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Alicia Krömer M.E.S.

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Priv.-Doz. Dr. Karin Liebhart

Declaration by Candidate

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted anywhere for any award. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Signature:

Date:

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List of Abbreviations

NRS	Native Residential Schools
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
IAP	Independent Assessment Process
EXP	Expert Interview
PCI	Problem Centred Interview
CEP	Common Experience Payment
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
IRSA	Indian Residential Schools Agreement
CAD	Canadian Dollars
CMHR	Canadian Museum of Human Rights
NRC	National Research Center
UNGC	United Nations Genocide Convention

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Background

Canada is the world's second-largest country by total area (9.9 million square kilometers) and has one of the world's lowest population densities, with an average of 3.3 people per square kilometer.¹ It is a federal parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy, with Queen Elizabeth II as its head of state, established in 1867.² It has a history of peacekeeping in the 20th century thereby securing itself as a world power. Canada is a developed country and one of the wealthiest in the world, with the eighth highest per capita income globally, and the eleventh highest ranking in the Human Development Index.³ It ranks among the highest in international measurements of education, government transparency, civil liberties, quality of life, and economic freedom.⁴ The 1988 Multiculturalism Act signaled that Canada is a pluralistic society that celebrates social diversity, embracing different customs, religions, and languages. The act included protection of minorities, recognizing and promoting their rights.⁵ The relatively unknown history⁶ (not only for Canadians themselves, but also overlooked on a global level by Canada's positive image⁷) of the Native Residential School System stands in sharp contrast to the tolerant and peaceful image Canada seems to have globally.⁸ The system was originally created to 'educate and integrate the Aboriginal into white Christian Canadian society.'⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott, the head of the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada from 1913 to 1932, stated the following on the purpose of the schools: 'I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone...our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian

¹ Central Intelligence Agency. (2016). CIA Library World Factbook: Canada. Retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ca.html>

² Government of Canada: Department of Immigration. (2014). *Discover Canada: Canada's History*. [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-06.asp> para. 3

³ United Nations Development Program (UNDP). (2013). *Human Development Index Report*. [Data file]. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf

⁴ The Economist Intelligent Unit. (2011). *Global Democracy Index*. Retrieved from http://www.sida.se/Global/About%20Sida/S%C3%A5%20arbetar%20vi/EIU_Democracy_Index_Dec2011.pdf p.3

⁵ Dewing, M. Library of Parliament. (2013). *Background Paper: Canadian Multiculturalism*. (Publication No. 2009-20-E). Michael Dewing. Ottawa, ON: Canada. p. 15

⁶ MacDonald, S. (March 2012). History of Residential Schools in Canada Remains Unknown. *Humber EtCetera*. Retrieved from <http://humberetc.com/history-of-residential-schools-in-canada-remains-unknown> para. 1-4

⁷ Evans, S. (23 May 2013). BBC Poll: Views of Different Countries Influence. The BBC. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22624104> para. 1-5

⁸ Evans, S. (23 May 2013). BBC Poll: Views of Different Countries Influence. *The BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22624104>

⁹ Ibid. p. 13

question, and no Indian Department.¹⁰ The policies at that time decreed the forceful removal of Aboriginal children from their homes to boarding schools far from where their families lived.¹¹ Laws were passed that enabled the residential schools to conduct mandatory sterilization on the children in 1928 in Alberta and 1933 in British Columbia.¹² Children were expected to learn and speak English. They were not allowed to speak their mother tongue and were punished harshly if they did. They were also not allowed to practice any of their spiritual beliefs or tribal customs. Many incidents of verbal, physical and sexual abuse were reported. There have been claims that many of the deaths occurred as a result of the abuse from the staff, poor facilities, overcrowding, and lack of medical care.¹³ In 2013, reports surfaced that the Canadian Government had conducted nutritional experiments with these Aboriginal children.¹⁴ The mandatory attendance of residential schools officially ended in 1948, after the report of a Special Joint Committee and successive amendment of the Indian Act.¹⁵ The schools, however, continued to run though severely underfunded, under conditions that were unfit for human survival, i.e., lack of proper heating facilities and rundown buildings providing inadequate shelter during the extreme Canadian winters. Many schools were maintained by the physical labour of the students.¹⁶ Finally, in 1969, the Canadian Department of Aboriginal Affairs took control of the Residential School System and the last school was closed in 1996. In the 1990s, many former students came forward with reports of verbal, physical, emotional and sexual abuse at the hands of their educators and school administrators.¹⁷

¹⁰ Tittle, E. B. (1986). *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press. p. 50

¹¹ Zimmerman, S. (1992). The Revolving Door of Despair. *UBC Law Review*. Vol.26. Retrieved from <http://www.sfu.ca/~palys/Zimmerman-1992-RevolvingDoorOfDespair.pdf> p. 372

¹² Canadian Genocide Native Web. (2014). *Canadian Government Legislation Index*. [Data file.] Retrieved from <http://canadiangenocide.nativeweb.org/governmentlegislationsexualsterilization.html>

¹³ Milloy, J. S. (1999). *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879–1986*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press. p. 97

¹⁴ Weber, B. (16 July 2013). Canadian Government withheld food from hungry aboriginal kids in 1940s nutritional experiments, research finds. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/hungry-aboriginal-kids-adults-were-subject-of-nutritional-experiments-paper/article13246564/> para. 8-15

¹⁵ Haig-Brown, C. (1988). *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press Ltd. p. 32.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 33

¹⁷ Carney, R. (1995). Aboriginal Residential Schools before Confederation: The Early Experience. *CCHA Historical Studies* Vol. 61. Retrieved from <http://www.cchahistory.ca/journal/CCHA1995/Carney.pdf> p. 15

1.2 Research Aim

The aim of the research is to examine two aspects regarding the Native Residential School System. The first is to examine the documented evidence of the history based on the literature available. This is conducted by means of literature review. The literature review will provide an overview of the system, the details of such referred to in the interviews (the main focus of the interviews is the reconstruction of the perspectives of the interview partners; therefore, the role of history is relevant for how it impacts the present day understanding of the schools). The second approach looks at the problem through the perspective of a maximum variety of relevant interview partners. The reconstruction of perspectives on this subject provides a broader understanding of the history and those affected by it. Through this, one can see how individuals today remember the phenomenon, and to what extent their social environment has impacted this framing of memory. Additionally, what faulty assumptions could be found in such framing? The subject is one of controversy in Canada, as shown in media articles in the Canadian Press, with articles such as 'Native Leaders talk of genocide just fuels anger'¹⁸ and 'What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it.'¹⁹ The controversial nature of the subject is explored in the interviews, as well as related subthemes, such as the Canadian Governments' response to the complaints of survivors, the persistent ignorance of the history of the NRS, and the considerable gap of quality of life between Aboriginal Canadians and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

1.3 Original and Substantial Contribution to Knowledge

The thesis provides the following contribution to this particular field of knowledge regarding the history of the Native Residential Schools. Firstly, it identifies the actions of the federal government in taking responsibility for the abuses which were reported to have occurred during the history of the NRS. Secondly, it provides a deeper understanding of how the NRS is viewed by carefully chosen experts in the field, from the respective groups of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. Thirdly, it frames the

¹⁸ Martinuk, S. (9 August 2013). Native Leaders talk of genocide just fuels Anger. *Calgary Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.calgaryherald.com/news/topic.html?t=person&q=susan+martinuk> (title)

¹⁹ Farber, B., Fontaine, P. (14 October 2013) What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/what-canada-committed-against-first-nations-was-genocide-the-un-should-recognize-it/article14853747/> (title)

research within a theory of collective memory (and subsequent theories) in order to foster and facilitate awareness of the history of the NRS. Finally, the thesis exposes historical abuses and their possible relationship to the current rift of quality of life between Aboriginal Canadians and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

1.4 Research Questions

There are three central questions that are to be explored in the research project. The first question explores the specific and detailed history of the system, namely, what were the specific events in the 129 year history of the Native Residential Schools that can be perceived to have caused lasting damage to Aboriginal Canadians? The second question investigates what evidence, if any, testifies to the assumption that this history has a causal relationship between the history of the NRS and a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians today? The third question investigates what evidence, if any, reveals underlying tensions between Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians today? These research questions are addressed in chapter five, where the results are organised by the interview participants' answers to the research questions. These answers are further discussed in the chapter six: findings.

1.5 Theory Outline

The theory of collective memory, developed by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s and 1930s (and first published post mortem in 1952) frames the research design. Halbwach's theory asserts that collective memory is a social phenomenon formed through interaction and communication.²⁰ Halbwachs, as well as the successive scholars who advanced his theory, argue that social groups reconstruct the past to arrange the present perspective. Social groups choose a historical plot and in doing so, draw from an imaginary collective archive. Collective memories are dynamic and ever-changing, subject to adding and deleting various elements that are no longer needed.²¹ Jan Assman states: 'memory is a symbolical expression of the self, in a group and/or society.'²² Different memory theories from Jan and Aleida

²⁰ Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1952). P. 37

²¹ Marcel, J /Mucchielli, L. (2003). Eine Grundlage des lien social: das kollektive Gedächtnis nach Maurice Halbwachs. In Egger, Stephan (Hg.): *Maurice Halbwachs – Aspekte des Werks*. Edition Diskurse Band 22. Konstanz. P. 22

²² Uhl, H. (2006). Kultur-Politik-Palimpsest. Thesen zu Gedächtnis und Gesellschaft. In: Feichtinger, Johannes et al. (Hg.): *Schauplatz Kultur – Zentraleuropa. Transdisziplinäre Annäherungen*. Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen. P. 27

Assman, prominent modern theorists to Halbwachs, provide an additional theoretical lens to the research. Jan Assman's cultural and communicative theory will be explored, along with a brief look into Aleida Assman's perspective on the new role of memory in postwar societies. Cultural memory, proposed by Jan Assman, is how society understands its past, via monuments, films, buildings, and newspaper articles. It is built through exchanges in everyday life. Jan Assman separates cultural and communicative memory: the former having branches of historiography and cultural studies, the latter seeing memory as a construction of social interaction. The third chapter enquires into additional memory theories such as public memory (Cohen 2014), official memory (Bodner 1992), and autobiographical memory (Conway and Pleydell Pearce 2000). The aforementioned theories of memory, following the collective memory theory of Halbwachs, provide a map to understanding how different groups understand the history of the NRS, how it is represented in mainstream culture, how the government attempts to create public memorials, how Native and non-Native Canadians view the issue, and lastly how it is expressed in everyday life and politics in Canada. All of these theories refer to the social environment which influences the individual recalling them. The first section of the theory chapter explores Durkheim's theory of the collective consciousness and its influence on Halbwachs' work. The second part of the theory chapter traces the subsequent theories of Halbwachs, and the third focuses on cultural and communicative memory. Each section investigates how each theory applies to the research topic.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review covers the following sections: a concise overview of the residential schools, the response of the Federal Government in creating reconciliation projects, controversy in the media, comparative discussion with other countries, discussion of international law texts, quality of life gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians, and finally a synthesis of scholarly literature in the field. These sections place the research within an historical context and identify key themes relevant to the topic.

2.2 Overview of the Residential Schools

The term *residential school* refers to a school system initiated by the Federal Government of Canada and staffed by the Catholic and Protestant churches with the aim of educating Indigenous children. The terms *Aboriginal*, *Native*, and *Indigenous* are used interchangeably to refer to the overarching group of those who claim Native ancestry in Canada. Educating these children also had the secondary effect of indoctrinating them into Christian and Euro-Canadian norms so as to assimilate them into Canadian society. While the schools official beginnings predate the establishment of Canada as a country in 1867, it was in full force from the 1880s and continued until the last school closure in 1996. The schools removed children as young as four or five from their Aboriginal families and communities for long periods of time and prevented them from either speaking their native language or practicing any of their traditional customs. Children were severely punished if these rules were broken. Many former pupils of these schools have since come forward and spoken of the physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological abuse suffered at the hands of the school staff. Most of the schools provided education up to fifth grade, before going on to teach practical skills such as labour in light industry in agriculture and woodworking for boys, and domestic work such as laundry and sewing for girls. The schools themselves had a profound impact, weakening Aboriginal culture throughout Canada, destroying families, and severing the close bonds with which indigenous identity is maintained, ultimately leading to the loss of culture and language. Within the schools themselves, families were separated to further weaken Aboriginal familial identity. Due to the fact that Aboriginal children were removed from their homes at an early age and given the gradual loss of indigenous identity and language, many claim that

they were left without the ability to raise their own families. Many of these schools were underfunded and relied on the labour of the students for maintenance. When students reached the age of 18 (with the equivalent of a fifth grade education), they were sent away from the schools and discouraged from pursuing higher education. There were constant reports of abuse going well beyond standard corporal punishment to enforce school policies: Some former students recall having needles stuck in their tongues for speaking their native language, while others were tied to their beds. Phil Fontaine, the former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, recalled his sexual assault as a child by the school administrator of the Fort Alexander residential school in Manitoba: "In my grade three class, if there were twenty boys, in this particular class, every one of them would experience (the sexual abuse) that I experienced [...] as a result of the abuse that we experienced of course what occurs is a distortion of your sense of morality and as the cliché goes, the abused becomes the abuser."²³ The abuse, reported to be of a physical, emotional, psychological and sexual nature, combined with the underfunded and insufficient housing, feeding and care of the pupils (especially during cold winter months), along with generally poor conditions and sanitation, culminated in pupil deaths. The most recent investigation conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission concluded that at least 6,000 children died while attending the residential schools.²⁴ A comprehensive map of the residential schools located across Canada can be found in Appendix E of this dissertation. Dr. Peter Bryce, an official of the Ontario Health Department in Canada, was hired by the Federal Government to report on the health conditions of the residential schools in Western Canada. After he submitted his report to Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932, Scott fired Dr. Bryce. The latter went on to publish a book entitled *The Story of a National Crime: Being a Record of the Health Conditions of the Indians of Canada from 1904 to 1921*. In this book, he reported a mortality rate of 50–75% among pupils at the residential schools.²⁵ He stated: 'I believe the conditions are being deliberately created in our residential schools to spread infectious diseases...The mortality rate in the schools often exceeds fifty percent. This is a national crime.'²⁶ Adding to the high mortality rates seen in the schools was the legislative power of some of the provinces to enforce the sterilization of Aboriginal children attending residential schools. The Sexual Sterilization Act, enacted in Alberta in 1928 and in British Columbia in 1933, called for the compulsory sterilization of those listed in the bill

²³ CBC Digital Archives <http://www.cbc.ca/player/Digital+Archives/Politics/Parties+and+Leaders/Phil+Fontaine/ID/1780909681/>

²⁴ <http://www.ibtimes.com/least-6000-aboriginal-children-died-canadas-residential-schools-report-1945057>

²⁵ Bryce, P.H. (1922). *The Story of a National Crime: Being a Record of the Health Conditions of the Indians of Canada from 1904 to 1921*. James Hope & Sons Publishing: Ottawa.

²⁶ Ibid, 7

(which included individuals attending industrial schools, of which residential schools were a part).²⁷ Between 1929 and 1972 (the year the Sexual Sterilization Act was repealed), there was a high correlation between absence of consent and successive sterilization. Aboriginals made up 2–3% of the population in Alberta. Aboriginals made up 6% of the sterilization cases presented to the board. 74% of these cases resulted in sterilization.²⁸ The Sexual Sterilization Act was implemented in British Columbia (B.C.) from 1933 to 1979, giving the B.C. Eugenics board authorization to conduct sterilization operations on people living in government-run institutions. Sterilization was seen at the time as a means of controlling behaviour and making sure that disability was not passed on to future generations. Although the Act was revoked in 1989, it remained effective in British Columbia until a ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada in the *Mrs. Eve vs. Eve Case*.²⁹ In 2005, Arthur Plint, a dorm supervisor from Port Alberni Residential School, was convicted of 36 counts of sexual assault on children he was supervising at these schools between 1948 and 1968. Justice Douglas Hogarth named Plint a sexual terrorist and “as far as the victims were concerned, the Indian residential school system was nothing more than institutionalized pedophilia.”³⁰ The Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples and Dr. John Milloy had stated that both government and church officials were aware of the abuse that was happening at the school, but mostly responded with silence.³¹ The schools have had a long-lasting impact on indigenous communities, which continues to the present day. Additionally, it was the intent of the Federal Government, in cooperation with the Catholic and Protestant churches, to expunge Aboriginal culture from these children and prevent it from being passed down to the next generation, leading it to have been called a form of cultural genocide. After the last school was closed in 1996 and former students began coming forward with stories of abuse that occurred at the schools, churches responded by issuing apologies and stating their responsibility for a system that was designed to ‘kill the Indian in the child.’ Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued a national apology for the harm caused by the schools on 8 June 2008. Phil Fontaine, former chief of the Assembly of First Nations in Canada, sought an apology from the Vatican in 2009, which prompted the release of the following statement: ‘The Holy Father expresses his sorrow at the anguish caused by the deplorable conduct of some

²⁷ Grekul, J. (2002). *The Social Construction of the Feeble-minded Threat: Implementation of the Sexual Sterilization Act in Alberta 1929 – 1972*. University of Alberta, Ph.D. Thesis.

²⁸ Grekul, J. (2009) “The Right to Consent? Eugenics in Alberta, 1928–1972.” In *A History of Human Rights in Canada*, ed. Janet Miron, 135–54. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press.

²⁹ Sterilization Policy of British Columbia. Inclusion B.C. Retrieved 29 September 2015 from <http://www.inclusionbc.org/about-us/social-policy-positions/sterilization>

³⁰ Fournier, S. Crey, E. (1997). *Stolen from our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997. P. 72.

³¹ Milloy, J. S. (1999). *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. p. 91.

members of the Church and he offers his sympathy and prayerful solidarity.³² Various government funds and organisations were set up in the 1990s to help provide support and compensation for those claiming to have suffered abuse at the schools, further details of which can be found in a later section in this chapter.

2.3 School Origins

The origins of the schools with their Eurocentric approach can be traced back to when European settlers came to Canada (beginning with French and Spanish missionaries in the 16th century) carrying with them their view that European norms needed to be imposed on the 'savages' of native people. Education, a responsibility of the Federal government, was seen as the most expedient means to civilize the 'savages'. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (The first Prime Minister of Canada (1867–1873, 1878–1891) employed Nicholas Flood Davin to examine how schools in the U.S. treated Aboriginal children. Entitled 'Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds' (Davin, 1879)³³, his report advised Macdonald to mirror the U.S. model of 'aggressive civilization' and to begin with children. In the 1880s, federal Canadian policies led to the setting up residential schools across Canada. Authorities would remove children from their homes and place them in such schools. The 1920 Indian Act made it mandatory for native children to attend these schools, and against the law to attend any other school. By the 1950s, the assimilation process of the residential schools had proven to be ineffective. Indigenous culture continued to thrive despite the assimilation attempts of the Federal government. The negative impact of the schools was starting to become apparent, which resulted in the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act whereby the half school/work regime was eliminated. During this time, the government eased the policy of total separation of the children from their families, allowing summer vacations and additional visits by family members to the schools. The department of Indian Affairs took over control of the schools in 1969, which took away much of the church's responsibility. However, the quality of the education was still below that of the rest of the non-Aboriginal Canadian population and the schools remained severely underfunded with reports of rampant abuse continuing. During the seventies, the segregation of Aboriginal children began to be phased out, as they were encouraged to attend public schools. However, a process called the 'sixties scoop' took children out of their homes and placed them in non-Aboriginal foster homes or adopted them into non-Aboriginal

³² Communiqué of the Holy See Press Office, April 24, 2009

³³ Davin, N. F. (1879). *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds: 1843-1901*. University of Alberta.

families.³⁴ The intergenerational impact of these schools affects most Aboriginal communities, with those who did not even attend such schools still grappling with the effects of drug and alcohol addiction, inability to raise a family, loss of identity and self-worth. These are all issues that plague Canada's Aboriginal communities, resulting in a large quality of life gap between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Canadians. It can be argued that this loss of indigenous identity, combined with the teaching of shame about their culture, has resulted in a sense of worthlessness being embedded in native Canadians. This sense of worthlessness appears to have manifested itself in substance abuse, high teen pregnancy rates and suicide, as well as soaring levels of diabetes and diseases related to alcoholism in Aboriginal Canadian communities. Tuberculosis rates among Aboriginal Canadians are 31 times higher than the national average. Aboriginal youths are more likely to end up in jail than to graduate high school. One in five Aboriginal Canadians are diabetic, a rate which is three to five times higher than the national average.³⁵ Suicide is the main cause of death in Aboriginal communities, (accounting for 40% of deaths).³⁶ It is also difficult for Aboriginal people to break the cycle of poverty, as many individuals have a general distrust of education due to the history of the schools. Instead, they remain in their communities and do not acquire the skills or qualifications required to compete in the mainstream job market of Canada. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that former students began to successfully sue the government for abuses incurred during their time at the residential schools. In 1988, a group of former students from St. George's Indian School in Lytton, British Columbia were the first to bring charges against a priest, the Federal government, and the Anglican Church of Canada. They won the case ten years later in 1998, known as *Mowatt v. Clarke*,³⁷ and the students received both acknowledgement and compensation. In 1990, another group of former students from St. Joseph's residential school in Williams Lake, filed suit for damages for sexual assault against the Catholic Church and the federal government, and won. In 1995, 30 former students from the Alberni Indian Residential schools filed charges of sexual and physical abuse against Arthur Plint in *Blackwater v. Plint*, and were successful in obtaining a settlement in 2005 and Plint is now currently serving jail time for his offences at the school. In 1993 and 1994 respectively, the Anglican and Presbyterian Church publicly acknowledged and apologised for its participation in the abuse of residential schoolchildren. In 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples interviewed Aboriginal Canadians about their experience in the schools, which was the first time in Canadian history that it became apparent that not just

³⁴ Hansen, E. (2009). *Sixties Scoop*. First Nations & Indigenous Studies: The University of British Columbia Press. Retrieved from: <http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/sixties-scoop.html>

³⁵ Public Health Agency of Canada. Government Website. *Diabetes in Canada. Facts and Figures from a public health perspective*. Retrieved 19 August 2015 from www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/cd-mc/publications/diabetes-diabete/facts-figures-faits-chiffres-2011/chap6-eng.php.

