for research for MMIW cases. This exploratory work has uncovered some interesting differences between unresolved and resolved cases that may indicate that changing the way that people are trained to handle MMIW cases could make a positive change in providing the resources needed to have a chance at finding a resolution.

APPENDIX A

For APPENDIX A I will be giving some representative examples of how I did the coding process. In the table below I will give a demonstration of coding for one player that shows what a quote from this section may look like. Some of these quotes may appear in text, but I thought putting them here would make it more clear my line of thinking when it came to the two levels coding that I did in order to achieve the results I did in my data collection section.

Case Status	+ or - Designation	Key Term	Player	Quote used for Coding
Unresolved	Positive +	Jurisdiction	Police	“This tragic situation has continued to shed light on how law enforcement agencies need to do a better job of communicating with families and tribal members”(KUL R, 2019)
	Negative -	Jurisdiction	Tribal Police	“We are undermanned... Even if you have a full shift of five officers, you still have to cover the whole reservation, all one and a half million acres. This is the most officers that Browning’s ever had, and we’re barely keeping up.” (Hodel and Silverstone, 2019)

	Positive +	Communication	Police	<p>“It just blows my mind- I’ve said this before-I mean, how do you, as an investigator, an officer, an agent, whoever in law enforcement, if you have a missing murdered female, how do you not treat that case like you would want somebody to treat your wife, your daughter or your mother. It just doesn’t make sense.” (Walker, 2021)</p>
	Negative -	Communication	Family	<p>“My mother was misclassified for 18 years as white...She was over 18 years old when she went missing so she had a right to privacy.” (Jung, 2021) She says this is the reason law enforcement didn’t communication about her mother’s case.</p>
	Positive +	Trust	Family	<p>“Lifeguard Group actually gave a genuine, sincere effort to help our family and to reach</p>

				out...They made fliers. We need help to organize this. They helped organize this, you know, for the searches.” (Walker, 2021)
	Negative -	Trust	Family	“No one took it seriously... They just said: ‘She’s of age, she can leave when she wants to.’ When we talk to other families whose girls went missing, they say that’s what they got from law enforcement, too. It’s not a proper response.” (Hodel and Silverstone, 2019)
Resolved	Positive +	Jurisdiction	Tribal Police	“the greatest feelings that I had in this case was to actually put the handcuffs on Garrett Wadda and telling him he was under arrest for the murder of Hanna Harris. To think about the family, and to help in the healing process of that was very important.” (Baugh, 2018)

	Negative -	Jurisdiction	Family	“I’m sure that any system on the Navajo reservation may have deterred what I went through...If we had that alert sooner, who knows, we could’ve still had Ashlyne.” (Smith, 2016)
	Positive +	Communication	Family	Speaking about how well the police listened to her. Hanna’s family felt comfortable bringing in leads. “She was the last one seen with my daughter, she must have seen something. So we drove to the police station.” (Baugh, 2018)
	Negative -	Communication	Family	“The only time Aaron, the FBI agent, stopped by is for me to sign a release for her Facebook and her Snapchat, so he can go in there and look.” (KULR, 2019)
	Positive +	Trust	Family	When speaking about the outcome of Savanna’s trial. “Today is the first day I

				learned how my daughter was murdered and how my granddaughter was taken from her. I am satisfied with the sentence.” (Hurley, 2021)
	Negative -	Trust	Family	“I know how the police treat Native American women in Fargo. I’m a Native American. I was raised there, we’re lower class, I don’t know if you’ve ever been treated that way because of the color of your skin, then you know how it is.” (Oxygen, 2019)

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