³⁶ Frideres & Gadacz, (2008). *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*. Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall. P. 81

³⁷ <http://www.courts.gov.bc.ca/jdb-txt/sc/99/13/s99-1341.txt> Mowatt v. Clarke. 1998.

individual cases of abuse occurred at the schools, but that this abuse was a widespread epidemic across Canada and spanning the decades since its inception. This led to the first public federal government apology to the former students and the setting up of a CAD \$350 million government Aboriginal Healing Fund³⁸ and a specialised court process called the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR).³⁹ Many former students felt that the fund was insufficient to address the long-lasting damage of the schools legacy, therefore a class action lawsuit was brought against the Federal government in 2005 and in 2006 the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement* was created. This agreement increased compensation for those who claimed to have suffered abuse at the residential schools and promised the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The settlement agreement came into full effect in September 2007. By this time, 14,903 former students had filed charges against the Federal government because of their experience of abuse at the schools. However, 2,805 claims were settled through either the ADR or litigation, totalling \$115 million.⁴⁰ This settlement agreement was the largest ever class-action settlement in the history of Canada, allocating \$1.9 billion for 80,000 living former students of the residential schools.⁴¹ This agreement includes the following mechanisms designed as compensation for the former students: the Common Experience Payment, the Independent Assessment Process, a fund for commemorative events and healing projects, and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. They are described in detail as follows: the Common Experience Payment (CEP), which affords \$10,000 for the first year that a person attended a residential schools and \$3,000 for each additional year. The official closing date for applications was 3 September 2013, with \$1.6 billion of the allotted \$1.9 billion having been paid out as of 31 March 2015.⁴² The CEP acts as a symbolic form of payment to acknowledge the harm done by attending the schools. To provide fuller compensation for the abuses suffered, there is the Independent Assessment Process (IAP)⁴³ which is a settlement fund for claims of sexual and physical abuse. \$960 million was set aside for this process, with the maximum payment for damages to individuals totalling \$275,000, while an additional claim of \$250,000 may be awarded in the event of income loss. A total of \$267,741,534 of the allotted \$960 million has been paid out under the IAP to settle claims.⁴⁴ The fund for commemorative projects was given \$20 million to compensate those children and communities impacted by the legacy of the schools;

³⁸ <http://www.ahf.ca/> Official webpage of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, which closed on 30 September 2015.

³⁹ Official Website of the Independent Assessment Process. <http://www.iap-pei.ca/home-accueil-eng.php> Accessed 15 September 2015.

⁴⁰ Canada, Indian Residential Schools Resolutions Canada, 'Backgrounder: Indian Residential Schools' (Ottawa: Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement') (2008). http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/rqpi/info/nwz/2008/20080425_is-eng.asp

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Common Experience Payment. Official Webpage of the Government of Canada: Service Canada.

<http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/goc/cep/index.shtml> Accessed 23 September 2015.

⁴³ Official Website of the Independent Assessment Process. <http://www.iap-pei.ca/home-accueil-eng.php> Accessed 15 September 2015.

⁴⁴ Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. Independent Assessment Process. <http://www.fsin.com/index.php/independent-assessment-process-iap>

furthermore the settlement agreement allotted \$125 million over a five-year period to provide support for the projects of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation.⁴⁵ Finally, the government-led action to facilitate reconciliation culminated in a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

2.4 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established on 2 June 2008 to act as a temporary, out-of-court fact-finding organisation to investigate the human rights abuses reported to have occurred at the schools. It finished its work in June 2015. It was set up as a branch of the Federal government to be conducted over the course of five years, including the compiling of historical records on the schools. The mandate of the Commission was as follows:

- a. *Acknowledge Residential School experiences, impacts and consequences,*
- b. *Provide a holistic, culturally appropriate and safe setting for former students, their families and communities as they come forward to the Commission,*
- c. *Witness, support, promote and facilitate truth and reconciliation events at both the national and community levels,*
- d. *Promote awareness and public education of Canadians about the IRS system and its impacts,*
- e. *Identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and use,*
- f. *Produce and submit to the parties of the Agreement a report including recommendations to the Government of Canada concerning the IRS system and experience including: the history, purpose, operation and supervision of the IRS system, the effect and consequences of IRS (including systematic harms, intergenerational consequences and the impact on human dignity) and the ongoing legacy of the residential schools,*
- g. *Support commemoration of former Indian Residential School students and their families in accordance with the Commemoration Policy Directive.*⁴⁶

This Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission is unique in that it was the first TRC borne out of a litigation process. Other examples of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions include those set up by a new government system to look into past abuses of an older government system, as was the case in Chile, Argentina, and Peru. The Truth and Reconciliation Commissions that were set up in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Sierra Leone came out of a peace agreement between two parties after conflict. Canada is the only instance where a TRC was established after years of lawsuits were brought against the government for the residential schools, as well as after the negotiations between the different parties of these lawsuits. It can be argued that the TRC was created to prevent a greater financial loss on the side of the Federal government defending itself against the deluge of lawsuits, advised by the

⁴⁵ Final Report of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. www.ahf.ca/downloads/annual-report-2006.pdf.

⁴⁶ The Official website of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. N Schedule document: www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf page 1-2.

Federal government's legal counsel to avoid future litigation and financial loss. During the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, legal conditions entitled 'Schedule N' stipulated the goals, terms, and conditions of this functioning body.⁴⁷ The terms and conditions determine that the TRC *'shall not hold formal hearings, nor act as a public inquiry, nor conduct a formal legal process; ...shall not possess subpoena powers, and shall not have powers to compel attendance or participation in any of its activities or events....shall not name names in their events...'*⁴⁸ While this may protect the victims' privacy, it also protects the government and churches from scrutiny of any wrongdoing. The main tenet of the TRC is that it was created for the victims, in an attempt to be non-adversarial and avoid mimicking the former legal processes of the ADR and IAP. The latter had the outcome of being a painful process for those seeking compensation, as they would have to explain how they were abused in explicit detailed, supported by witnesses and before court officials in order to obtain financial compensation. Mike Cachagee, Executive Director of the National Residential School Survivors Society, stated that it would be hard for those seeking redress to turn to an organisation run by a government that commissioned the schools in the first place.⁴⁹ Truth Commissions are usually designed to fight against impunity where human rights abuses have occurred, so therefore the Canadian TRC's specific exclusion of perpetrators and the refusal to name names could be seen as problematic and an arguably self-protective mechanism. However, while other Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have been granted authority to name names, it is not typically done.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in many instances the perpetrators are deceased. In the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, some of the 'perpetrators' are the Federal Government and the Catholic and Protestant Churches – the same parties participating in the activities of the TRC. However, the actual people that participated were representatives of the church and government and therefore not the specific perpetrators of the abuse suffered by the former students. Consequently, while a criticism of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission may be that there was no power to name names or to refer any perpetrator to court proceedings, it may be described as justified, albeit at the expense of any victim seeking justice. An additional reason for the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was to raise awareness of this part of history and to highlight the intergenerational impact the affair has had on

⁴⁷ The Official website of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. N Schedule document: www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf

⁴⁸ Ibid. page 2 of N Schedule Document.

⁴⁹ Canadian Press. (23 March 2011). Truth Commission may not bring forgiveness: chair' (21 February 2010), <http://www.cbc./news/Canada/Manitoba/story/2010/02/21/man-truth-reconciliation-commission-sinclair.html>.

⁵⁰ Hayner, P. (2000). *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*. New York: Routledge: page 107.

Aboriginal Communities in Canada.⁵¹ Hence, the creation of a public archive, as the TRC was tasked with creating the National Research Centre to ‘preserve the memory of Canada’s Residential School system and legacy. Not just for a few years, but forever.’⁵² It was officially completed and opened in July 2015, and houses the statements, documents, and other relevant material gathered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation states that its mandate is to ensure that *‘survivors and their families have access to their own history; educators can share the Residential School history with new generations of students; researchers can delve more deeply into the Residential School experience; the public can access historical records and other materials to help foster reconciliation and healing; the history and the legacy of the Residential Schools are never forgotten.’*⁵³ While the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation achieved its goal of opening in summer 2015, it was faced with numerous obstacles when attempting to obtain the materials necessary to open the institution. There was a delay in obtaining the documents for the research centre in 2011. Those responsible for the collection of archives at the National Research Center were unable to acquire the full historical archives for its database because the Federal government was in possession of 3.5 million historical documents from the residential schools, and was ordered by the Supreme Court of Canada to release those documents. Half of these were withheld, and half that were submitted were redacted, ultimately limiting primary sources for research.⁵⁴ Additionally, in June 2014, the news agency Canadian Press published a news story on the conflicting ideas of the fate of 40,000 residential school documents that detailed stories of abuse. At that time, the chief adjudicator of the Independent Assessment Process, Dan Shapiro, stated that ‘the only way that the confidentiality of participants can be respected and their dignity preserved is through the destruction of all IAP records after the conclusion of the compensation process.’ Terri Brown, a residential school former student disagreed with the adjudicator, who stated that ‘I think it is wrong to destroy them...I know it’s not an arbitrary process. Dan Shapiro has thought about this and of how it protects, but I’m of another mind. It’s the true record of what happened to us, once it’s destroyed, it’s gone forever.’⁵⁵ Ry Moran, the director of the National Research Centre for the residential schools said that these documents contain the ‘oral history of

⁵¹ The Official website of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. N Schedule document: www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf Under ‘Goals’ on page 2.

⁵² University of Manitoba. National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. Mandate. unmanitoba.ca/centres/nctr/mandate.html accessed 10 September 2015.

⁵³ Ibid. Mandate. ‘The NCTR will ensure that...’

⁵⁴ Admin2. (22 November 2011). Ottawa, churches playing hardball over residential school historical documents, TRC charges. APTN National News. Retrieved from <http://aptn.ca/news/2011/11/22/ottawa-churches.playing-hardball-over-residential-school-historical-documents-trc-charges/para.1-8>.

⁵⁵ Dyck, D. (19 June 2014). Fate of documents detailing abuse at residential schools undecided: TRC researcher wants documents kept in national archive but IAP chief says records should be destroyed. Canadian Press. CBC News. www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/fate-of-documents-detailing-abuse-at-residential-schools-undecided-1.2682238.

aboriginal people' and therefore 'fundamental' to be included in the research center, and once placed there would be treated with the 'utmost respect and no survivor would ever be unwillingly identified.'⁵⁶ Ultimately, it was decided by the Ontario provincial court in July 2014 that the testimonies would be 'sealed for decades rather than destroyed' as the destruction of the documents would silence the stories of the former students. Julian Falconer, a lawyer stated that the 'destruction of those documents will have a deep, irreversible impact on the state of the record.'⁵⁷ While the chief adjudicator had assumed that he was speaking on behalf of the victims of the abuse, Joana Birenbaum, lawyer for the National Research Centre stated that 'when the media reports of Mr. Shapiro went viral, the research centre was flooded with calls from survivors and others that said, 'We don't want our records destroyed...we want history to know how we were treated in the (claims) process.'⁵⁸ Opinions were divided because, on one hand, it could be viewed as a further protective move by the government to hide testimonies while, on the other, there is a case to be made for protecting the contract of confidentiality with those who gave testimony. Ultimately, the research centre has what it states is a comprehensive resource centre for the residential schools. Another mandate of the TRC was to hold national commemorative events across Canada. It was successful in holding national commemorative events in Winnipeg, Inuvik, Halifax, Saskatoon, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver, and Ottawa from 2011 to 2015. When the commission held its closing ceremony in Ottawa on 3 June 2015, it called for sweeping reforms to government policy, calling the residential schools a form of cultural genocide.⁵⁹ The TRC closing also published a 400-page report summarizing its events (and 94 recommendations), with a larger volume to be released later this year. As of September 2015, three months after the closing and the report, the government has stated it will wait until after the release of the larger volume to give its official response, pushing it past the national elections scheduled in October 2015. Some of the recommendations include an increase in funding for education and child welfare, as well as a revised approach to conflict resolution over land and natural resources. As of September 2015, the Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, has not committed to the full implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and has avoided the term cultural genocide.⁶⁰ A further issue in the history of the residential schools is the apparent lack of knowledge on the part of non-native Canadians, expressed by Marlene Brant Castellano: 'Consensus that the residential school

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Dyck, D. (16 July 2014). Destroying sensitive Indian school survivor accounts 'irreversible,' court told. CBC News. Canadian Press. www.cbc.com/news/aboriginal/destroying-sensitive-indian-school-survivor-accounts-irreversible-court-told-1.2708231.

⁵⁸ Alamenciak, T. (16 July 2014). Residential school survivors raise outcry over possible erasure of records. The Toronto Star. www.thestar.com/news/canada/2014/07/16/residential-school_survivors_raise_outcry_over_possible_erasure_of_records.html

⁵⁹ Government remains silent on Truth and Reconciliation recommendations. Bill Curry. Ottawa. The Globe and Mail. 4 June 2015. www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-remains-silent-on-truth-and-reconciliation-recommendations.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Para. 11.

experience was injurious in itself, not just in instances of physical and sexual abuse, is shared only by a small proportion of Canadian citizens, in contrast to the view of most First Nations, Inuit, and Metis people.⁶¹ This is also affirmed by a poll conducted for the Indian Residential School Resolution Canada and the TRC in May 2008, which found that 6 out of 10 Canadians were not able to state any long-term negative impacts for students who had gone through the residential schools system.⁶² This issue is explored at greater length in the Method section of this paper, as it was a key theme that emerged in the interviews. While the TRC and the National Centre for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission makes information about the residential schools publically available, it seems that within Canada there are now two narratives conflicting with one another. The dominant narrative seems to be that the schools were established and maintained with good intention but some individuals within the system were overly harsh to the children, with some suffering abuse. The other narrative is one that sees the Federal government as creating a system aimed at eradicating the indigenous culture.⁶³ In spite of all the funding and damages awarded to individuals who suffered abuse at the schools, an outstanding issue is that there has been very little focus on the individual perpetrators of the abuse. The TRC, however, appeared to complete some of its objectives and at the very least acknowledge the overarching systematic failures and lasting damage of the residential school system. Whether it was successful in changing the national narrative will be further explored in this thesis.

⁶¹ Castellano, M. (2008). *A Holistic Approach to Reconciliation: Insights from Research of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation* in Marlene B. Castellano, L. and DeGagne, M., eds. *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008). p 385.

⁶² Environics Research Group. (2008) Final Report 2008 National Benchmark Survey prepared for Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission., note 40 at line 20.

⁶³ Roland, C. (2006). Young, S., and Maraun, M., eds. *The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada*. Penticton, B.C.:Theyton Books. P. 4-5.

2.5 Controversy and Media Response

The Truth and Reconciliation was not without negative response in the media. The first issues arose at the beginning of its establishment, in choosing who would chair the commission. Justice Harry Laforme of the Ontario Court of Appeal was initially appointed but then resigned in October 2008, four months after its inception, citing insubordination by the other commissioners, Claudette Dumont-Smith and Jane Brewin Morley, both of whom resigned in January 2009.⁶⁴ The initial fallout of the board of commissioners was resolved when, in June 2009, Justice Murray Sinclair, who was the first Aboriginal Chief Justice of Canada, took on the role of chair of the commission. He was joined by Marie Wilson, a senior executive of a workers compensation group in the Northwest Territories, and Wilton Littlechild, former Conservative Member of Parliament and Alberta regional chief for the Assembly of First Nations. On 4 June 2015, one day after the official closing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, non-Native Canadian Hymie Rubenstein, who is a retired professor of anthropology at the University of Manitoba, and non-Native Canadian Rodney E. Clifton, a professor of Education at the University of Manitoba (and a former residential school supervisor in the 1960s), wrote a joint article in the National Post entitled '*Debunking the half-truths and exaggerations in the Truth and Reconciliation Report.*' Rubenstein and Clifton write that 'similar traumas, indignities and deprivations faced by aboriginal students – loneliness, sexual and physical exploitation, and harsh living conditions, have been reported by the children of wealthy parents forced to attend elite boarding schools throughout the former British Empire.'⁶⁵ This article was followed up on 22 June 2015 by a scathing critique on the outcome of the TRC initial report. Clifton & Rubenstein state that it 'conflates so-called 'Survivors' (always capitalised and always applied to every former student), as well as pointing out its shortcomings that it implies 'without evidence that most of the children who attended the schools were grievously damaged.'⁶⁶ This returns to the current apparent dual narrative of Canada, where one side, typically more non-Native as previously mentioned, believes the schools were established and maintained with good intention but some individuals within the system were overly harsh to the children, with some suffering abuse. Clifton and Rubenstein also write that 'The report also disingenuously implies that unlike all other people on Earth, indigenous Canadians never prevaricate, exaggerate or accept money for testifying at formal

⁶⁴ Kilpatrick, S. (2008). Canadian Press. CBC News. (20 October 2008). Chairman quits troubled residential school commission: Accuses two fellow commissioners of not heeding his authority. www.cbc.ca/news/canada/chair-quits-troubled-residential-school-commission-1.704043.

⁶⁵ Clifton, R., Rubenstein, H. (4 June 2015). Clifton & Rubenstein: Debunking the half-truths and exaggerations in the Truth and Reconciliation Report. National Post. Canadian Press. www.news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/clifton-rubenstein-debunking-the-half-truths-and-exaggerations-in-the-truth-and-reconciliation-report

⁶⁶ Ibid.

hearings, as occurred under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, which has already awarded \$4.6 billion to tens of thousands of self-proclaimed 'Survivors'.⁶⁷ While it is true that former students who claim to have suffered abuse at the schools were eligible for compensation through the CEP and ADR as previously stated in this section, Native participants of the TRC hearings received no financial compensation for sharing their story. Therefore, the latter statement from Rubenstein and Clifton is inaccurate and seems to suggest a highly stringent understanding of the residential schools through a traditional perspective. Without giving much evidence as to why, Rubenstein and Clifton write that the TRC report is 'a clash of paradigms, which, if not bridged, will never lead to reconciliation' and that 'this history isn't over, neither is the truthful and accurate representation and interpretation of this history.'⁶⁸ Conrad Black wrote in an article in the National Post on 6 June 2015 that the term 'cultural genocide' is deliberately provocative and sensational.⁶⁹ Black summarised the relationship between the Federal government and First Nations as 'full of sadness, mistakes and dishonour, but both sides share it, and respect for native government often results in grievous corruption and despotism by the native leaders...and continuing an orgy of recriminations will be unjust in itself, produce a nasty backlash, and will aggravate grievances.' He concluded his article by stating that 'even the First Nations should be grateful that the Europeans came here.' The presence of such statements in the national media suggest that the dual narrative of traditional versus revisionist currently remains strong and unresolved in mainstream Canada at least.

⁶⁷ Clifton, R, Rubenstein, H. (22 June 2015). Rubenstein & Clifton: Truth and Reconciliation report tells a 'skewed and partial story' of residential schools'. www.news.nationalpost.com/full.comment/Rubenstein-clifton-truth-and-reconciliation-report-tells-a-skewed-and-partial-story-of-residential-schools.

⁶⁸ Ibid, para 11 and 13.

⁶⁹ Black, C. (6 June 2015) . Canada's treatment of aboriginals was shameful, but it was not genocide. National Post. Canadian Press.

2.6 Controversy over ‘Genocide’ in Canadian Mainstream Media

On 30 July 2013, The Globe and Mail newspapers printed an article titled: ‘Critics Press Ottawa to recognize wrongs against First Nations as genocide’⁷⁰ detailing that the residential schools were a form of genocide, which prompted a fierce debate and response from the media. This was in the wake of a report surfacing that nutritional experiments were conducted on residential schoolchildren: ‘Canadian government withheld food from hungry aboriginal kids in 1940s nutritional experiments, researcher finds’.⁷¹ In the latter report, Canadian research Ian Mosby discovered government documents while researching the development of health policy in Canada that revealed a long-standing, government-run national experiment involving at least 1,300 Aboriginals, most of whom were children. One example of the studies intentionally withheld milk rations for several years to reveal the effects of lowered calories on children. This publication was very provocative and only served to further enflame the heated debate surrounding the two perspectives of the schools. Shortly thereafter, Phil Fontaine, the former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations in Canada wrote a joint article with Bernie Farber, an executive of an energy corporation and former head of Canadian Jewish Congress, on the topic on 14 October 2013, which was published in the Globe and Mail: ‘What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it’.⁷² It was the first time that Phil Fontaine had officially used the word ‘genocide’ and it prompted a seemingly angry backlash from the Canadian mainstream media. Ezra Levant, a journalist for the Toronto Sun wrote an article in response to the use of the word ‘genocide’: ‘Indian genocide: That’s what former CJC boss Bernie Farber says Canada is guilty of – a bizarre and embarrassing (for him) allegation.’ Levant presents a fierce opposition and states that: ‘of course (genocide) is not true. Canada does not and never has had a policy of exterminating Indians. Genocides don’t normally include billions of dollars a year in government grants to the group in question; affirmative action hiring quotas, land reserves and other privileges...Canada is the most gentle, generous country in the world. It is a weird and desperate stretch to call us a country of genocide. (Farber) is bringing a completely new level of extremism ... (which is) crazy and sad.’⁷³ Levant’s strong position

⁷⁰ Galloway, G. (30 July 2013). Critics press Ottawa to recognize wrongs against First Nations as genocide. Globe and Mail. Ottawa. Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/critics-press-ottawa-to-reognize-wrongs-against-first-nations-as-genocide/article13491738

⁷¹ Weber, B. (16 July 2013). Canadian government withheld food from hungry aboriginal kids in 1940s nutritional experiments, researcher finds. The Globe and Mail. Canadian Press. Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/hungry-aboriginal-kids-adults-were-subject-of-nutritional-experiments-paper/article13246564

⁷² Fontaine, P. Farber, B. (14 October 2013). What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it. The Globe and Mail. Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/what-canada-committed-against-first-nations-was-genocide-the-un-should-recognise-it/article1485374

⁷³ Levant, E. QMI Agency. (3 August 2013). ‘Indian genocide: That’s what former CJC boss Bernie Farber says Canada is guilty of – a bizarre and embarrassing (for him) allegation.’ Retrieved from: www.torontosun.com/2013/08/02/indian-genocide-thats-what-former-cjc-boss-bernie-farber-says-canada-is-guilty-of--a-bizarre-and-embarrassing-allegation

against the allegations of genocide was echoed by a news story in Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, where the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) was scheduling its launch then. There was growing protest against the museum's decision to refrain from referencing the residential schools in the museum as a form of genocide. On 26 July 2013 the Winnipeg Free Press published an article entitled: 'CMHR rejects 'genocide' for native policies' where it was reported that the museum's senior staff, Maureen Fitzhenry, decided not to use the word: 'Fitzhenry said the museum is not a court or government – the two bodies that have traditionally decided what counts as a genocide.' And she said academic research is still evolving: 'We don't want to be seen as advocating or involving ourselves in a debate that is still ongoing.'⁷⁴ Fitzhenry was correct in stating that the debate over the terminology was still ongoing and, on 2 June 2015, the Globe and Mail published an article: 'Residential schools amounted to 'cultural genocide' which coincided with a speech by Beverly McLachlin, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who said Canada committed 'cultural genocide.'⁷⁵ The Truth and Reconciliation summary report wrote that the central goal of the Canadian aboriginal policy of assimilation can 'best be described as a cultural genocide.' Furthermore, Jackson Lafferty, the Northwest Territories Minister of Education and a former residential school survivor, encouraged all provinces and territories to make it standard practice to educate all Canadian students in the history. Currently only Alberta and British Columbia incorporated it into its provincial education policy. It is not the aim nor is there any legitimate authority in this text to ascertain if the history of the residential schools can be qualified as genocide. The article references John Milloy, a professor of history, who has contributed to the history of the residential schools and stated that some have been 'reluctant to use the word out of concern that it would be seen as attempt to equate Canada's history with the genocide of Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War...and the term 'cultural genocide' is appropriate to the aboriginal experience in Canada.'⁷⁶ It was also suggested in the article that the TRC did not have the resources to answer the question of whether the UN definition fits with what happened in Canada.⁷⁷ While the Canadian mainstream media has seen authors like Levant, Rubenstein, and Clifton protest against use of the word genocide in any form, the TRCs use of the phrase 'cultural genocide', together with the Supreme Court Justice Beverly McLaughlin, seemed to have provided a powerful and decided shift in the national discourse, with fewer people venturing to challenge that the schools were merely well intended with instances of abuse and rather a

⁷⁴ Welch, M. (26 July 2013). CMHR rejects 'genocide' for native policies. Winnipeg Free Press. Retrieved from: www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/cmhr-jects-genocide-for-native-policies-217061321.html

⁷⁵ Galloway, G. Curry, B. (2 June 2015). Residential schools amounted to cultural genocide, report says.' The Globe and Mail. Ottawa. Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/residential-sschools-amounted-to-cultural-genocide-says-report/article24740605

⁷⁶ Ibid., paragraph 19

⁷⁷ Ibid. paragraph 10.

systematic failure of subverting one group over another. This is further explored in the methodology section of this paper. The 2 June 2015 article posits that Canada may have been concerned with the phrase 'genocide' far before the TRC declared it as a form of one: 'There are indications that the Canadian government was concerned about this (use of the term genocide). It was not until 2000, four years after the last residential school closed, that Canada adopted a limited definition of genocide that excluded the last line about the forcible transfer of children. Courts have rejected native claims of genocide against Ottawa and the churches because Canada had no law banning genocide while the schools were operating.'⁷⁸ This statement shows that it may be inferred that the actions of the Canadian government indicate it had been aware that the history of the schools had the possibility of being described as a form of genocide and took steps to ensure that its own definition did not match the history. The word 'genocide' was first mentioned by Raphael Lemkin in 1944 to create a new way to describe the intentional destruction of a people. After its formation in 1946, the United Nations made genocide a crime under international law and determined what constitutes a genocide in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, specifically in Article 2: *In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:*

- *Killing members of the group;*
- *Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*
- *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
- *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
- *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*⁷⁹

This definition contrasts with the Canadian one, adopted in 2000:

*'genocide' means an act or omission committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, an identifiable group of persons, as such, that at the time and in the place of its commission, constitutes genocide according to customary international law or conventional international law or by virtue of its being criminal according to the general principles of law recognised by the community of nations, whether or not it constitutes a contravention of the law in force at the time and in the place of its commission.*⁸⁰

It could be argued that, according to the latter Canadian law, the label therefore applies to acts of genocide occurring after the definition has been formed, and not before. The Canadian definition does not include the forcible transfer of children of one group to another group. Canada recognises only two

⁷⁸ Galloway, G. Curry, B. (2 June 2015). Residential schools amounted to cultural genocide, report says.' The Globe and Mail. Ottawa.

Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/residential-schools-amounted-to-cultural-genocide-says-report/article24740605

⁷⁹ Adopted by the Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Retrieved from www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

⁸⁰ Definition of genocide by Canadian Law: Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act. S.C. 2000, c. 24. Justice of Canada website: <http://law-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-45.9/page-3.html#s-6>

of the above five elements of the UNGC, which is 'killing members of the group' and 'causing serious or mental harm to members of the group.'⁸¹ The two definitions present a problem when Canadian citizens interpret them on their own and publish in mainstream media what they believe constitutes genocide without any court or legal proceedings supporting it. The use of the word in the media seems to have generated controversy between individuals who wish to use it to describe the history of the residential schools and those who do not. In the wake of the ruling of Supreme Court Justice Beverley McLachlin and the pronouncement of the history by the TRC as 'cultural genocide', it appeared that the problematic use of the word genocide had been resolved by adding 'cultural' to it. The Globe and Mail published an article on 7 July 2015 entitled 'Five reasons the TRC chose 'cultural genocide''. In this article, the author, David Macdonald, explains that Canada officially recognizes five genocides that violated the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948; however, the Indian residential schools was not one. Macdonald highlights how currently many 'survivors conclude that genocide was committed by both federal institutions and churches and have said so publically.'⁸² Furthermore, he references how Justice Murray Sinclair wrote in 2012 that 'IRS policy was an act of genocide under the UN Convention. Canada, however, cannot be convicted of the crime. The evidence...certainly supports the fact that this fell within the definition of genocide in the UN Convention.'⁸³ Macdonald concludes that the TRC and Chief Justice McLachlin could not have labelled the history as 'genocide' even if they wanted to, due to the fact that it was not a legal tribunal with legitimacy to prosecute, grant amnesties or subpoena witnesses. The 2006 Settlement Agreement prohibited the TRC from acting as such. It was not legitimised to refer the potential civil or criminal liability of any person or organisation, therefore any declaration of genocide would far outreach the mandate and legitimacy of the TRC. This is the first reason Macdonald lists as referring to the history as cultural genocide. The second is that, as previously mentioned in this section, according to Canada's definition of justice, it cannot be termed genocide when it happened before the definition was made and the forcible removal of children does not qualify as genocide in Canada, unlike the definition of the United Nations. Macdonald also argues that the third reason is that simply calling the history of the residential schools 'genocide' would not necessarily improve the quality of life for First Nations in Canada, referring to the example of Australian Aboriginals, Rwanda and Yugoslavia. However, this point could be argued as illogical as defining a portion of history does not necessarily mean justice for the victims or perpetrators. MacDonald's fourth reason for using

⁸¹ Adopted by the Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Retrieved from www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

⁸² Macdonald, D. (6 July 2015). Five reasons the TRC chose cultural genocide. The Globe and Mail. Retrieved from: www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/five-reasons-the-trc-chose-cultural-genocide/article25311423

⁸³ Ibid. Para 2.

the term 'cultural genocide' is to balance truth and reconciliation. He argues that by promoting the academic term 'cultural genocide', it prevents inciting a right-wing backlash and rather promotes the spirit of the UN Declaration on the Rights of indigenous peoples. Finally, his last point states that the TRC has not said it was not genocide. He argues that the TRC has created a 'ground floor for proceeding further in discussing and describing how the native Canadian experience is consistent with the definition of the UN Genocide convention'.⁸⁴ MacDonald then concludes by shedding light on the futility of the word in contrast to the construction of memory on the part of Canadian citizens: 'Neither the summary report [of the TRC], nor the upcoming final report represent the final word, memory and history will continue to flow, our understanding of the system at the time will grow and change. More children will be discovered to have been part of the death toll, more instances of abuse will be detailed, more nutrition and medical experiments will be uncovered, and more memories will be preserved. This is the beginning of a momentous process of fully discovering the history of Canada and its foundations.'⁸⁵

2.7 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Canada has not adopted the full UN definition of genocide. The national Canadian definition of genocide was a way to circumvent the signing of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The UN describes the declaration as 'an important standard for the treatment of indigenous peoples that will undoubtedly be a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against the planet's 370 million indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalisation.'⁸⁶ When the declaration was put forward in 2006, Canada and Russia were the only parties to vote against it. The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at the time, Jim Prentice, stated that the declaration conflicts with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and 'could lead to criticism of past and current Canadian laws and policies.'⁸⁷ The successive Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at the time, Chuck Strahl, also opposed it, writing that it was 'unworkable in a Western democracy under a constitutional document...you are balancing individual rights vs. collective rights, and this document has none of that. By signing on, you default to this document by saying that the only rights in play here are the rights of the First Nations. And, of course, in Canada, that's inconsistent with

⁸⁴ Ibid, paragraph 8.

⁸⁵ Ibid, paragraph 9.

⁸⁶ United Nations Declaration on the Rights on Indigenous Peoples.(August 2007). Frequently asked questions. www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/FAQsindigenousdeclaration.pdf. Page 2.

⁸⁷ Kairos Canada. (10 December 2006). 'Canada's Opposition to UNDRIP' Retrieved from: www.kairoscanada.org/dignity-rights/indigenous-rights/undrip/canadas-opposition-to-undrip/

our constitution. For example, in Canada, you negotiate on this, because native rights don't trump all other rights in the country. You need also to consider the people who have sometimes also lived on those lands for two or three hundred years, and have hunted and fished alongside the First Nations.'⁸⁸ The Harper government also expressed concerns about its wording of provisions that referred to the land and natural resources, leading to future misinterpretation of previously settled land claims. Strahl's opposition to the document was called a 'huge disappointment' by Phil Fontaine, Assembly of First Nations Chief at the time.⁸⁹ This opposition from the Conservative government to signing the document continued until 2010, after the Assembly of First Nations asked for international help in pressuring the Conservative government to sign. On 12 November 2010, the Canadian government officially endorsed the declaration but without changing its position, referring to it as a non-legally binding 'aspirational' document, as some parts are 'fundamentally incompatible with Canada's constitutional framework.'⁹⁰ It concluded that 'although the UNDRIP does not reflect customary international law or change Canadian laws, Canada believes that the UNDRIP has the potential to contribute positively to the promotion and respect of the rights of indigenous peoples around the world.'⁹¹

2.8 Overview of other Countries with Native Schooling: US, Australia, and New Zealand

United States

Canada is not alone in its problematic relationship with indigenous peoples. The United States also had residential schools for native children, established during the late 19th and 20th centuries in a similar attempt to Christianize and civilize Native children. Similar to the Canadian version, the American residential schools was a joint project of the government and churches at the time. The government department was called the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which funded the schools overseen by the Christian missionaries of various denominations. Additionally, children were prohibited to speak their mother tongue, their hair was cut to reflect a more Euro-American appearance, and traditional English names replaced their native names. The schools system started with President Ulysses Grant's 1869 'peace policy', which took children as young as five from their families and placed them in Christian

⁸⁸ Canwest News Service. (13 September 2007). Native rights declaration inconsistent with legal tradition: Strahl. Retrieved from www.canada.com/national/post/news/story.html?id=23df9769-3423-4f43-b828-a755725c2719&k=23677 paragraph 8

⁸⁹ Ibid. Paragraph 10.

⁹⁰ BBC News. (13 September 2007). Indigenous rights outlined by UN. Retrieved from www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/6993776

⁹¹ CBC News. (12 November 2010). Canada endorses indigenous rights declaration. www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-endorses-indigenous-rights-declaration-1.964779

boarding schools.⁹² In 1987, the FBI discovered that John Boone, a teacher at the BIA run Hopi day school sexually abused 142 boys from 1979 until his arrest in 1987.⁹³ Joseph Gone is a scholar who is contributing research to the Boarding School Healing Project and he describes the history of the American boarding schools as 'unmonitored and unchecked physical and sexual aggression perpetuated by school officials against a vulnerable and institutionalised population.'⁹⁴ An Amnesty USA 2007 article by Andrea Smith suggests that the effects of the sexual abuse in the schools had an impact on Native communities continuing to the present day: 'We know that experiences of such violence are clearly correlated with posttraumatic reactions including social and psychological disruptions and breakdowns.'⁹⁵ Willetta Dolphus, a Cheyenne River Lakota Native American, who attended an American residential school, states that she 'sees boarding school policies as the central route through which sexual abuse became entrenched in Native communities, as many victims became molesters themselves.'⁹⁶ Tribe members from the Hopi community testified that many of Boone's victims had become sex abusers themselves while many others had become suicidal or alcoholics.⁹⁷ Smith, in her article, points to the fact that the abuse the children experienced at the schools led to an effect of systemized abuse towards women in Native communities, a fact which had previously not been the case given that the matriarchal society of native communities meant women held a sacred and important place in their societies. She says that, according to the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice statistics in the late 1990s, alcoholism in Native communities was six times higher than the national average, and sexual assault in Native communities was three-and-a-half times higher than in any other ethnic group in the U.S.⁹⁸ Smith also states that 2007 signalled the very beginning for researchers to establish quantitative links between these epidemic rates and the legacy of the boarding schools.⁹⁹ By the same token, Smith explains that Canada has a harsher history with these schools, as well as a more complete historical record of them. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the first Prime Minister of Canada, John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891) had been influenced by the American model of the schools after being advised by Nicholas Davin to examine schools for Aboriginal children in the U.S. His report, 'Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds' (Davin,

⁹² Smith, A. (26 March 2007). 'Soul Wound: The Legacy of Native American Schools' Amnesty International USA. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from www.amnestyusa.org/node/87342

⁹³ Ibid, paragraph 14.

⁹⁴ The Boarding School Healing Project. www.boardingschoolhealing.org. Copyright 2013-2014. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition. Retrieved 28 September 2015.

⁹⁵ Smith, A.(26 March 2007). 'Soul Wound: The Legacy of Native American Schools' www.amnestyusa.org/node/87342 Amnesty International USA. Retrieve 28 September 2015. Paragraph 15.

⁹⁶ Ibid. paragraph 15.

⁹⁷ Ibid. paragraph 16.

⁹⁸ Ibid, paragraph 17.

⁹⁹ Ibid, paragraph 18.

1879)¹⁰⁰, advised Macdonald to mirror the U.S. model of ‘aggressive civilization’ and begin with children. Smith also reported that the residential schools in Canada have led to the launch of reconciliation programs (also detailed in this chapter) while the U.S. response has been largely silent and Native Americans have been ‘less aggressive in pursuing lawsuits.’¹⁰¹ Attorney Tonya Gonnella-Frichner maintains that the ‘combination of statutes of limitations, lack of documentation, and the conservative makeup of the current U.S. Supreme Court make lawsuits a difficult and risky strategy.’¹⁰² Finally, Smith also points out that the accurate telling of this history could point to a shift in the perspective of Native communities as dysfunctional and instead an effect of a systematic governmental regime that results in the abuse of children. She recalls the testimony of an American residential school student: ‘(The boarding school) was an experience that caused me to be damaged. I finally realised that there wasn’t something wrong with me.’¹⁰³ Therefore it appears that the American residential school experience was very similar to that of Canada’s, however as Smith cites, the response of the churches and government has been largely silent and it is much more difficult for Native Americans to pursue lawsuits against the government. While this thesis does not fully explore the American residential school system, it points to the similarities and further need for research in the field.

Australia

Another example of where there has been a problematic relationship between a country and its indigenous peoples is Australia. The commonly referred to history of Australia’s mistreatment of Aboriginal peoples is called the ‘stolen generation’ which was coined by historian Professor Peter Read of the Australian National University, who wrote a book entitled *The Stolen Generations: Bringing them home. The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969* in 1982.¹⁰⁴ The term ‘stolen generation’ refers to the children belonging to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who were taken from their families by the Australian Government and churches between 1905 and the 1970s. The first evidence of this government policy was found in the Aboriginal Protection Act of 1869¹⁰⁵, which gave the colony of Victoria power over Aboriginal and ‘half-case’ people, which included the right to forcibly remove children. The government assumed guardianship for such children up to the

100 Davin, N.F. (1879). Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds.

¹⁰¹ Smith, A. (26 March 2007). ‘Soul Wound: The Legacy of Native American Schools’ www.amnestyusa.org/node/87342 Amnesty International USA. Retrieved 28 September 2015. Paragraph 22.

¹⁰² Ibid. paragraph 23.

¹⁰³ Ibid, paragraph 29.

¹⁰⁴ Read, P. (1982). *The Stolen Generations (Bringing them home). The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. Department of Aboriginal Affairs in New South Government.

¹⁰⁵ Aboriginal Protection Act 1869. Documenting Democracy. National Archives of Australia. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from: www.foundingdocs.gov.au/item-did-86.html

age of 16–21. The *Bringing Them Home* report stated that at least 100,000 children¹⁰⁶ were taken from their homes, a figure which has been under scrutiny by other historians such as Robert Manne, who suggested that only 20,000 – 25,000 were taken between 1910 and 1970 according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics report from 1994.¹⁰⁷ The social impact of the stolen generations was measured in a report by *Bringing them Home*, which found that removed Aboriginal Australians were less likely to have completed secondary school education, three times as likely to have committed a crime and twice as likely to use drugs.¹⁰⁸ On 26 May 1998, the first ‘National Sorry Day’ was held, where events of national reconciliation occurred across Australia with over one million in attendance. In July 2000, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination held a report on this chapter of Australian history expressing concern that Australia did not ‘support a formal national apology and that it considers inappropriate the provision of monetary compensation for those forcibly and unjustifiably separated from their families.’¹⁰⁹ It wasn’t until 13 February January 2008 (four months before Canada would issue its own official apology to former students of residential schools) that the then Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd, apologised to victims of the ‘stolen generation.’¹¹⁰ Legal and financial compensation differs from Canada in that it is not possible for a court to rule on behalf of plaintiffs for the sole cause of being removed because of the fact that the removals were authorised under Australian law.¹¹¹ Similar to Canada, there was a debate on referring to the history as attempted genocide, due to the fact that it was believed that the policy of removing children would result in the Aboriginal population dying out. The Australian Government denied claims of genocide in the 12 reports to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Australian political scientist Kenneth Minogue and historian Keith Windschuttle both argue against the use of the word genocide to describe the history. Minogue states that the use of the word genocide is ‘an extreme manifestation of the guilt felt by modern Australian society about the past misconduct of their society to Aborigines. In his opinion, its use reflects the process by which Australian society is trying to come to terms with its past wrongs and, in doing so, Australians are stretching the meaning of genocide to fit within this

¹⁰⁶ The Australian Human Rights Commission. (1997). *Bringing them home. The ‘Stolen Children’ Report*. Retrieved 26 September 2015 from: www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen

¹⁰⁷ Manne, R. Keith, W. (2015). *The Monthly*. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from: www.themonthly.com.au/nation-reviewed-robert-manne-comment-keith-windschuttle-2256

¹⁰⁸ Bereson, I. (1989). *Decades of Change: Australia in the Twentieth Century*. Richmond, Victoria. Heinemann Educational Australia 1989.

¹⁰⁹ Concluding Observations by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Australia. 19 April 2000. CERD/C/304/Add.101 (Concluding Observations/Comments). Paragraph 13 at UNHCR.ch

¹¹⁰ Transcript: Apology to Australia’s Indigenous Peoples by Kevin Rudd, Prime Minister. 13 February 2008. Parliament of Australia, House of Representatives. Retrieved 25 September 2015 from www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country/our-people/apology-to-australias-indigenous-peoples

¹¹¹ ABC News Australia. (13 February 2008). Apology will not legally impact compensation claims: Law Society. Retrieved 28 September at www.abc.net.au/news/2008-02-13/apology-will-not-legally-impact-compo-claims-law/1041134

internal debate.¹¹² Authors Ann Curthoys and John Docker of the Australian National University wrote an article in the 2001 edition of the academic journal *Aboriginal History*: 'Settler-colonies like 'Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, the United States, and Canada led the way in setting out to achieve what the Nazis also set out to achieve, the displacement of indigenous populations and their replacement by incoming peoples held to be racially superior.'¹¹³ Australia's history of its treatment of the Aboriginals seems to deal much more with the theme of the removal of children, while Canada's history seems to center less on the forcible removal (though this was certainly an element of the legacy) and more on the widespread abuse reported at the schools. Additionally, the government of Canada appears to have directed more funding towards the victims of abuse than the Australian government.

New Zealand

Under the Commonwealth, New Zealand had similar policies to Australia and Canada in terms of educating its Aboriginal people known as the Maori. John Barrington, in his work entitled 'Separate but Equal? Maori Schools and the Crown 1867-1969', described the attempt of the New Zealand government and missionaries as trying to create 'Brown Britons.'¹¹⁴ He cites the 1867 Native Schools Act, which provided an incentive for establishing schools for Maori children after the New Zealand wars of the 1860s. The schools were reputed to be poorly built and underfunded. There were 57 Maori schools by 1879 and, increasing to 145 native schools with 10,403 students by 1939. The schools had an agricultural-vocational focus. In 1951, more than half of Maori students attended non-native schools. Demographic change, along with the increased ability of Maori students to use English, resulted in the end of separate school systems in 1969, from which time Maori students were then integrated into the regular school system of New Zealand. Sir Apirana Ngata, a celebrate Maori wrote: 'The chief and almost fatal obstruction was the course of education to which the policy of New Zealand committed the children of both races. That policy was enthusiastically approved by the elders of my tribe Ngati Porou. Indeed Rapta Wahwaha, one of the most accomplished men in things Maori, pinned his faith to Paekha education for the rising youth of the race...The result in my case, my education in the music and singing of my own people was short-circuited. The years that followed at Te Aute almost completed the suppression of any taste or desire for the prized accomplishment in the society to which my kin belonged.'¹¹⁵ John Barrington concludes that 'from 1867 to at least the 1940s, education officials

¹¹² Debates on Genocide – Part Two Debates on 'Genocide' in Australian History. (September 1998). Australian Government Department of Education Science and Training. Citing Kenneth Minogue, *Aborigines and Australian Apologetics*, Quadrant. P. 11-20.

¹¹³ Curthoys, A. Docker J., (2001) 'Genocide: Definitions, Questions, Settler-Colonies', *Aboriginal History*, 25, 2001, p 14

¹¹⁴ Barrington, J.M. (2008). *Separate by Equal? Maori Schools and the Crown 1867-1969*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. P 14.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. P. 132.

generally had a very limited view of Maori potential and the place of Maori in the wider society.’¹¹⁶ Furthermore, he argues that the government policy demonstrated an ethnocentric colonial attitude towards the education of Aboriginal children. Barrington also focused on the negative impact of neglecting to focus on the academic potential of Maori students and its subsequent limiting effect it had on Aboriginal communities in New Zealand. From Barrington’s perspective, it could be concluded that while the New Zealand government education policy neglected the inclusion of the Maori language and created an agricultural-vocational educational approach, there has been no mention of reports of widespread abuse in the Maori schools. While it would appear that Native education in New Zealand had at least less devastating effects than its commonwealth counterparts, there is still the present issue of a gap in academic performance between Maori and non-Native New Zealanders. The 1999 Waitangi Tribunal Report stated that it ‘would not be difficult to argue that the seeds of Maori underachievement in the modern education system were sown by some of the past education policies.’¹¹⁷ Conversely, in 2007, the New Zealand government considered implementing Maori techniques in education policy. This resulted in a report in 2007 that found that those Maori students who participated in schools that incorporated Maori values and concepts performed better than those Maori students in English language schools that did not incorporate Maori values and concepts. Furthermore, in a report by the New Zealand government on improving academic potential for Maori, it was concluded that research has shown ‘the importance of cultural responsiveness in all aspects of education. Cultural responsiveness could also contribute to achievement of all students’ and one way to do this is through Maori medium schools.¹¹⁸ Ultimately, it appears that the New Zealand example of examining the past negative impacts of exclusion of Aboriginal language and culture was crucial in paving the way for a new education policy that included Aboriginal language and culture to improve the academic potential for Aboriginal groups in New Zealand.

¹¹⁶ Ibid p. 297.

¹¹⁷ Waitangi Tribunal. (1999). *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*. Wellington, Chapter 2.

¹¹⁸ Section 3.27. Historical and current context for Maori education. Controller and Auditor-General of New Zealand. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from www.oag.govt.nz/2012/education-for-maori/part3.htm

2.9 Quality of life gap between Native and non-Native Canadians

This section of the literature review briefly examines the current status of Aboriginal Canadian quality of life. The Pikangikum reserve in Ontario is an impoverished and isolated First Nation community of 2,400 people. Running water and sewage systems are not available for most residents. Poverty, substandard housing and unemployment are all issues that plague this particular community. Pikangikum has 200 child welfare files open with 80 children in foster care far away from their communities. Between 2006 and 2008, 16 children between the ages of 10 and 19 committed suicide.¹¹⁹ First Nation poverty in Canada is not a new topic. Researchers have described First Nation poverty as pervasive¹²⁰ and a national shame.¹²¹ It is not only poverty that seems to be an epidemic plague in First Nations communities, but other factors are also indicative of a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians. Statistics Canada found that, between 1981 and 2001, the gap between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians completing secondary school went from (66% vs. 30%) to three times as high (51% vs. 15%).¹²² Additionally, in 2000, the average of income of Aboriginal Canadians was CAD \$13,932 compared to CAD \$30,023 for non-Aboriginal Canadians.¹²³ In 2011, a national assessment of First Nations water and sewer systems was released in which 73% of all water systems and 65% of all waste water systems in First Nation communities were designated as being medium to high risk.¹²⁴ Indigenous populations in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada all have higher mortality rates than their non-native counterparts, along with higher rates of infectious disease, and lower life expectancies at a rate of 8 to 20 years less than the non-indigenous population.¹²⁵ There is currently an issue of rising over-representation of Native males in federal prisons: between 1998 and 2008, the percentage of Native male inmates increased by 19% and 131% for female inmates.¹²⁶ The Canadian mainstream adopts a 'blame the victim' mentality, explaining First Nations poverty in one of

¹¹⁹ Lauwers, B. (2011) Paediatric Death Review Committee. Report of the Paediatric Death Review Committee and Deaths under Five Committee. Ontario: Officer of the Chief Coroner for Ontario. Retrieved on September 27 2015 from www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/stellent/groups/public/@mcscs/@www/@com/documents/webasset/ec090287

¹²⁰ National Council of Welfare. (2007). *First Nations, Métis and Inuit Children and Youth: Time to Act*. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from www.ncwcnbes.net/.../FirstNationsMetisInuitChildrenAndYouth/...TimeToAct/ReportENG.pdf

¹²¹ Eggerton, L. (2007). Physicians challenge Canada to make children, youth a priority. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 176(12), 1693.

¹²² Statistics Canada. (1981-2012). Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa. Retrieved 27 September 2015 from www5.statcan.gc.a/subject-sujet/theme-theme.action?pid=10000&lang=eng&more=0

¹²³ Statistics Canada. (2004). Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa. Retrieved 27 September 2014 from www5.statcan.gc.a/subject-sujet/theme-theme.action?pid=10000&lang=eng&more=0

¹²⁴ Neegan Burnside. (2011). *National Assessment of First Nations Water and Wastewater Systems: National Roll-up Report – Final*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada.

¹²⁵ Daniel, M., Cargo, M., Marks, E., Paquet, C., Simmons, D., Williams, M., Rowley, K., & O'Dea, K. (2009). Rating health and social indicators for use with Indigenous communities: A tool for balancing cultural and scientific utility. *Social Indicators Research*, 94(2), p. 241-256.

¹²⁶ Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada (OCI). 2000-2011. Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator. Ottawa: Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada. Retrieved September 28 2015 from www.oci-bec.gc.ca/rpt/index-eng.aspx

two ways: 1) to blame the victim of his or her own circumstances or 2) to examine the societal factors that create or perpetuate the problems of the victims.¹²⁷ Varcoe (2011) mentions that some have explained the cycles of poverty as some people believing there is a 'culture of poverty' in that certain cultural values kept them in a cycle of poverty.¹²⁸ This would fit into the stigma in the Canadian mainstream media that connects victim mentality with First Nations. A better understanding of the historical causation behind such poverty (i.e. 8 generations of forced assimilation resulting in broken communities) could generate more compassion from non-Native Canadians. An example of this stigma can be seen in a CBC News report from 2005, which reported the evacuation of Kashechewan due to contaminated drinking water and directly followed the report with a news item on corruption in another Native tribe, creating an indirect association of two otherwise unconnected news items. Warry writes in his 2007 work *Ending Denial: Understanding Aboriginal Issues, about this issue*: 'In short, such editorial decisions blame the victim and create the impression that Aboriginal peoples are responsible for their ill health, rather than decades of government inaction and centuries of colonialism. Is it a surprise then that many Canadians blame Aboriginal people for their problems?'¹²⁹ Furthermore, the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) currently ranks Canada as the fourth best country in the world, but if the data is adjusted to consider only First Nation and Inuit communities, Borrows has suggested that Canada would rank 78th in the HDI.¹³⁰ Studies have shown that the long-term costs of inaction would outweigh the investment needed to eliminate this gap of quality of life between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Canadians.¹³¹ One example of this is the cost of keeping an Aboriginal Canadian in prison for one year, which is \$100,000 and far exceeds that of a four-year university education (\$60,000).¹³² Ultimately, the education of Aboriginal Canadians would add '179 billion to Canada's GDP by 2026 through employment and by reducing government expenditure on income support, social services, health care and security.'¹³³ Another underlying issue that does not seem to be directly addressed is that of racism in the quality of life gap. Scott Gilmore, a Canadian diplomat, wrote an article in January 2015 entitled 'Canada's race problem? It's even worse than America: For a country so self-satisfied with its image of progressive tolerance, how is this not a national crisis?' Gilmore

¹²⁷ Varcoe, C. (2011). Harms and Benefits: Collecting Ethnicity Data in a Clinical Context. Michael Smith Foundation for Health Research. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from www.ciqss.umontreal.ca/docs/SSDE/pdf/Varcoe.pdf.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Warry, W. (2007). *Ending Denial: Understanding Aboriginal Issues*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 69.

¹³⁰ Borrows, J. (2003). Measuring a Work in Progress: Canada, Constitutionalism, Citizenship and Aboriginal Peoples. In Ardith Walkem & Halie Bruce (Eds) *Box or Treasures of Empty Box*.

¹³¹ Coffey, C. (1997). The Cost of Doing Nothing: A Call to Action. Retrieved 28 September from www.rbcroyalbank.com/aboriginal/r_speech.html

¹³² Palmater, P. (13 September 2012). Harper's Manifesto: Erasing Canada's Indigenous Communities. Rabble News. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from <http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/pamela-palmater/2012/09/harpers-manifesto-erasing-canadas-indigenous-communities>

¹³³ Assembly of First Nations. A Call to Action 2015. Ottawa. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from <http://www.afn.ca/index.php/en/news-media/current-issues/call-to-action-on-education>

suggests that Canada has ‘a far worse race problem than the United States. We just can’t see it very easily.’ Moreover, Canada looks down (its) noses at America and ignorantly thinks ‘that would never happen here.’ Gilmore then went on to quote statistics comparing the quality of life of Aboriginal Canadians and African Americans, showing that by ‘almost every measurable indicator, Canada’s Aboriginal population suffers a worse fate and more hardship than the African-American population in the U.S.’¹³⁴

2.10 Synthesis of Scholarly Literature

The following section will discuss the literature in the field and place the topic within the broader context of scholarly literature. It provides a critical examination of the history of the literature on the topic, discussing resolved ambiguities in definitions while offering new perspectives. Numerous dissertations and several books aid in constructing this literature review. While the first written accounts of abuse at schools started to trickle in during the 1970s, the process of compiling comprehensive Native and non-Native literature on the schools gained greater momentum in the 1990s. This would coincide with several of the apologies issued by the government after Native-won lawsuits, and the official acknowledgement of church responsibility for the abuse at this time as well. As Harper cited in his national apology in 2008, approximately 80,000 former students of abuse live in Canada today. Before the apology in 2008, it could be argued that many of the mainstream, non-native Canadians were unaware of the extent of the abuse occurring in the residential schools.¹³⁵ The mechanism of the 2008 Truth and Reconciliation Commission brought more attention to the issue. However, with its conclusion in June 2015, there is now a pressing need to study the present impact of those living ‘survivors’ in response to the events of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The aim of this portion of the literature review is to survey the major trends in literature on the topic up to the present day, and highlight areas where there is a need for further study. The literature review proposes an introduction to the major contributions on the topic while venturing a suggestion for investigation and broader discourse. The works discussed aim to illustrate shared qualities while exposing an existing gap in the field of literature. Furthermore, this portion of the literature review will highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the trends discussed, and provide suggestions regarding how further study could provide

¹³⁴ Gilmore, S. (22 January 2015). Canada’s race problem? It’s even worse than America’s. *Macleans Magazine*. Retrieved 28 September 2015 from: <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/out-of-sight-out-of-mind-2/>

¹³⁵ MacDonald, S. (March 2012). History of Residential Schools In Canada Remains Unknown. *Humber EtCetera*. Retrieved from <http://humberetc.com/history-of-residential-schools-in-canada-remains-unknown> para. 1-4

a more comprehensive outcome for the issues at hand. There is a particular problematic perspective when discussing the origins of the Federal government's Aboriginal educational policies. There are two opposing perspectives: traditional/colonialist and revisionist. Most authors utilize a combination of the two from a theoretical perspective, while sometimes emphasising one over the other. A traditional or colonialist historical perspective (dating from 1620 when the very first school was established by French missionaries)¹³⁶ is one of understanding the Federal government education policy as assimilation and Christianization. A disadvantage of the traditional perspective is the understanding of the government's intention to absolve itself of any responsibility towards Aboriginal people and to seize land upon which Aboriginal communities live. The assimilation policy of segregated education also may at times assume the veneer of compassion, saving the 'savage' from extinction as the dominant civilization takes over, integrating them into Western society and bestowing upon them all the advantages of such a society. The colonialist/traditional perspective understands that the dominant group imposes its authority over the other, taking over the resources formerly belonging to that group. The colonized receives modernity bestowed from the colonizer. This traditional/colonialist perspective is one way of framing the origins and intentions of the Federal government towards the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. The other perspective is the revisionist, emphasizing the self-serving policies of the government towards the First Nations. The policies (most specifically the education policies) imposed on the Natives are seen as an instrument of social control, and a deliberate attempt to eradicate its culture and firmly establish a white Christian society in its place. These two perspectives also played dominant roles in the qualitative interviews conducted in this research, and will be examined in comprehensive detail in the methodology section of the thesis. These two opposing perspectives remain controversial in current media trends in Canada (see section 1.2 of the introduction) as well as in scholarly literature. Two notable scholars in the field represent the two ends of the perspective spectrum: J.R. Miller and J.S. Milloy. In his vast and comprehensive work, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (1996), Miller cites the motivation behind the schools: 'Clearly, Canada chose to eliminate Indians by assimilating them, unlike the Americans who had long sought to exterminate them physically. In other words, the extinction of the Indians as Indians is the ultimate end of Canadian Indian policy...by cultural assimilation it would bring about, education in residential schools would prove 'the means of wiping out the whole Indian establishment.'¹³⁷ in this excerpt, Miller shows a tendency towards a revisionist perspective, showing the extinction of Indians as Indians to be the ultimate motivation behind the Federal government. However, he moves back again towards a traditionalist perspective in the following statement: 'As

¹³⁶ 100 Years of Loss. (2015). Legacy of Hope: Timeline of Residential Schools. Retrieved from: www.legacyofhope.ca

¹³⁷ Miller, J.R. (1996). *Shingwauks Vision: A history of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 185.

important as the push for self-support and Christianization among the Indians was in its own right, it was also means to another end: full citizenship and absorption into the body politic.¹³⁸ Conversely, J.S. Milloy, in his 1996 book *'Suffer the Little Children: A History of Native Residential Schools in Canada'* has a traditional perspective to it, referring to the government's education policy as a means of Native civilization was a 'national duty' and 'a sacred trust.' According to Milloy, the intentions of the government in their education policy were well intentioned but ill advised. Milloy seems to strengthen the traditional perspective by focusing on the apparent 'practicality' of the system and the 'inevitably' of conquered lands and conquered people requiring assimilation into the dominant society. However, Milloy also employs a revisionist perspective when briefly describing how the schools were seen as agents of social control. For example, he states that the motivation behind the education policy 'occasionally broke through the surface...a fear of the unknown other and of its disruptive potential.'¹³⁹ Therefore, we see in both authors the tendency to combine both elements of traditionalist and revisionist perspectives when examining the motivation behind the residential schools. Another account is from Jacqueline Gresko, who contributed to the field with her 1970's work: *'The Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'rites' for the Indians of the Northwest.'* Gresko seems to take on a revisionist stance with regards to the motivation behind the schools in the sense that the schools were seen by Ottawa as a mechanism of social control: *'The Indian schools became increasingly in the 1900s holding institutions where Indians might be taught or frightened into obedience to government authority and to obeisance to "higher" racial and ethnic groups.'*¹⁴⁰ In her work, Gresko seems to focus more on the conditions of the schools and less on the motives of the education policy. Jennifer Pettit leans towards a more revisionist perspective. Pettit acknowledges both frames of thought, while arguing that the traditional one was more of a face to mask the reason behind the establishment of the residential schools. She states in her work *From Longhouse to Schoolhouse* (Pettit, 1993): 'the professed goal of assimilation differed from the actual goal...to manage them...Effectively assimilation was a prescription for Native acceptance of upper class White authority.'¹⁴¹ Pettit also wrote *'To Christianize and Civilize: Native Industrial Schools in Canada'* (1997), while strong themes of a revisionist perspective also echo in this work: 'religious and civil authorities apparently sought change in the Native community only to the point where they felt Natives would willingly become managed, subservient members of society.'¹⁴² In these works discussed, one can see that these authors touch upon both perspectives when investigating the

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 184.

¹³⁹ Milloy, J.S. (1996) *Suffer the Little Children: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P.41.

¹⁴⁰ Gresko, J. (1970) *'Qu'Appelle Industrial School: 'White Rites' for the Indians of the Old North West,'* MA thesis, Carleton University P. 213.

¹⁴¹ Pettit, J. (1993). *From Longhouse to Schoolhouse: The Mohawk Institute 1834-1980*. Master's Thesis. University of Western Ontario. P.13.

¹⁴² Pettit, J. (1997) *To 'Christianise and Civilise': Native Industrial Schools in Canada*. PhD. Dissertation. University of Calgary. P. 44.

incentive behind the schools. Scholastic debate can only go so far in investigating the exact cause of and motivation for the schools, and beyond motive, one is left only with the outcome, which is that 80,000 current former students claim to have suffered abuse and had experiences that had a significant negative impact on their lives. Another wave of literature that has been gaining momentum since the 1970s is the autobiographical works of Aboriginal Canadians who were former students of the schools, such as Edward Ahenakew with *Voices of the Plains Cree* (1973), Alice Blondine-Perrin with *My Heart shook like a drum* (2009), and Maria Campbell with *Halfbreed* (1973). These works all speak of abuse inflicted on the students by the staff, poor conditions, forced separations from parents, and forced separation from siblings in the schools, being forbidden to speak in the former students' mother tongue and, above all, the emotional distress and shame of one's own culture, which is the most common theme. In his work '*Reading Photographs, Reading Voices*' (1996), J.R. Miller raises the issue of the significance of reconstructing the Aboriginal experience of the schools and their perspectives. Miller's work demonstrates the need for this within the scholastic field, emphasizing the experiences of the student. Miller argues in this work that this key piece of the history is still missing from the current body of literature, and there is a great need to 'tell their long and complex story as systematically and comprehensively as possible.'¹⁴³ This line of argument indicates a historical turning point in scholarly literature, where there is not merely the traditionalist perspective of the government and church intending to 'Christianise and civilise', but also the systemic failure of the entire plan and the negative impact on its students. His work came out several years before the first major lawsuit brought by former residential school students against the Federal government (1998 see footnote 29) was won. Miller's work was also published at two key times in the residential school history: when the last school closed in 1996, and when the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was released in the same year.¹⁴⁴ *Reading Voices, Reading Photographs* signals the trend to expose the recurring and widespread abuse that was happening at the schools, emphasizing the significance of this trend above the true intent of the Federal government. In conclusion, this chapter covered an overview of the timeline of the residential schools, the response of the Federal Government, in creating reconciliation projects, controversy in the media, comparative discussion with other countries, discussion of international law texts, quality of life gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians, and finally a synthesis of scholarly literature in the field. These sections place the research within an historical

¹⁴³ Miller, J.R. (1996) *Reading Photographs, Reading Voices* in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (eds): *Reading Beyond Words*. Peterborough: Broadview Press. P.464.

¹⁴⁴ Final Report from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (2015) Official Parliament of Canada. Retrieved 10 September 2015 from: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb9924-e.htm>

context and identify key themes relevant to the topic, most notably the themes of revisionist and traditionalist perspectives.

3. Theory

3.1 Introduction

The theory of collective memory, developed by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s and 1930s (and first published post mortem in 1952) frames the research design. Halbwachs' theory asserts that collective memory is a social phenomenon that is formed through interaction and communication.¹⁴⁵ Halbwachs, as well as successive scholars who advanced his theory, argue that social groups reconstruct the past to arrange the present perspective. Social groups choose a historical plot and in doing so draw from an imaginary collective archive. Collective memories are dynamic and ever changing, subject to adding and deleting various elements that are no longer needed.¹⁴⁶ Jan Assman states: 'memory is a symbolical expression of the self, in a group and/or society.'¹⁴⁷ Different memory theories from Jan and Aleida Assman, prominent modern theorists to Halbwachs, are an additional theoretical lens of the research. Jan Assmans' cultural and communicative theory is explored, along with a brief look into Aleida Assmans' perspective on the new role of memory in postwar societies. Cultural memory, proposed by Jan Assman, explicates how society understands its past, via monuments, films, buildings, and newspaper articles. It is built through exchanges in everyday life. Jan Assman separates cultural and communicative memory: the former having branches of historiography and cultural studies, the latter seeing memory as a construction of social interaction. The chapter briefly enquires into additional memory theories such as public memory, official memory, and autobiographical memory. The aforementioned theories of memory, along the collective memory theory of Halbwachs, provide a map to understanding how different groups perceive the history of the NRS, how it is represented in mainstream culture, how the government attempts to create public memorials, how Native and non-Native Canadians view the issue, and lastly, how it is expressed in everyday life and politics in Canada. All of these theories refer to the social environment which influences the individual who recalls them. The first section of this chapter will explore Durkheim's theory of the collective consciousness and its influence on Halbwachs' work. The second part of the chapter will look at some of the successive theories of Halbwachs, and the third will focus on the cultural and communicative memory developed by Jan and Aleida Assman. Each section investigates how each theory may apply to the research topic.

¹⁴⁵ Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (original work published 1952). P. 37

¹⁴⁶ Marcel, J., Mucchielli, L (2003). Eine Grundlage des lien social: das kollektive Gedächtnis nach Maurice Halbwachs. In Egger, Stephan (Hg.): Maurice Halbwachs – Aspekte des Werks. Edition Diskurse Band 22. Konstanz. P. 22

¹⁴⁷ Uhl, H. (2006). Kultur-Politik-Palimpsest. Thesen zu Gedächtnis und Gesellschaft. In: Feichtinger, Johannes et al. (Hg.): Schauplatz Kultur – Zentraleuropa. Transdisziplinäre Annäherungen. Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen. P. 27

3.2 Durkheimian Influence on Halbwachs

Maurice Halbwachs met Emile Durkheim in 1906, a meeting that likely sparked his lifelong interest in the field of sociology. Durkheim had a profound influence on Halbwachs, applying Durkheim's concept of the collective consciousness to a collective past. Durkheim has been credited (alongside Karl Marx and Max Weber) as one of the founding fathers of modern sociology. An important claim that Durkheim made was that society had a *sui generis* component, which meant that this *sui generis* reality is constructed through individual consciences interacting and merging together, creating a new reality of a collective consciousness. This collective consciousness is greater than its individual parts. Durkheim proposed that the collective consciousness could be studied scientifically, by examining its characteristics: social facts (quantitative and qualitative methods in the social sciences are means in which to retrieve social facts). A social fact exists outside of the individual and is capable of coercing him/her. Durkheim writes: 'A social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint, or again, every way of acting which is general throughout a given society, while at the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual manifestations.'¹⁴⁸ By observing social phenomena, one can discover social facts of that groups' collective consciousness. Social facts can be laws, norms, regulations, and/ or patterns of behaviour. They can be material or immaterial. A nation's flag is a material social fact, representing the identity of that nation. An example of an immaterial social fact is the 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' motto of France which is central to their national identity created after the French revolution. A social fact differs from facts in natural sciences as it is a type of phenomena within society. Durkheim understood society as a set of social facts and was greatly interested in what creates and sustains it. In 'The Division of Labour' (1893), Durkheim explains that beliefs, values, and norms comprise the moral fabric of society, which is essential for social integration. This guides the behaviour of individuals who are otherwise inherently egotistical and selfish. The moral basis creates, unifies, and sustains society: Man is only a moral being because he lives in society, since morality consists in solidarity with the group, and varies according to that solidarity. Cause all social life to vanish, and moral life would vanish at the same time, having no object to cling to.'¹⁴⁹ Durkheim defines the collective consciousness as 'the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society that forms a determinate system with a life of its own; it can be termed

¹⁴⁸ Durkheim, E. (1895). *The Rules of Sociological Method* 8th edition, trans. Sarah A. Solovay and John M. Mueller, ed. George E. G. Catlin (1938, 1964 edition), p. 13

¹⁴⁹ Durkheim, É. (1893). *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), trans. W. D. Halls in 1984. p. 331

the collective or common consciousness.¹⁵⁰ The collective consciousness can also be called a shared understanding of social norms. It brings society into being, and individuals bring the collective consciousness into being through social interaction (or, society creates the individual and the individual creates society). The egoism of individualism is overtaken by the emotionally binding pull of the collective consciousness. The individual acts in a social and altruistic way in order to participate, integrate, and belong. Durkheim emphasized the importance of culture, as groups create the culture around them through interaction, assigning meaning and emotion to it. The construction of meaning through social interaction is closely followed in Halbwachs' theory of collective memory. Halbwachs describes collective memory as a form of memory constructed by social groups, which can be shared and passed on, dependent upon the framework within which the group is positioned. For Halbwachs, the study of memory was not simply contemplating the subjective mind but the study of how minds operate and organise themselves in groups. Individuals form their memories within a social context, where they recall, recognize, and localize their memories.¹⁵¹ While collective memory endures and draws strength from a defined group, it is the individuals who belong to that group who remember.¹⁵² The memory that exists within the individual and that is retrieved in the group is created in the present and for present purposes. This is similar to how Durkheim coined collective consciousness as the shared understanding of social norms, though Halbwachs applies it to the shared understanding of the past. Halbwachs uses a different type of sociology than Durkheim, specifically the social construction of individual memory and the development of collective memory in groups and society.¹⁵³ Regarding the social construction of individual memory, Halbwachs asserts that individuals act conducive to the meaning they ascribe to their own and others behaviour. The meaning originates from the social norms of the community to which the individual belongs. The individual learns these social norms through interaction in the group. Using the example of mental illness, Halbwachs concludes that it is only when individual relationships are distorted that treatment for mental illness is sought, therefore the subjective state of mind belongs in a social context. Regarding the development of collective memory in groups and society (being families, social classes, religious groups, and the greater society at large), Halbwachs claims these networks produce collective memory for the individual. The survival of the group is dependent on the clarity to which it defines its role within society. The clarity of the groups' role is found in the strength of social bonds. When discussing the greater networks of society, Halbwachs borrows from Durkheim in that he sees societies as masses composed of complex networks of

¹⁵⁰ Allan, K. (2005). *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World*. Pine Forge Press. p. 108

¹⁵¹ Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1952). P. 38

¹⁵² Ibid, p.48

¹⁵³ Marcel, J., Mucchielli, L. *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. (Eds) Erll, A. Nünning, A. p. 142.

individuals. Individuals within these masses can experience more isolation (ie. an individual in an urban setting) than the smaller more intimate and more socially bonded family or social group (ie. an individual in a rural setting). With the dissolution of social bonds that can occur within an urban setting, the individual is at more risk for mental disorders. Conversely, while there is more isolation in the masses, there are simultaneously more opportunities for a more powerful collective feeling. Within a greater social network of society, new forms of group identity are required to persist. Halbwachs refers to the example of Christianity to explain this notion. The collective memory of Christianity centers around the reconstruction of events that formed the religion: the Birth of Christ celebrated at Christmas, the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ at Easter, Pentecost, etc. These celebrations are reconstructed based on the community of believers. As the members of the community change or disappear so too do the concerns of the present group and how they interpret such events to fit their understandings of group identity as believers. The collective memory adapts to the needs of the present. New memory develops and brings about a new reality for individuals in a group. The new reality allows them to position themselves in the 'social environment' of that time.¹⁵⁴ This can be related to the collective memory of the Native residential schools. The Native interview participant who attended a residential school describes their experience, and in doing so reflects a specific shared social phenomenon. One former Native student expressed in an interview that it was important that Canada record the memories of older individuals who went to residential schools from the 1930s-1950s, because many of those who attended NRS during that time were now passing away without sharing their story. The dead memory of the archived information on the NRS becomes less relevant than the experience of the individual who experienced the NRS. The living memory of experience is essential for the identity of Indigenous groups. For the Native interview participant, it was critical that the researcher understands that 8 generations of abuse have contributed to patterns of dysfunction which now manifest into the social pathologies for Natives today (increased suicide rates, higher crime rates, lower education, etc.). Additionally, the interview participants cite the importance of learning their past to understand themselves and to better aid their people in their communities who also suffered because of the schools. A new reality and a new identity emerge through examining their past, allowing for emancipation of both, themselves and others, through acknowledgment and forgiveness. While there are diverse groups of Natives, all groups can identify under 'Indigenous', connecting to a pre-Canada history and culture which they should be proud of and not ashamed. This new identity and reality is echoed politically. The change in tone from the Conservative government with Stephen Harper to the Liberal government with Justin Trudeau also

¹⁵⁴ Marcel, J., Mucchielli, L. *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. (Eds) Erll, A. Nünning, A. p. 148.

shows a shift in a national collective memory, which seems to be tending to a more empathetic view of how Native Canadians suffered in the NRS. The TRC was legitimized as a functioning arm of the federal government, however with Native representatives for Native Canadians. The memory of the schools has become institutionalised through the TRC and therefore more legitimate for both Native and non-Native groups, meaning that the government backs the investment into the National Research Centre on the history and acknowledges the past abuses. Returning to Halbwachs theory of collective memory, one can imagine this theory as similar to the concept of language. Language is shaped through social interaction and communication, built up over time, and rearranged by people in the present. It is used by the individual, who contributes to it, yet the individual has not wholly created it. The social construction of memory is also dependent on language, and, like language, a group and times' ascribed meaning and interpretation is dynamic, flexible, and changing. Shared group paradigms emerge through the constant reconstruction of both memory and language. This is recalled in an interview with a Native chief who described that the experience of the schools made him lose his mother tongue of Cree language. This was echoed by all other Native interviewees who attended the schools. Their loss of language was a shared phenomenon that was closely linked to their personal identity, cultural identity, and group and family belonging. After attending residential schools and losing their mother tongue, the Native former NRS students stated they could no longer converse with their parents and grandparents. Halbwachs differentiated between collective memory, autobiographical memory, and historical memory. Autobiographical memory is an individuals' direct experience of an event. Historical memory exists in records as 'dead memory', the remembered past which has no organic relation to individuals. Collective memory is the 'active past' which influences the individuals' identity in society. While collective memory has a life of itself, as in the collective consciousness, it is the individual who recalls them, in a social context. Different shared memories can define different social groups, pointed out by Wood (1999).¹⁵⁵ The individual interviews conducted in this research were defined into separate groups such as Native participants and non-Native participants, those who attended residential schools and those who did not. The shared memories of the Native participants differed greatly from the shared memories of the non-Native participants, and indicated their social differentiation, and also revealed an explicit quality of life gap between them. For example, all of the Native participants who attended the schools described having childhoods filled with trauma, abuse, and poverty. They lived and continue to live among peers and family members who live in poverty. The non-Native participants were part of much wealthier, educated elite who did not experience poverty. Halbwachs criticised his peers at the time for describing

¹⁵⁵ Wood, N. (1999). *Vectors of memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*. Oxford: Berg. p 2

the social phenomenon but not explaining it, with an inability to 'cope with the problems of historic causation.'¹⁵⁶ This is also a criticism of the quality of life gap with Native communities in Canada presently. The full understanding of the negative impacts of the residential schools has not been realised, and is only beginning to be realised in the Canadian public. Currently there is still no standardized curriculum province- and territory-wide in Canada. As Halbwachs criticized his peers for ignoring historic causation, perhaps it can also be applied to Canadian collective consciousness to understand the historic causation of the quality of life gap between Natives and non-Natives. Halbwachs was criticised both in his time and in the recent decades for having an 'implicit assumption of a Durkheimian collective consciousness.'¹⁵⁷ Halbwachs' Durkheimian roots are essential for the construction of his theory, since without the basis of a collective consciousness there is no shared understanding of the past. Fentress and Wickham (1992) argued that Halbwachs theory is 'curiously disconnected from the actual thought processes of any particular person' and criticized his understanding of the individual as a 'sort of automaton, passively obeying the interiorized collective will'.¹⁵⁸ This view arguably does not fully take into account the wider perspective Durkheim and Halbwachs meant when they spoke of the greater collective which guides the behaviour of the individual. The individual in turn adds to the synthetic reality of the collective, seeing both group and individual as inseparably and intrinsically linked. Collective memory theory does however, have a variety of problems, one of which is the over-generalisation of a diverse range of categories of memory studies. This is tackled by subsequent theorists of Halbwachs, explored in the next section.

3.3 Subsequent Theories of Memory

The tendency of overgeneralisation of collective memory and its inability to address finer classifications was confronted in the early 1970s. Some also argued the theory adds nothing to the well-established concepts of myth and tradition. There is a vast array of different memory theories, from collected memory (Young 1992), social memory, (Connerton 1990 and Fentress & Wickham 1992), post memory (Marianne Hirsch 1997, Liss 1998), transactive memory (Wegner, 1998), or public memory (Bodnar 1992). The 1970s new wave of memory studies seems to amend the issue through defining more precise

¹⁵⁶ Till, K. (2005). *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) 14; and Zerubavel, Y. "The Politics of Remembrance and the Consumption of Space: Masada in Israeli Memory," in Walkowitz, et al., eds., *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004) p. 233.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 233

¹⁵⁸ Fentress, J and Wickham, C. (1992). *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

terms. Burke (1989) warned that scholars need to avoid the danger of ‘failing to notice the different ways in which the ideas of individuals are influenced by the groups to which they belong.’¹⁵⁹ Yael Zerubavel explained that while collective memory is dynamic and ever changing, memorials can serve to create a sense of staid continuity across the generations.¹⁶⁰ Yerushalmi wrote that ‘collective memory is drastically selective. Certain memories live on, the rest are winnowed out, repressed, or simply discarded by a process of natural selection.’¹⁶¹ Richard Dawkins describes a ‘meme’, which is defined as an ‘idea, behaviour, or style that spreads from person to person within a culture.’¹⁶² The meme is a unit for transmitting cultural ideas, working as a cultural analogue to genes in that they self-replicate and mutate. While this chapter will not expand on every single memory theory, the following will be briefly outlined for their relevance to the research: popular memory, official memory and autobiographical memory. Additionally, Assmans cultural and communicative memory will be more closely examined. Popular memory, described by Cohen (and others like Edgerton and Elvin), is driven by psychological aspects and behavioural reactions.¹⁶³ Popular memory is the collective story of a society; it does not have to be based in reality. Edgerton asserts ‘collective memory is the site of mediation where professional history must ultimately share space with popular history...a term referring to the full sweep of historical consciousness, understanding, and expression that a culture has to offer’¹⁶⁴ Cohen argues that the popularity of a compelling story of the past overrides historical fact, and that perception forms into a ‘truth’. ‘Symbolic sharing is key to a cultures’ objective existence and to an individual’s subjective sense of belonging to that culture.’¹⁶⁵ Mark Elvin writes that ‘the stories we tell one another about the past – are what bind national communities together in the present’ and ‘shared stories...defines the space’ of where human groups live and function and becomes its ‘conceptualized physical landscape.’¹⁶⁶ Cohen puts forward that the emotional resonance of stories shared between individuals about the past make history personal, non-linear, fluid and transformative. People are ‘content to live in a world of stories that support, rather than challenge, their strongly held beliefs and emotional preferences.’¹⁶⁷ Therefore fact becomes irrelevant and shared stories build meaning to help people make sense of their

¹⁵⁹ Burke, P. (1989). *History as Social Memory*. In *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, 97-113. Edited by T. Butler. Oxford. P. 98

¹⁶⁰ Zerubavel, Y. (1994). The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death: Masada and the Holocaust as Historical Metaphors. *Representations* 45: 72-100.

¹⁶¹ Yerushalmi, YH. (1982). *Tahor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. p. 95.

¹⁶² Dawkins, Richard. (1976). *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford University Press.

¹⁶³ Middleton, D. & Edwards, D. (1990). Conversational remembering: a social psychological approach. In D. Middleton and D. Edwards (Eds). *Collective Remembering*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd. P. 23.

¹⁶⁴ Edgerton, G. (2001). Rollins, P. (eds.). *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. P. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Cohen, P. (2014). *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis*. Columbia Press: New York. P. 240.

¹⁶⁶ Elvin, M. (1997). *Changing Stories in the Chinese World*. Stanford University Press: California. P. 5.

¹⁶⁷ Cohen, P. (2014). *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis*. Columbia Press: New York. P. 194.

past, on a personal and communal level. In regard to popular memory it is important to understand the variety of historical narratives and the different versions of events. It underscores the need to look critically at different versions of events with historical fact and be able to identify the differences between the two. This is relevant in the research in that there is a strong emotional tone to the interviews. In the Native PCI interviews those who attended residential schools all shared a traumatic and devastating experience at the schools. They also transmitted that view onto any other person who attended a residential school, which is not empirically correct as it is possible that some attendees were not abused, and some benefitted. It also confronts the opposing side, namely, the non-Native interview participants who shared a very sceptical view of the overt negativity of those who attended. These interviewees criticized the overt emotional tone and tried to highlight some positive outcomes of the residential schools. Both perspectives have become themes in the research, each containing their own truth to which group they belong and each having faulty assumptions in light of accurate historical evidence and logical thinking. Popular memory is close to vernacular memory, which John Bodner (1992) differentiates from official memory, which is the remembrance of the past adopted by state institutions. This is shown in the different ways that states and institutions memorialize past events through statues, memorials, and museums, etc. An example of this could be seen in how the Canadian government set up a stained glass window in the Parliament building in Ottawa as a memorial for the victims of the NRS. Official memory is often approved for educational purposes, as in state approved textbooks used in the classrooms. Bodner (1992) writes that in official memory, community or institutional leaders decide in the interest of social unity or the continuity of existing institutions what will be remembered in order to maintain power. The commemoration of past events is generally idealised to work in their favour. Examples of power yielding in official memory is in North Korea, where the citizens are inundated with a picture of the Korean wars of the 1950s that paint Americans as evil and still to be avenged in the present. This reflects in the ongoing global concerns over North Korea's missile testing. Further applying official memory to the residential schools is the way in which the Canadian government, since the 1990s (after the first lawsuits by former students) responded to the claims of abuse. The first response was to form a healing fund and limit the amount that former students could claim for their experience. Soon the applications for compensation due to abuse claims became overwhelming. Efforts were made through arbitration and out of deliberations came the national apology and establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission. Former Prime Minister Stephen Harper gave a national apology for the schools in 2008, a marker of official memory for the schools, though in this sense due to the ruling elite to maintain power and prevent a landslide of lawsuit against the federal government. This was

confirmed by an interviewee, Former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's campaign manager, who stated that the whole apology and commission was to get the issue 'off the table as soon as possible.' After the closing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in June of 2015 (which paralleled the change in government from Conservative leader Stephen Harper to Liberal leader Justin Trudeau) the official memory changed along with the public discourse of the topic. The tone of the nation seemed to change from a negative view to a more empathetic view, placing higher value and priority on Indigenous issues with a focal point on the legacy of the residential schools. This is an ongoing theme in Canada presently, and new paradigms of official memory will inform those in power how to remember the history. Official memory involves the manipulated construction of memory from those who are in power. Official memory can be a tool for those in power. John Bodnar (1992) carries official memory further in differentiating between the vernacular and the official. Official memory is used to maintain power over groups by a person holding legitimate power, and the vernacular memory, originating from individuals, is used to explain events which are most relevant in society. Vernacular memory emerges from those who may not have official power but possess the power of cultural influence in a shared experience. Bodner refers to this as countermemory. This relates to the research in examples of artwork, songs, and literature in the Native community. The Truth and Reconciliation commission emerged out of a deliberation, but its outcome was countermemory, the memory of thousands of testimonies of residential school students who told their stories of abuse at national gathering events from 2013-2015. Their stories infiltrated newspapers and airwaves and challenged mainstream notions of residential schools as privileged schools for natives with some episodes of abuse (see research results in further chapters of the dissertation). Another theory is autobiographical memory, expanded upon by Conway and Pleydell Pearce, with a neuropsychological base.¹⁶⁸ Autobiographical memory theory comes from the personal memories of those who directly experienced a past event, shown most commonly in oral history research and memoirs. Autobiographical memory involves an individuals' direct recall of personal experiences, individual suffering, and/or loss of loved ones, etc. Conway and Pleydell pierce write that autobiographical memory is of fundamental significance for the self, for emotions, and for the experience of personhood, that is, for the experience of enduring as an individual, in a culture, over time.¹⁶⁹ They use an illustration to show different types of knowledge which autobiographical memory contains, here:

¹⁶⁸ Conway, M.S., & Pleydell-Pearce, C.W. (2000). The construction of autobiographical memories in the self-memory system. *Psychological Review*, 107, 2. P. 261-264.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 261.

My own memory for the declaration of the Second World War, from September 1939, occurred when I was aged 6 years and 6 months. I have a clear image of my father standing on the rockery of the front garden of our house waving a bamboo garden stake like a pendulum in time with the clock chimes heard on the radio which heralded the announcement. More hazily, I have an impression that neighbours were also out in the adjoining gardens listening to the radio, and although my father was fooling around, the feeling of the memory is one of deep foreboding and anxiety. I have never discussed this memory with anyone and very rarely thought about it. (G. Cohen, personal communication, August 1994).

Conway and Pleydell Pearce use the story to illustrate memory containing a lifetime period (when I was six) with characters and features belonging to that period (father, neighbour, radio). The autobiographical knowledge is not only one type of knowledge, but comprises several types of knowledge. The details are linked to a general event that is connected with other individuals belonging to that time period. This theoretical lens applies to the interviews with Native participants explaining their experience at the residential schools. They situated themselves in their memory of when they were children, describing specific features of the time (a dinner bell, the nun, being whipped). The autobiographical memory contains their own memory of the event, but also character and features which belong to the life period they are recalling. One Native participant remembers the dinner bell at St. Annes residential school. The nun was a fixture of the Catholic residential schools. Being whipped was a feature of the residential schools to maintain order and discipline. Their memory contains personal memory and information about the characters and features of that lifetime of that memory. Conway and Pearce understand autobiographical memory as a rubric, where memories are transitory mental constructions inside a self-memory system (SMS). While Conway and Pearce theory of autobiographical memory is largely seated in the field of psychology, its focus on individual memory containing several different types of knowledge is useful again in application to the interviews. The interviews are conducted with the assumption that one can gather different types of knowledge with which one can then reconstruct the perspective of the individual and obtain insider information about the event in question and the group to which the individual belongs. Autobiographical memory is significant for the deeply personal experience, revealing knowledge of the self. It is essential for personal identity. Without memory it is difficult to construct identity. Without knowledge of where one came from or what core values or experience informed or shaped ones person there is no strong sense of self. Furthermore the memory that shaped personal identity shapes the culture that the individual inhabits. Therefore, according to autobiographical theory, to gain insight into the culture that one belongs to, one first examines the individual. Elements of autobiographical memory align with a Halbwachs understanding, where memory is seen as constructed in a cultural context (Wang &

Brockmeier, 2002).¹⁷⁰ Autobiographical memory theory allows us to understand that the information that can be obtained through individual memory is significant for gaining insight into personal identity and the greater cultural identity of the group to which they belong.

3.4 Cultural and Communicative Memory theory

Jan and Aleida Assman have been prominent contributors to the field of memory studies in the recent years. Assman hails Halbwachs contribution to the field of memory studies as a sociological benchmark: "It was the great achievement of the French Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs to show that our memory depends, like consciousness in general, on socialization and communication, and that memory can be analysed as a function of our social life."¹⁷¹ Assman breaks down Halbwachs collective memory into two distinct forms of remembering: cultural and communicative:

1. Cultural memory, memory of the past communicated through cultural artifacts
2. Communicative memory, which is found through the everyday interaction and communication which is socially constructed and relates to a group¹⁷²

Assman also defines Mimetic and Material memory, the former being the communication of practical knowledge from the past and the latter being history bounded in objects. Assmans' theory of memory is dynamic and evoked at the present, recalling the past, but always with an understanding of the future. Assman differentiates cultural memory from communicative memory. Cultural memory reflects collective memory in that it is not only the individual who remembers but also the collective. Cultural remembrance mainly belongs to two spheres: historiography and cultural studies. Historiography emphasizes the process of cultural memory. Cultural studies emphasize the implications and objects of cultural memory (such as embodied memory and objects). In historiography, Pierre Nora (1989) identifies a distinction between history and memory, which he claims began with the formation of nation states in Europe.¹⁷³ Richard Terdiment (1993) uses Nora's concept in application to the French revolution as a moment between history and memory which resulted in a society struggled to

¹⁷⁰ Wang, Q. & Brockmeier, J. (2002). Autobiographical remembering as cultural practice: Understanding the interplay between memory, self and culture. *Culture & Psychology*, 8: 45-64.

¹⁷¹ Assman, J. (2008). Communicative and Cultural Memory. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning (Hg.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin, New York 2008, S. 109-118

¹⁷² Assman, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, 65. p.127

¹⁷³ Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26, University of California. p. 7-25.

understand the new reality they inhabited and how to relate to the past before the French revolution.¹⁷⁴ Due to the new awareness of the complexity of narratives when remembering the past, a new perspective of history arose in that a nation had to determine what they would remember in order to shape their cultural and national identity. This would also serve to unify and promote social integration. This is important to preserve authenticity and prevent losing the past. Nostalgia occurs out of choosing what to remember, and the history being recalled can never actually return into being, only able to be reproduced through individuals evoking them through social interaction. He also connected cultural memory to place, understanding that places of memory can be dynamic, changing, and materially transcendent. This could be understood in the research in places of memory of residential schools, where some of the interviews took place. The power of place was significant to the individual eliciting the experiences which happened there. Sight, smell, and location acted as a vehicle for precise recollection and locus of meaning. Paul Connerton (1989) introduces the term embodied memory as a carrier of memory. This links with a concept in neuropsychology, where an Engram is the physiological impression that an experience makes neurologically. This is otherwise known as involuntary memory. The famous example is the 'episode of the Madeline', where Marcel Proust explains a moment evoked from a tea cookie:

No sooner had the warm liquid mixed with the crumbs touched my palate than a shudder ran through me and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary thing that was happening to me. An exquisite pleasure had invaded my senses, something isolated, detached, with no suggestion of its origin...And suddenly the memory revealed itself. The taste was that of the little piece of madeleine...The sight of the little madeleine had recalled nothing to my mind before I tasted it.¹⁷⁵

Different kinds of experiences and sense perceptions are processed and stored different ways, and can sometimes be retrieved voluntarily, as in the sight or smell of something trigger a memory, as the tea dipped cookie did for Proust. An individual can be a container of embodied memory, where the past is situated in the body of the individual.¹⁷⁶ This is understood in the research where an interviewed Native participant recalls the memory of abuse, the memory of which has a deep and direct association with their physical being, and the feelings and meaning associated with that childhood abuse persists into advanced age. Both the mind and body become carriers for the memory, which the individual applied great meaning to their individual and collective identity as Native Canadians. Objects are also carriers of

¹⁷⁴ Terdiman, R. (1993) 'Historicizing Memory', *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. p. 3–32.

¹⁷⁵ Proust, M. (1913-1927). *In Search of Lost Time* (Edited and annotated by William C. Carter. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013, 2015

¹⁷⁶ Connerton, P. (1989) *Bodily Practices. How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 72–104.

memory, and photographs can serve as objects of memory. Catherine Keenan (1998) describes how taking pictures is an action of remembrance for both the individual (the person taking the picture) and the collective (those who view it).¹⁷⁷ Refer to Appendix D of the dissertation to find a picture of a Mohawk residential school taken by the author in 2014, in contrast to a retrieved historical archived photo of the same subject. Those two photos of the same subject can represent historical memory and organic memory, with both images serving as carriers of memory of residential schools. Edward Chaney (2006) applies the term 'Cultural Memorials' to describe objects of historical and cultural value, for example the Obelisk, the Eiffel Tower, the pyramids, all having meanings which change over time.¹⁷⁸ In this sense the presently preserved Residential schools serve as forms of cultural memorials. The photograph of the St. Anne's residential school memorial, (shown in the Appendix D of this dissertation) is an example of objects of historic and cultural value. There can be a range of interpretations to such historical objects which aid in the reconstruction of the intentions of their creators. Again, Assmans' cultural memory encompasses the two fields of historiography and cultural studies (which are composed of embodied memory and objects) to form its basis. Assmans' cultural memory theory proposes that the present shapes our understanding of the past, and the past has an influence on our present. Cultural memory contains norms of behaviour where the group instructs the individual what to remember and why. Cultural memory engenders cultural identity, where the identity obtained from the individuals' belonging to a group, is a result of social interaction, and this sense of group identity can be carried onto further generations. Assman states that cultural memory is 'the faculty that allows us to build a narrative picture of the past and through this process develop an image and an identity for ourselves.' 'Memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and the collective level.'¹⁷⁹ Additionally, cultural memory could be perceived as a threat to totalitarian regimes. For example, Assman refers to the Bosnian war when Serbs destroyed the Library in Sarajevo in order to obliterate history, memory, and identity of Bosnians and minorities in that area. Assman highlighted that 'this was the strategy of the totalitarian regime to destroy the past, because if one controls the present, the past also gets under control, and if one controls the past, the future also gets under control.'¹⁸⁰ In summary of Assmans' cultural memory, it is a form of remembering whereby

¹⁷⁷ Keenan, C. (1998) 'On the Relationship between Personal Photographs and Individual Memory', *History of Photography* 22:1, p.60–64

¹⁷⁸ Chaney, E. (2006). 'Egypt in England and America: The Cultural Memorials of Religion, Royalty and Revolution', *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines*, ed. M. Ascari and A. Corrado, Amsterdam-New York, Rodopi, 2006, p.39–69

¹⁷⁹ Assman, J. (2008). *Cultural and Communicative Memory*. Originalveröffentlichung in: Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning (Hg.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin, New York 2008, p. 109

¹⁸⁰ Assman, A., & Assman, J. (15 May 2013). *Cultural Memory: the link between past, present and future*. Paper presented at Spaces of Remembrance: Sao Paolo, Brazil. Institute of Advanced Studies of University of Sao Paolo. Retrieved from: <http://www.iea.usp.br/en/news/cultural-memory-the-link-between-past-present-and-future>

constructed meaning is imbued into symbolic forms, (be it object or location). Therefore institutions of cultural memory are preservation sites: libraries, monuments, museums, and archives. Communicative memory, on the other hand, is non-institutional. It is not formalised nor contained in physical symbols, rather it exists purely within a social context. It has a limited time frame, usually covering three generations, and it comprises the 'ties that bind' within a specific group. The strength of the memories depends on the strength of the bonds. This brings power dynamics in to play as various groups can dictate what other groups remember and for what purpose. Communicative memory often deals with the recent past and cultural memory with the remote past. Communicative memory then forms the subject of oral history, which focuses exclusively on memories obtained in interviews. The interviews in this research are an example of communicative memory, whereby the interviewer obtains the memory of the participant through listening. Aleida Assman discusses that, unlike the cultural identity that nations constructed around triumph (again, as in the case of post French Revolution France or post world war two America), the postwar era brought a new emergence of cultural identity constructed around trauma. Aleida claims that nations elicit the trauma memory in order to acquire acknowledge of suffering: remembering forward. National memory constructed out of trauma has gained ground in the 1990s, where victim testimonies become significant to memorial and museums, exposing the history of human rights abuses globally. Gabriela Fried Amilivia calls this Traumatic Memory Transmission (2016). Traumatic Memory Transmission refers to the traumatic experiences which are communicated down through generations through places of memory and/or institutions in familial, political, and cultural fields.¹⁸¹ It is a function of collective continuity that underscores the intergenerational transmission of collective trauma. It is also a process of communicating and remembering, engendering a cultural identity. This process allows individuals to connect to their ancestry and identify a moral continuity with that past. This stream of memory theory highlights the intergenerational transmission of trauma within Native groups in Canada who cite 8 generations of Native children being placed in the NRS. The 1990s marked the time when the first lawsuits against church and state began from former students, and testimony began to snowball. Now, in 2016 after the closing of the Truth and Reconciliation commission, a new discourse emerges out of Canada's first Nations suffering, specifically the intergenerational trauma and its impacts on the quality of life gap. Amilivias' concept of traumatic memory transmission, along with Aleida Assman assertions in this field, claim that memory in this case can appear as a tool to protect against the fading of time and to aid individuals in understanding the pitfalls of humanity 'so

¹⁸¹ Amilivia, G. (2016) *Terrorism and the Politics of Memory in Latin America: Transmissions across The Generations of Post-Dictatorship* Uruguay, 1984–2004. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

they do not have to reinvent the wheel and start each generation from scratch.’¹⁸² Jan Assman compares this to the establishment of the state of Israel, and the cultural memory was to never be a victim again, whereas Germany’s intent to never repeat the Holocaust is contained in their motto ‘Nie wieder’, never again. However, Aleida Assman also points to the pros and cons of such remembering, as sometimes that act of remembering can trigger aggression, while others can elicit mutual respect, empathy, and understanding. Aleida Assman argues that cultural memory need not be a counterproductive preoccupation but rather a necessary element in the foundation of nation building that requires careful handling, to heal and not to incite violence. Aleida Assmans’ and Gabriela Freid Amilivas’ concept of traumatic memory has particular relevance to the memory of trauma for First Nations in Canada. It has emerged in the 1990s through communicative memory and several decades later it is evolving into cultural memory for Canada. Through the testimony of those who went through residential schools, one sees not only an individuals’ experience of abuse, but also the impact that this abuse had on their parents, grandparents, great grandparents, with a ripple effect into communities and generations, culminating into a pandemic of poorer quality of life and suicides that persists into present day in Canada. Therefore as Aleida Assman advises, the memory of these residential schools should be carefully considered, in order to acknowledge the pain inflicted on the groups of Natives who went there and the responsibility non Native Canadians have in remembering such a past. By doing so, not to incite aggression but to teach those in the present about respect for the culture that existed before Canada as a country existed.

3.5 Conclusion

Pursuant to the established concept of Durkheim’s collective consciousness, Halbwachs formulated his theory of collective memory. Through Halbwachs we conceptualize memory as a social construction with meaning applied by those groups who discuss it. The historical plot is more or less chosen and framed in the present for present purposes, shifting and adapting like language, used by the individual and carried by the collective. This relates to our comprehension of the NRS, as the memory obtained is from the interviews, both by those who have directly experienced it and those who form an opinion of it without having lived through it. The legacy of the NRS has absolutely become a new national paradigm

¹⁸² Assman, A., & Assman, J. (15 May 2013). *Cultural Memory: The Link between past, present and future*. Paper presented at Spaces of Remembrance: Sao Paolo, Brazil. Institute of Advanced Studies of University of Sao Paolo. Retrieved from: <http://www.iea.usp.br/en/news/cultural-memory-the-link-between-past-present-and-future>. Para 4.

that has pushed its way into Canadian mainstream discourse in the past decade, shifting and changing with the different types of information that is communicated. Halbwachs theory fits into this framework of a Canadian collective remembering the NRS, highlighting that it is constructed socially. Halbwachs theory set the precedent for subsequent theorists like Assman, Bodner, Conway, Cohen, etc., to more sharply define and categorize the multitude of ways in which memory theory can be applied. Assman defined the remote past (cultural memory) from the recent past (communicative memory) and reiterated the influence of cultural memory on cultural identity, which was emphasized by Aleida Assman. Aleida Assman highlights the need for groups to ‘remember forward’ and critically examine the past to learn from past mistakes and generate a more just and compassionate society. This becomes relevant to the research in that the content obtained in interviews with former residential school students can be seen as a form of communicative memory which shows the theme as socially constructed between the interviewers and interviewed. The cultural memory becomes reflected in the recent memorials that have been erected since 2010 across Canada, some of which are the former sites of schools, the schools themselves turned into museum (like Mohawk Residential school in Brantford, Ontario). These become important sites of memory for the community and become symbols of acknowledging the pain and oppression of the NRS legacy. Canada is now beginning to ‘remember forward’ with the NRS, and perhaps even becoming a model for other countries to face its own past injustices against Indigenous peoples and minorities. Popular memory is the collective story of a society; it does not have to be based in reality. Its ‘symbolic sharing is key to a cultures’ objective existence and to an individual’s subjective sense of belonging to that culture.’¹⁸³ People are ‘content to live in a world of stories that support, rather than challenge, their strongly held beliefs and emotional preferences.’¹⁸⁴ Therefore with popular memory it is important to understand the variety of historical narratives and the different versions of events. It underscores the need to look critically at different versions of events and discern historical facts that will help identify the differences between the two. John Bodner (1992) describes official memory where community leaders decide what will be remembered in order to maintain power. Bodner further distinguishes vernacular memory as originating from individuals and commonly used to explain events that are most relevant in society. Vernacular memory emerges from those who may not have official power but possess the power of cultural influence in a shared experience. Bodner refers to this as countermemory. This relates to the research in examples of artwork, songs, and literature used in the Native community to tell the story of the past. Conway and Pleydell-Pearce describe autobiographical memory theory as originating in personal memories of those

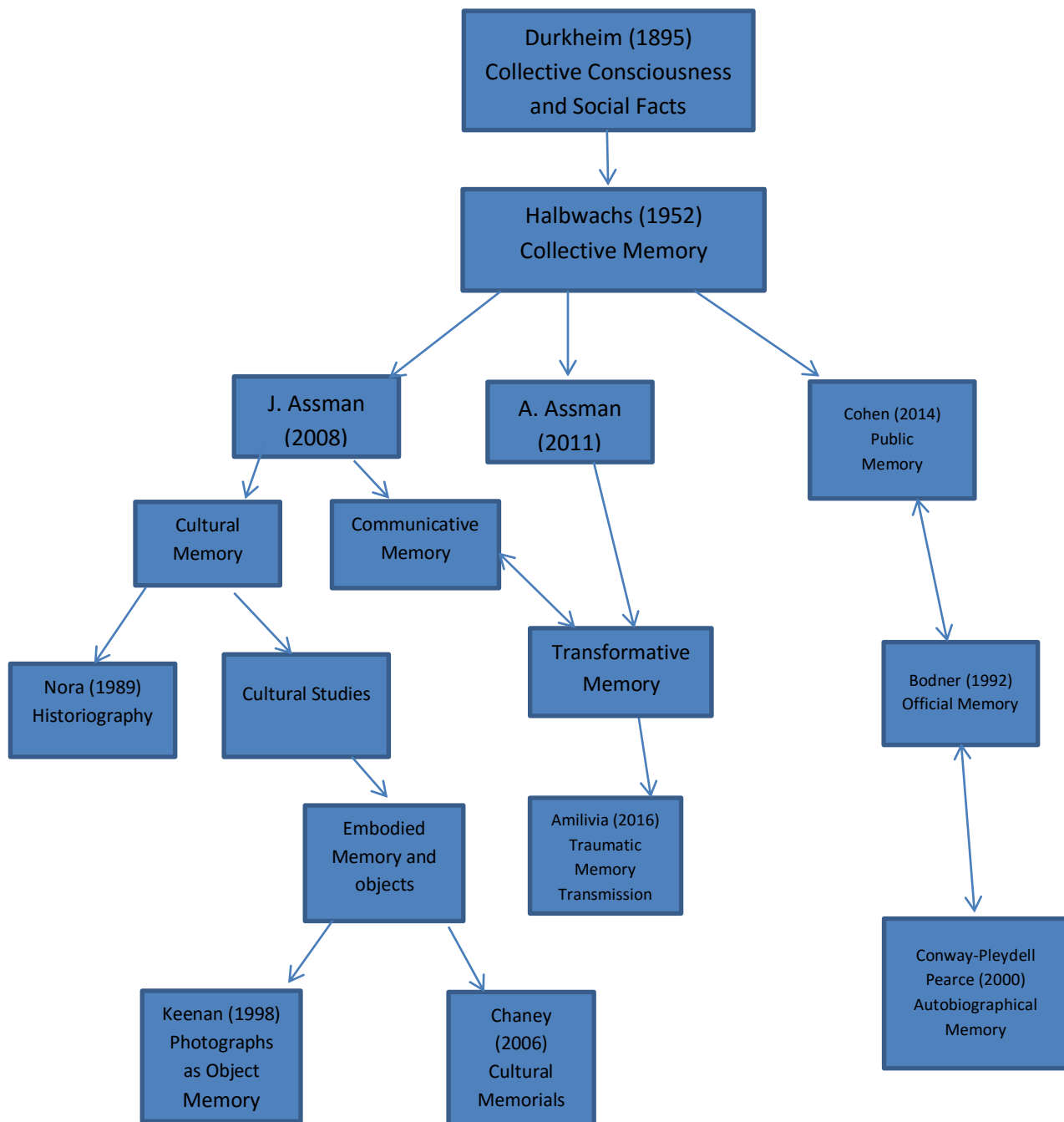
¹⁸³ Cohen, P. (2014). *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis*. Columbia Press: New York. P. 240.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 194.

who directly experienced a past event, found most commonly in oral history research and memoir. The autobiographical knowledge is not only one type of knowledge, but several types of knowledge. The details are linked to a general event that is connected with other individuals belonging to that time period. A final edition to this theoretical framework is Gabriela Freid Amiliva's 2016 *Traumatic Memory Transmission*. Traumatic Memory Transmission refers to the traumatic experiences which are communicated down through generations through places of memory and/or institutions in familial, political, and cultural fields.¹⁸⁵ It serves as a function of collective continuity as it underscores the intergenerational transmission of collective trauma. It is a process of communicating and remembering, engendering a cultural identity. This process allows individuals to connect to their ancestry and identify a moral continuity with that past. This stream of memory theory highlights the intergenerational transmission of trauma within Native groups in Canada who cite 8 generations of Native children being placed in the NRS. All theories show the potential of memory as a means to 'remember forward' and aim for a more just and compassionate society, remembering the past in the present in order to invest in a brighter future. The theoretical framework discussed in this chapter is visualized in the following graph: Theoretical Framework Visual Display.

¹⁸⁵ Amilivia, G. (2016). *Terrorism and the Politics of Memory in Latin America: Transmissions across the Generations of Post-Dictatorship Uruguay, 1984–2004*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Theoretical Framework Visual Display



4. Method

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the qualitative methods used in this dissertation. First, it provides a brief discussion on the foundations of qualitative research and research paradigms (and which research paradigm(s) were chosen and why). Second, it describes which qualitative research methods were used and why, as well as the steps involved (sampling, criteria and data collection). Third, it explores which qualitative research data analysis methods were used and why, as well as the steps involved. Fourth, it discusses how the position of the researcher impacts the research. Fifth, it examines the tools used to ensure rigor and trustworthiness in the methodology. Finally, this chapter explains the ethical considerations involved. The terminology of ‘interviewer’ or ‘researcher’ will be used to refer to the individual conducting the interview (the author of this dissertation). The terminology of the ‘interviewee’ or ‘interview partner/participant’ will be used to refer to the individual answering the questions in the interview.

4.2 Qualitative Research

While the dissertation project employs both quantitative and qualitative studies in the literature review, the main methods used are expert (EXP) and problem centered interviews (PCI), though both contain elements of a narrative interview. This section of the paper briefly examines the foundations of qualitative methodology before moving into a more focused study of the EXP and PCI interviews. Qualitative methodology came out of a history of ‘paradigm wars’ between hard and soft research strategies and methods.¹⁸⁶ Hard research strategies and methods are quantitative and experimental, such as surveys or experiments with statistical data. A quantitative approach examines the frequency and distribution of social phenomenon. The methods used to analyze this phenomenon include, for example, statistical analysis, SPSS, and quantitative content analysis. There is a growing interest in qualitative research because of the increasing pluralization of life worlds, growing individualization, and rapid social change. This change of research fields requires soft research strategies which are more interpretive, open, and descriptive. Denzin & Lincoln (1998) state that ‘qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality...they seek answers to questions that stress how social experience

¹⁸⁶ Gage, N.L. (1989). The Paradigm Wars and Their Aftermath: A ‘Historical’ Sketch of Research on Teaching since 1989. *Educational Research*, Vol. 18, No. 7. p. 4-10

is created and given meaning¹⁸⁷ and therefore focus on understanding subjective meanings, social relations, and the everyday experience. Psychological phenomena cannot be understood independent of context. Human behavior is made more meaningful when experience is understood within a framework of culture and connected with being in the world. The study in this dissertation is exploratory in nature, which uses processes that allow for the data to speak for itself, thereby supporting a qualitative method of inquiry. Qualitative research uses individual experience, context, and subjective interpretation; therefore generalizability is not possible nor is it a goal (Heppner, Kilighan, & Wampold 1999).¹⁸⁸ The strengths of qualitative research include being able to examine social phenomenon in greater depth and detail, as well researchers are not limited to specific questions. The directions of the interviews can change according to the content provided by the interviewee. The framework of the research can be constantly revised and updated as new information emerges. More often than not, the data which comes from human experience can be far more compelling and powerful than numbers on a graph. The complexities of a phenomenon can sometimes be overlooked by quantitative enquiries. Some limitations of qualitative research include the quality of the research being greatly dependent on the skills of the researcher. Additionally, the criteria for establishing rigor and trustworthiness are not as easy to assess as quantitative research criteria. The standard and quality assurance of qualitative methodology is found through (though not limited to) its relevance to theory, finding the results within the data, triangulation, and peer feedback (less precise as quantitative measures of instrument, validity, and reliability). Qualitative research findings are sometimes not as well accepted nor reliably understood as quantitative research in the scientific community. Finally, the results of a data analysis in qualitative research can prove difficult to demonstrate visually. However, the paradigm wars have now ended and both qualitative and quantitative research methods are accepted with their strengths and weaknesses. In spite of the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research that have just been described, it is useful to researchers to use both qualitative and quantitative methods because the researchers can go beyond the limitations of one and use each to balance the other (when applicable). Qualitative methodology also seeks to find out the how and why in the complexity of social relations, as Clifford Geertz states 'what the hell is going on here?'¹⁸⁹ Process-oriented methods of observation are required in order to understand this complexity. There are different types of observation, leading to the different forms of qualitative methods. Open and semi-structured interviews attempt to understand

¹⁸⁷ Denzin, N. K. and Y. S. Lincoln (1998). "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research." *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry: Handbook of Qualitative Research Paperback Edition*. London, Sage. 2. p. 8

¹⁸⁸ Heppner, P. P., Kivlighan, D. M., Jr., & Wampold, B. E. (1999). *Research design in counseling* (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

¹⁸⁹ Olson, G. (1991). The Social Scientist as Author: Clifford Geertz on Ethnography and Social Construction. *Journal of Advanced Composition*. Vol 11. 2 p. 248.

peoples' point of view, subjective meanings, and construction of their social world. People ascribe meaning to their social practices, every day perceptions and experiences. Knowledge about the social world is constructed through social interaction. Ethnography, which is process oriented, combines the observations of these processes with other methods (like interviews). Ethnography aims to create an extremely detailed description of social reality and their meaning, referred to by Clifford Geertz as 'thick description', where an ethnographer presents a thick description which is composed of facts and also commentary, interpretation, and interpretations of those comments and interpretations. The purpose of a thick description is to extract meaning structures which make up a culture, and often done through these open and semi structured interviews.¹⁹⁰ Open and semi structured interviews start with the choice of interview partner, and this first requires a theoretical sampling. Further along, the researcher can decide to do more interviews of the same or to seek as varied perspectives as possible. Interviews are interactional encounters which produce a negotiated text, (the social dynamic of the interview), informing the nature of the results. The researchers' reflections are then integrated into the process of knowledge production; as research is an intervention into a social system. It is important that the interview partner has situational competence, where they can maintain a good atmosphere, demonstrating sensitivity for both the subject matter and the interview partner. Kvale (1992) argues that the qualitative method of interviewing is a very flexible and creative process which cannot prescribe perfectly precise rules or general theory; therefore the aim of the interview is not to produce objective data but instead a phenomenological-hermeneutic mode of understanding where people use everyday language to describe their own experiences.¹⁹¹ There are different types of open and semi-structured interviews: Problem Centered Interviews (PCI), Narrative, and Expert (EXP). These different types of interviews are detailed in the next section, after a brief discussion of research paradigms.

¹⁹⁰ Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books Publishers. p. 6.

¹⁹¹ Kvale, S. (1992). *Psychology and Postmodernism*. Sage Publications.

4.3 Research Paradigms

Paradigms are a set of coherent belief structures, also described as a lens through which to see the world. It is a network of assumptions about reality, human interaction and knowledge, as well as different methods used to answer research questions. The research paradigm is sometimes referred to as a theoretical framework. Mertens (2005) suggested that 'the exact nature of the definition of research is influenced by the researcher's theoretical framework' with theory being used 'to establish relationships between or among constructs that describe or explain a phenomenon by going beyond the local event and trying to connect it with similar events.'¹⁹² The research paradigm influences the way in which knowledge is examined and interpreted. The choice of paradigm establishes the intent, motivations and intended outcome for the research. This section will briefly examine four main research paradigms: positivist/post positivist, interpretivist/constructivist, transformative, and pragmatic. A positivist can also be called a scientific method due to its rational and empirical foundations that 'originated with Aristotle, Francis Bacon, John Locke, August Comte and Emmanuel Kant.'¹⁹³ It uses the cause and affect model of deterministic philosophy. It attempts to test theories or describe phenomenon 'through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us.'¹⁹⁴ Post positivism replaced positivism after the Second World War. The post positivist approach sees research as being influenced by many theories. Positivist theory contends that the observer is separate from the subject of observation, emphasizing objectivity and neutrality. Furthermore, these theories are experimental and new findings can challenge or build upon older theoretical frameworks. It tends to align with quantitative research with causal relationship hypotheses. Interpretivist/constructivist emerged from a German school of thought, where interpretative understanding was called phenomenology and hermeneutics. This approach aims to understand the world of human experience which is 'socially constructed.'¹⁹⁵ It understands the phenomenon through lens of the participants. This does not usually begin with a theory but to 'generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings'¹⁹⁶ (Creswell, 2003). It tends to utilize qualitative data collection and analysis or mixed methods which supports the data and strengthens its description. The transformative paradigm is a recent paradigm that began in the 1980s and 1990s because of the lack of consensus on

¹⁹² Mertens, D.M. (2005). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage. P. 2

¹⁹³ Ibid. P. 8

¹⁹⁴ O'Leary, Z. (2004). *The essential guide to doing research*. London: Sage. P. 5

¹⁹⁵ Mertens, D.M. (2005). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage. P. 12.

¹⁹⁶ Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage. P. 9.

the existing ones. Positivist/post positivist and interpretivist/constructivist do not sufficiently deal with social justice and the powerless in society. The transformative research presupposes that inquiry should 'be intertwined with politics and a political agenda' and may call for action to 'change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researchers life' (Creswell, 2003).¹⁹⁷ It uses data collection and analysis methods similar to interpretivists/constructivists, though benefits from using mixed methods to promote 'more complete and full portraits of our social world through the use of multiple perspectives and lenses.'¹⁹⁸ (Smokeh & Lewin 2005). Finally a pragmatic paradigm emphasizes the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem. The pragmatic theorists 'rejected the scientific notion that social inquiry was able to access the 'truth' about the real world solely by virtue of a single scientific method.'¹⁹⁹ Pragmatic paradigm sees the research problem as the predominant research focus, and all subsequent approaches are to understand this research problem. Therefore in a pragmatic approach the researcher chooses data collection analysis methods which they believe will most likely find solutions to the 'problem' without fully adhering to one paradigm. The research conducted in this dissertation makes use of a cross between interpretivist/constructivist paradigm and a transformative paradigm. This is demonstrated in that the themes and theories are inductively constructed out of the raw data, and a driving factor within the research is to bring awareness to the history of the residential schools to better understand the quality of life gap between Native and non-Native Canadians. In essence there is a political agenda that aims to change the lives of participants and institutions. However, the research more closely follows the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm because it relies on qualitative data collection and analysis methods.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p.9-10.

¹⁹⁸ Somekh, B., & Lewin, C. (2005). *Research methods in social sciences*. London: Sage. P. 275.

¹⁹⁹ Mertens, D.M. (2005). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage. P. 26.

4.4 Method: Expert and Problem Centered Interviews

4.4.1 Introduction

The qualitative method used in the project employs two types of interviews: expert (EXP) and problem centered (PCI), which are forms of semi-structured interviews. This section of the chapter focuses on the method of interviews chosen and why they were chosen, literature surveyed, sampling and criteria for participants, and steps of data collection. As stated earlier in this paper, the expert and problem centered interviews both included elements of a narrative interview; though this occurred more frequently in the problem centered interview. An expert interview focuses on the reconstruction of expertise in a particular field of knowledge. An expert is an individual with a high degree of knowledge, experience, and insight to a specific field. A problem centered interview relates to researchers orientation to a relevant social problem or phenomenon. It aims at reconstructing the subjective approach of the respondent to a given problem. A narrative interview has an initial question and should encourage the interview partner to talk freely and develop a narrative. The narrative interview is effective because of the underlying rules that structure the flow of narration: the narrator gives details of the story which reveals their view of the world. It is a suitable method particularly for oral history projects. This chapter does not discuss narrative interview at length, since the main methods used were expert and problem centered interview. It is referenced because both interviews contained elements of a narrative interview, in that participants (more often the Native Canadians) told autobiographical accounts of their childhood at residential schools. The expert interview method was chosen because it was necessary to gain access into an otherwise inaccessible network of elite leaders and professors who had vast knowledge about the history of residential schools. Some of the interview participants had a role in the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The method of the problem centered interview was chosen because it was important to speak with the individuals directly impacted by the subject matter, as well as discuss their perspectives of the subject matter. This choice of method enabled the author to speak directly with former students of residential schools who willingly shared their experience and perspectives of the history. Both interviews made use of an interview guideline. The interview guideline focuses on a specific issue and its dimensions (see Appendices A and B for Expert and PCI Interview guideline samples in the appendices section of this dissertation). Each topic is introduced by an open question and followed by more specific questions and probing to deepen interviews understanding. The interviewer attempted to react flexibly to conversational turns, allowing for introduction of aspects not anticipated. Questions with yes or no answers were avoided. Everyday

language was used in the problem centered interviews, and scientific concepts were avoided. This was especially important in the problem centered interviews as these interviews required trust, informality, and conversational style. A more specialized language was often required for the expert interviews. The expert interviews tended to be more formal and academic in nature as the participants were professors and politicians. The research questions were not directly formulated into interview questions. The interview partners were given as much scope as possible to reveal their individual perspectives and views. With regards to the number of interview partners, the study proceeded (with as many interviews as could be obtained in the time and financial of the field work) until a theoretical saturation was met. A theoretical saturation is found through the process of gathering data until there is no new relevant data regarding a category or theme and these categories or themes are well developed and articulated. Additionally, the results begin to become redundant. Josselson and Lieblich (2003) argue that saturation determines the sample size,²⁰⁰ however they also warn that true saturation is never fully possible because there are always new angles to discover within a social phenomenon. In this research, the decision to stop collecting data began when clear themes relating to the research questions began to emerge from both interview groups. However, there is still contact with many of the interview partners for the ongoing state of the subject matter. Data of the sampling of participants (number of participants, interview group, age, gender, etc.) is found in the results chapter of this thesis.

4.4.2 Expert Interviews

An expert interview is close to a problem centered interview because of its emphasis is on the reconstruction of expertise in a particular field of knowledge. Meuser and Nagel (2002) discuss expert interviews as the interviewee having less interest as a person and rather more on their expert role in a certain area of knowledge. The expert interview is focused on the persons' particular experience and knowledge culminating from their responsibilities of a functional position within an institution or organization. It gives quick access to a new (and perhaps yet unknown) field. Literature recommended for expert interviews is Bogner's (2015) *Experteninterviews: Theorien, Methoden, Anwendungsfelder*.²⁰¹ Uwe Flick, in his (2009) *Introduction to Qualitative Research*, gives a comprehensive and clear explanation on the how and why of expert interviews.²⁰² Through the expert interview one can collect insider knowledge. Experts do not represent a single case but rather a group. The role of an interview

²⁰⁰ Josselson, R., & Lieblich, A. (2003). A framework for narrative research proposals in psychology. In R. Josselson, A. Lieblich, & D. P. McAdams (Eds.), *Up close and personal: The teaching and learning of narrative research* (pp. 259-274) Washington, DC: APA Books.

²⁰¹ Bogner, A et al.(2015). *Experteninterviews: Theorien, Methoden, Anwendungsfelder*, Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, p. 4.

²⁰² Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research. 3rd edition*. London: Sage Publications. p. 165

guideline for an expert interview can be more precise than a narrative one, because the interview guidelines used for expert interviews have a double purpose: 'the work, which goes into developing an interview guide, ensures that researchers do not present themselves as incompetent interlocutors...the orientation to an interview guide also ensures that the interview does not get lost in topics that are of no relevance and permits the expert to extemporize his or her issue on matters' (Meuser and Nagel, 2002).²⁰³ It is required to be familiar with the subject material in order to access the profound knowledge the expert would have in the area. Therefore the interviewer would need to demonstrate a level of competency with the subject material to keep up with the expert. The interviewer can be seen as a co-expert with a comprehensive knowledge of the field and its terminology. To determine who is an expert, the relational status is assigned by the researcher to a person that has access to information and a high degree of knowledge, experience, and skills in the field. Their knowledge is not neutral and it is socially embedded within a set of power structures that may correspond to the subject material (for example, the non-Native Canadian expert interviewees in this research had a considerable degree of power and status in relation to their Native Canadian PCI interviewees). The experts tended to be integrated in elite power networks and highly educated.

4.4.3 Sampling for Expert Interviews

To enter the field it is necessary to find an insider who can act as a door opener who can provide access to institutions, networks, and individuals (otherwise inaccessible to the researcher). This was the case in the research for this dissertation project. The first expert interview was conducted in November 2013. This expert, who was a professor of political science at a Canadian university, had referred the name of another expert in the field, which led to the next interview where the expert then referred another name. This technique, referred to by Davis and Wager (2003) as the 'snowball sampling technique',²⁰⁴ was very efficient in acquiring subsequent expert interview partners, and also ended up being the link to obtaining PCI interviews with former students of residential schools in Canada. This was the field work stage of the dissertation, conducted in Canada from July 2014 through to September 2014. A variety of experts were sought in order to represent a wide range of perspectives, including deviant views. The goals, content, and function of the research, as well as the affiliation of the university were clearly

²⁰³ Meuser, M. and Nagel, U. (2002). 'Expertinnen Interview – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion' in A. Bogner, B. Littig and W. Menz (eds), *Das Experteninterview*. Qpladen: Leske & Budrich. P. 77.

²⁰⁴ Davis, A. Wagner, Jn R. (2003). *Who Knows? On the Importance of Identifying 'Experts' When Researching Local Ecological Knowledge*. *Human Ecology*, Vol. 31, No. 3 p. 471.

explained to the interviewee. Before the interview started, permission was always requested before recording the interview.

4.4.4 Criteria for Expert Interviews

The criteria for the expert interview partners were based on the following standards: they had a thorough understanding of the residential schools, and/or they were a scholar/leader/politician/professor in the field with a profound knowledge of Canadian history/Aboriginal studies. Most of the experts ended up being non-Native Canadians (mostly professors, politicians, and directors of institutions) with a relatively high position/status within Canadian society. It was important that the experts were Canadian and that they knew about the residential schools so they could share expertise from within their social and cultural context. Therefore, if the experts were not Canadian, they were not included. Likewise, if the experts had no expertise relating to Canadian history and/or Aboriginal studies, they were not included.

4.4.5 Data Collection

For data collection, there was an interview guideline composed of 8-12 questions which were informed by the research questions, but not the research questions (see appendix A in this dissertation). The questions were focused on the opinions, thoughts, and perspectives of the interview partners. The interview partners were asked to elaborate in detail. All interviews were recorded either in person with a handheld recording device or via Skype and synced with an MP3 device, after permission was granted by the interview partner. The documentation of the transcript and the interview protocol was then used for further analysis and interpretation.

4.4.6 Problem Centered Interviews

A Problem centered interview (PCI) has to do with the researcher's orientation to a relevant social phenomenon, in this case the history of the residential schools and its current social impact in Canada. This form of interview also attempts to reconstruct the perspective of the interviewee on a specified issue, therefore the interview guideline reflects this focus and its dimensions. The topic is usually introduced with an open question, then followed up with more focused questions which seek to deepen

the interviewers understanding. The interview guideline for problem centered interviews therefore needs to be flexible and open, with sensitivity and responsiveness to the interviewee's content and leading. As with the interview guideline for expert interviews, it is best to avoid questions that lead to a yes or no answer. Problem centered interviews tend to contain more of a standardized language, with less of a need for specificity, expertise and terminology that the expert interviews would require. The aim is to flesh out the interviewee's perspective so that the interviewer has a rich source of data to analyze at a later state. Problem centered interviews can overlap with elements of a narrative interview, and this can be encouraged by the interviewer. Elaboration on autobiographical details can aid in enriching the information provided by the interviewee. This was particularly true for this research, as the PCI interviewee was always a Native Canadian who had attended a residential school. They would therefore be sharing stories of their experience at the residential schools, while also discussing the ripple effect the experience had on themselves, their families, and their communities. Some literature recommended for this type of interview includes Witzels' (2000) *The Problem Centered Interview*²⁰⁵, Scheibelhofers' (2008) *Combining Narration-Based Interviews with Topical Interviews: Methodological Reflections on Research Practices*,²⁰⁶ and Flick, Kardorff, and Steinkes' (2004) *Companion to Qualitative Research*.²⁰⁷ Welman and Kruger (2001) observed that a researcher should be aware of the potential of being seen as an intruder, especially if there is a racial difference between the researcher and the researched.²⁰⁸ Welman and Kruger (2001) also state that it is important to maintain a strong cultural sensitivity through appropriate conduct and acknowledgement of valued members of the community.²⁰⁹ This insight was evidenced in one particular interview with an Elder in the community on Walpole Island, Ontario, Canada, conducted in August 2014. The research setting was located on a reservation and occurred at a community cultural celebration. The researcher (myself) was the only non-Native Canadian present. I was invited by a member of this particular Native community to attend the cultural celebration. However, several members of the community approached me and asked with hostility why I was present. I observed the strangeness of being an outsider within this community. Furthermore, as I was interviewing a respected Elder, I was required to give him a gift of tobacco. I became aware that I needed to exercise a great deal of respect to the individuals of the community and not be surprised when approached with hostility. I needed to politely ask questions to

²⁰⁵ Witzel, A. (2000). *The Problem Centered Interview*. Forum Qualitative Social Research. Vol. 1, No. 1-2000. P. 1-6.

²⁰⁶ Scheibelhofer, E. (2008). Combining Narration-Based Interviews with Topical Interviews: Methodological Reflections on Research Practices. *Int. J. Social Research Methodology* Vol. 11, No. 5.

²⁰⁷ Flick, von Kardorff, E. and Steinke, I. (eds). (2004). *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, London: SAGE.

²⁰⁸ Welman, C. Kruger, J. (2001). *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*. Oxford University Press. Page 64.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 65.

find out what is the appropriate customs of behavior. Through my acceptance of being seen as an intruder within the community, showing respect, being humble, and being careful to learn their traditions, I was better able to navigate the research setting and the researched.

4.4.7 Sampling for Problem Centered Interviews

As with the expert interviews, to enter the field it is necessary to find an insider who can act as a door opener who can provide access to networks and individuals (otherwise inaccessible to the researcher). The first problem centered interview was conducted in July 2014. The interviewee was a Native Canadian woman who had gone through a residential school in the 1950s. Contact was made to this woman through an expert interviewee (the director of the National Research Centre in Winnipeg, Canada), who had worked with this woman at a TRC event. Likewise with the expert interviews, this interview then led to the interview of another Native Canadian who attended a residential school, which then led to a series of interviews with different individuals, all originating through the first contact with the expert interviewees. As previously stated in this chapter, this technique is referred to by Davis and Wager (2003) as the 'snowball sampling technique'²¹⁰ and rang true in the process of obtaining PCI interviews from survivors of residential schools in Canada. The interviews were conducted in Canada from July -September 2014. As previously stated, in order to take up contact it was necessary to clearly explain the goals, content, and function of the research, as well as the affiliation of the university. It was also necessary to explain why the interview is recorded and that only after permission is obtained does an interview take place.

4.4.8 Criteria for Problem Centered Interviews

The criteria for the problem centered interview partners in this dissertation project was the following: they had to be Native Canadian, with direct involvement and experience. This meant they must be a former student of the residential school system. If they were not Native Canadian and had not attended a residential school, they were not included. On occasion, several qualifying individuals initially agreed to doing an interview only to later back out, explaining that it 'was too painful to recall the memory.' This was respected by researcher. All concerns of the potential interview partners were addressed and

²¹⁰ Davis, A., Wagner, J R. (2003). *Who Knows? On the Importance of Identifying 'Experts' When Researching Local Ecological Knowledge.* *Human Ecology*, Vol. 31, No. 3 p. 471.

complied with before, throughout, and after the research process. There has been regular and ongoing contact with most of the Native PCI interview partners.

4.4.9 Data Collection

For data collection, there was an interview guideline composed of 8-12 questions. The guideline was informed by the research questions, but they were not the research questions themselves. They were focused on the opinions, thoughts, and perspectives of the interview partners and asked to elaborate in detail. All interviews were recorded either in person with a handheld recording device or via Skype and synced with an MP3 device, when permission was granted by the interview partner. The documentation of the transcript and the interview protocol was then used for further analysis and interpretation. Most of the time, due to the nature of the subject and participants, the interview guideline was only required for the first 15 minutes of the interview to establish purpose and intent. Afterwards the interviewees tended to elaborate in detail on their experience at the residential schools with little to no prompting from the interviewer. Furthermore, most of the interviews were conducted on the sites of former residential schools, or on Native reservations. This proved to be helpful for the interviewees in recalling memories. For example, the first PCI interview was conducted at the Mohawk Residential School in Brantford, Ontario. It made the history come alive and it included a tour of the school. Being present at the site of the school strengthened the memory of the interviewee, articulating it in rich detail for the interviewer. For example, the interviewee would say, 'this room was the nursery, it was here that I...' where the interviewee described a scene of abuse that occurred in that particular room. The interviewee showed me the wall where former students had carved their names. The room that the interview took place in was the former office of the principal, who was the perpetrator of the claims of abuse made at the school. It was also noteworthy that the interviewee came up with the idea to hold the interview at the site of the residential school, as the interviewee stated it made her feel that 'she had power over it now, instead of it having power over her.' Therefore the research setting was an especially powerful and vivid environment, even becoming a source of empowerment through occupying the space. At other times, it proved to be an obstacle. For example, one PCI was conducted on the site of a Native reservation, where a cultural festival was under way. The location of the interview was requested by the interviewee, but it proved difficult in securing a quiet place that would enable proper recording of the interview without interruption. Furthermore, it was often the case that those Native Canadians I contacted seemed to have less access to computers, and if they did, it was no

guarantee that they had skype. Therefore it was necessary to do in person interviews as often as possible, which in the end made the experience, obstacles and all, an educational and fascinating experience.

4.4.10 Reflection of Methods: Expert and Problem Centered Interviews

There were several wrong assumptions that were made by the researcher (myself) throughout the research process. The first was to underestimate the full disclosure and clear request for consent at the beginning of the interview. The mistake was made only with the first interview with the expert, who stated she preferred to give permission before the interview starts via email rather than at the very beginning of an interview. Another mistake made was with Native Canadian cultural subtleties. For example, when one conducts interviews with Native Canadians, it is strongly recommended to bring a gift of tobacco which was a symbol of respect within their culture. Furthermore, when doing PCI interviews and especially when the topic deals with the trauma involved in an individuals' past, the emotional impact should not be underestimated. Dickson, Swift, James, Kippen and Liamputtong, (2007) ²¹¹ explore how interview partners can approach this issue of sensitively and carefully discuss (or not discuss) trauma in interviews. They recommend that interview partners educate themselves how to respectively conduct interviews while dealing with sensitive issues, for the benefit of both the interview partner and interviewer. They encourage the researcher to take the time to follow up and check in with the interview partner several times after the interview has been conducted. They also recommend a confidential debriefing session with the interviewer with a trusted mentor or supervisor to discuss the emotional impact of speaking to victims of trauma. This was done in the case of PCI interviews with Native Canadians, as many of them willingly shared painful and shocking details of abuse that was done to them as children. It was very important to follow up with the interviewees after the interview, expressing concern for their wellbeing, maintaining trust, and thanking them for sharing their story. It was also important to disclose emotional impact of hearing such trauma with a confidential mentor; in this case it was a trusted mentor who was under legal obligation for confidentiality.

²¹¹ Dickswift, V, J, E, Kippen, S, Liamputtong, P. (2007). *Doing sensitive research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?* Sage Publications Qualitative Research 2007: vol 7: 327.

4.5 Position of the Researcher to the Research

This section of the chapter focuses on the position of the researcher to the research, highlighting the use of the reflexive 'I' pronoun to describe the subjective experience. Research represents a shared space between the researcher and the participants, and therefore both have the potential to shape the research process (England, 1994).²¹² This includes the biases of both researcher and participants, in spite of the fact that researchers seek to be as objective as possible. It is impossible to be totally objective, particularly in qualitative research. As Maykut & Morehouse (1994) indicate: 'The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand.'²¹³ Therefore though the acknowledgement of our own biases, we can better understand how we approach the research and participants. This is a reflexive self-analysis, better described as a 'self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and the 'other' (Chiseri-Strater, 1996).²¹⁴ Furthermore, it is important for qualitative researchers to situate themselves in the research (Ely, Anul, Friedman, Garner & Steinmetz 1991).²¹⁵ This can result in the researcher having an insider (belonging to the research group studied) or outsider (not belonging to the research group studied) perspective. Gould (2009) points out that a theme throughout human history is our powerful and persistent tendency to frame complex issues between two opposing sides.²¹⁶ Corbin-Dwyer & Buckle (2009) argue that 'surely the time has come to abandon these constructed dichotomies and embrace and explore the complexity and richness of the space between entrenched perspectives. As qualitative researchers we are uniquely equipped for the challenge.'²¹⁷ Therefore, in this spirit, it aided the research to embrace both of these 'entrenched perspectives' of insider and outsider and consciously use advantages of both in the research. This dichotomy is examined in the following questions regarding positionality:

1. How does my position as a non-Native Canadian conducting research through an Austrian university impact the participants?

²¹² England, K.V.L (1994). Getting person: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer. The Professional Researcher.* 46(1). P.82.

²¹³ Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative researchers: A philosophical and practical guide*. Washington, DC: Falmer. P. 123

²¹⁴ Chiser-Strater, E. (1996). Turning in upon ourselves: Positionality, subjectivity, and reflexivity in case study and ethnographic researcher. In P. Mortenson & G.E. Kirsch (Eds.), *Ethics and responsibility in qualitative studies of literary*. Urbana, IL. NCTE. p. 114-133

*Referring to theory of collective memory by Maurice Halbwachs (1952) and to be expanded upon in the Theory chapter of the dissertation.

²¹⁵ Ely, M., Anzul, M., Friedman, T., Garner, D., & Steinmetz, A. M. (1991). *Doing qualitative research: Circles within circles*. Philadelphia: Falmer.

²¹⁶ Gould, S. J. 2003. The hedgehog, the fox, and the magister's pox: Mending the gap between science and the humanities. New York: Three Rivers

²¹⁷ Corbin-Dwyer, S. Buckle, J. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Researcher. *International Journal of Qualitative Research Methods.* (8)1. p. 2

2. How did I address this position in different research settings?
3. Did my position influence the interactions I had with either Native or non-Native Canadian participants?

For the first question, I initially considered my position as a non-Native Canadian doing research at an Austrian university as one of limitation. I was not afforded the same advantages as a student studying at a Canadian university, such as the ease of access to the institutions faculty and knowledge in this area, or the geographical proximity to the research (the latter overcome by doing fieldwork in the regions concerned). This was an academic element of outsider. Additionally, I was not a Native Canadian, nor did I have access into any Native community. This was a cultural element of outsider. However, as a Canadian I had easy access, language skills, and mobility within Canada and could use this to find individuals to help me attain access into the Canadian academic community and the Native Canadian community. I had personal motivation to learn about a chapter of history in my own country that I was never taught in my Canadian public schooling education (in neither elementary nor high school). It is still not taught in the provincial curriculum of Ontario at the time of this dissertation). I possessed insider perspective of being a citizen. Through feedback with peers and professors at the University of Vienna and several contacts at the University of Western and Queens University in Canada, I realized my initial limitation could afford a new possibility. The new possibility, as Corbin-Dywer & Buckle (2009) suggest, was to embrace both outsider/insider perspectives. I was a Canadian, but outside of the cultural context of Canada. I could assume a cultural distance from the subject and therefore a different perspective on it, a perspective that was aided by German theories of collective memory. It was through presenting the material to Austrian peers that allowed me a different understanding on it altogether, one that motivated me to examine this chapter of Canadian history through a different lens. The second question examines how I dealt with this position in different research settings. For example, when I was looking for participants for the PCI interviews, I was distinctly aware of my non-Native status. Often I would be asked by Native Canadians why I was interested in this topic, many seemed to be distrustful of my motives. One participant initially asked me if I was 'from the government' and had a preliminary hostility towards me. This was eventually overcome through multiple phone calls, emails, and in person conversations made before the interview was conducted. I realized that due to the nature of the research, there could be suspicion on the part of the Native Canadian when discussing this topic, due to the fact that many Native Canadians I spoke with referred to 'the government' as an all-encompassing enemy and perpetrator. Furthermore, the topic is a highly sensitive and emotional one, which would require a participant to share thoughts, feelings, and experiences on a painful topic. I found that through

full disclosure of the research aim, motivation, and patience in obtaining interviews, I was eventually able to overcome suspicion and distrust. Once trust was established, the interview could be conducted and it was observed that the participants usually expressed gratitude that I would take the time to listen. Some had stated it was meaningful for them that a 'white person would listen to them,' or it was healing for them to share their thoughts and feelings on the subject. On the other hand, some who had initially promised an interview later contacted me and stated that it was 'too painful' and that 'they couldn't go through with it.' When dealing with all potential interview partners, it was always established that the wishes and needs of them would be fully respected and complied with. When interviews were conducted with the experts, none of them appeared to be affected by my non-Native Canadian role in relation to the research, indeed, many of the experts were non-Native Canadians themselves. In conclusion, I found that my position as a non-Native Canadian conducting research through an Austrian university afforded an advantage of outsider/insider to the research and therefore allowed me, as a Canadian, easy access into networks and institutions but the ability to distance myself from the cultural context of the subject. This impacted my participants because I was able to show how this history does not seem to be present in the minds of mainstream non-Native Canadians. I also suggested that a more accurate knowledge of the history on the part of the non-Native Canadian might be useful in fostering better understanding between Native and non-Native Canadians. Through reflecting on my positionality to the research, I realized that it is important to acknowledge this positionality. In entering the field to collect data, it was important for me to be transparent and explain my purpose and motivation specifically to Native Canadians in order to facilitate trust. While I did this for both groups, it proved to be more significant for the Native Canadians, and was sometimes the determining factor of whether or not I could obtain an interview. Addressing positionality, stating the purpose and motivations allowed for openness and trust to be built between myself and the participants. This new experience in the research has taught me to ensure that communication of intent and positionality to the participants is the standard.

4.6. Methods of Data Analysis

There are many different forms of data analysis. The following will briefly discuss several types of data analysis (in no intended order, outlining several, but by no means exhaustive), and then go into greater detail about the type of data analysis chosen (as well as why it was chosen) to analyze the transcripts of the expert and problem centered interviews. The first type of data analysis discussed is *typology*. *Typology* is a classification system, taken from patterns, themes, or other kinds of groups of data, and introduced by John Lofland & Lyn Lofland (1995).²¹⁸ This classification system allows categories to be mutually exclusive and comprehensive. It is an exhaustive list of categories. The second is *Taxonomy*, introduced by James Spradley, (1980)²¹⁹ which is a sophisticated typology with multiple levels of concepts. Higher levels also include lower levels. It is a method of analysing which superordinates and subordinates categories. Another widely used research perspective is Grounded Theory. Grounded theory was developed in by two sociologists: Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, (1967).²²⁰ Grounded theory involves the process of looking at the document and examining for indicators of categories in the events and behaviour, to identify them and code them on the document. One then compares these codes to find consistencies and differences. The consistencies between codes (or meanings which point towards an idea) reveals categories. After a continual process of these steps, there is a saturation of categories until no new codes related to it are formed. Another form of data analysis is *Analytic Induction* from Znaniecki, Becker, and Katz (1993).²²¹ This form looks at the event and develops a hypothetical statement of what has happened, this is then examined with another similar event to see if it reflects the hypothesis. If it does not fit the hypothesis, then the hypothesis can be revised. Another form is *Content Analysis*, introduced by R.P Weber (1985).²²² This process examines documents, texts, or speech to see what themes develop and emerge. It examines what people are emphasizing in their discussion and what themes are raised and what themes relate to each other. Content Analysis looks for latent themes, either implicit or on the surfaces. It is also driven by theory, determining what it is one is looking for in the data. There is a defined criterion established before the data is examined. A final form cited for this section is *Narrative Analysis* from Catherine Reisman (1993).²²³ This method sees narrative story as what a person shares about ones' self. The narrator chooses specific narratives from their life and communicates it, and these choices frame how the narrator is perceived. Narrative

²¹⁸ Lofland & Lofland, J & L. (1995). *Analyzing social settings*, 3rd ed. Belmont. Cal: Wadsworth.

²¹⁹ Spadley, J. (1980). *Participant Observation*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace.

²²⁰ Strauss, A & Glaser, B. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

²²¹ Katz, J. (1983). A theory of qualitative methodology. In R. M. Emerson (Eds. *Contemporary Field Research*. Prospect Heights: Waveland.

²²² Weber, R.P. (1985). *Basic Content Analysis*. Sage Publications.

²²³ Reisman, C. (1993). *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

analysis closely examines the core plot and context in the individuals' narrative; this form of data analysis can also explore novels, folklore, or diaries. The latter methods of data analysis are only a small sample of many different means available. There is growing scholastic body of work in different methods of data analysis. The type of data analysis chosen for this project is thematic analysis. This approach is based on content analysis (Weber, 1985); it's a process that followed a set of rules that align with a systematic process of analysis. This process aims to produce specific contextual themes and focuses on the main content of the data. In applying this approach to data analysis, the analysis focused on the interview transcripts and summarized themes from codes produced from the data. In staying as close to the text and content as possible, the results are substantiated by the interview partner's words and when possible related to the issues discussed in the literature review. Coding is the main process for developing the themes within the raw data by identifying significant themes in the data and encoding it before one conducts an interpretation. Thematic analysis also borrows from the concept of supporting assertions with data from grounded theory. This means it finds theories which have emerged from the data itself. The process of thematic analysis is made up of reading transcripts, seeing possible themes, comparing and contrasting these themes, and then building a theoretical model. Bannister, et al (1994) describe thematic analysis as a 'coherent way of organizing or reading interview material in relation to specific research questions...under thematic headings in ways that attempt to do justice both to elements of the research question and to the pre-occupations of the interviewees.'²²⁴ The researcher can look for codes in the transcript which relate to the research question(s), which can then be broken down into phrases or sentences that can describe the research question and its themes. The words, phrases, and/or statements that relate to these themes are then rearranged into categories and reconstructed within the scope of the study. A theme can be defined as a dominant meaning which permeates a text. A theme can allow insight into the social phenomenon and can access a dimension of the described lived experience. A theme can be seen as an instrument of interpretation, giving shape to story through identification and categorization of thematic units. Through continually doing feedback loops from the data to the research questions, the data can be arranged to tell the participants story as directed by the research questions. The first steps are to identify themes in the data as it relates to the research question, then further thematic categories emerge from the data and facilitated a reformulation of the research questions to include deeper dimensions of the experience of the interview partner. A means of achieving rigor is to create as many categories as possible and to describe the themes and their interpretation to ensure reliability. This is enhanced by communicative peer feedback,

²²⁴ Bannister, P., Bruman, E., Parker L., Taylor, M., & Tindall, C. (eds). (1994). *Qualitative Methods in Psychology: A Research Guide*. Buckingham: Open University. p. 57.

with more than one person looking at the data and interpretation of themes. In thematic categorization, the researcher can aim to identify both contrasts and similarities between interviewees' accounts about clearly defined topics, such as shared experience of abuse at the residential schools, perceptions of the government's response to the reports of abuse, and quality of life between Native and non-Native Canadians. Included in the aim to identify these themes in the accounts of the interviewees is to understand how social interaction impacts these perceptions. A detailed step by step description of thematic analysis is from Greg Guest (2012).²²⁵ He explains thematic analysis as locating, examining, and recording patterns or themes within data. The themes are patterns across data sets that are important to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to a specific research question. The themes then become the categories to analyze. There are different ways to identify themes: semantic and latent. Semantic themes aim to identify a surface level and explicit meaning of the data, and not read into the data or interpret from the data. Alternatively latent themes look for deeper underlying patterns, ideas, and assumptions. This requires open and inductive coding. Inductive coding relies on inductive reasoning, whereby themes emerge from the raw data through repeated comparison and examination.*²²⁶ The analysis occurs through six phases of coding that look for meaningful pattern within the data. These six phases are the following: familiarization with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final results. The first step is for the research to become familiar with the data, which means going through all the transcripts and making the first preliminary impressions. This process is done slowly and carefully. The second step is then a process of labeling the relevant sections (opinions, actions, processes, concepts, etc.) which the researcher deems relevant in light of the theory and research questions of the study. The third step is creation of categories through linking relating codes together. New codes can be created by combining two or more of these codes. The categories can then be grouped in a way the researcher deems relevant to the rest of the study with detailed explanation as to why the categories are grouped together. The fourth step requires a description of the connection between the categories. For the fifth step, the research can decide if a hierarchy exists among the categories, and then after establishing a hierarchy, can summarize the results in a figure. The last step requires the researcher to describe the categories and how they are connected in a neutral tone. After

²²⁵ Guest, G. (2012). *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Sage Publications, Inc.

²²⁶ *This is in contrast to deductive reasoning which goes from the general to specific, sometimes called a 'top down' approach. It imposes theory and hypothesis onto data, and then seeks to confirm the theory and hypothesis. Conversely, inductive reasoning is the opposite approach. It goes from specific observations to themes and theories. This is sometimes called a 'bottom up' reading of the text. Inductive reasoning seeks to observe, detect patterns, and based on these observation find themes and theories.

the results are described, interpretations can be made from the results. These interpretations of the results are understood in light of the results from other theories and concepts relevant to the research. The researcher is a sort of co-narrator of the interviews, attempting to reconstruct perspectives of the interview partners through the thematic discussion of the research questions and concepts. An example of initial thematic analysis is shown in appendix H of this dissertation, with the aforementioned initial thematic analysis steps applied.

4.8 Rigor and Trustworthiness

Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggest that the trustworthiness of a research study is crucial for evaluating its worth. Trustworthiness involves establishing the following: credibility, which is the confidence of the 'truth' of the findings. This can be achieved through different techniques, such as prolonged engagement, persistent observation, peer debriefing, and negative case analysis. Transferability, which shows that the findings can be applied in other contexts, can be achieved through thick description. Dependability, which shows how the findings are consistent and can be repeated, achieved through an inquiry audit. Finally it involves confirmability, which is the extent to which the findings of a study are influenced by the respondent and not the bias, interest, or motivation of the researcher, and can be confirmed through triangulation or reflexivity.²²⁷ Padgett (1998) also cites Lincoln & Guba in using six techniques to enhance the rigor of the study: prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer debriefing and support, member checking, negative case analysis and auditing.²²⁸ Some of the techniques mentioned were also used in this thesis to ensure acceptable standards of scientific inquiry. They were the following: prolonged engagement, peer debriefing and support, negative case analysis and thick description. They are explained and given examples in the research in the next sections.

4.8.1 Prolonged Engagement

This strategy requires the researcher to spend sufficient time in the field to learn or understand the social phenomenon. It requires spending enough time in observation of a setting, speaking with a variety of people relative to the phenomenon and developing relationships with such people. The researcher should become familiar with the participants and situation so that the context is understood

²²⁷ Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

²²⁸ Padgett, D. K. (1998). *Qualitative methods in social work researcher: Challenges and rewards*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

and trust is built. This technique was fostered with the participants, particularly with the Native Canadians, through a lengthy process of contact. While initial contact was first established in July 2014 and interviews were conducted, there remained connections throughout the year through follow up emails, telephone calls and informal skype meetings. Information was exchanged with the Native Canadian participants and as well interviews were conducted one year after the original interview.

4.8.2 Peer Debriefing and Support

This strategy makes us of a disinterested peer to provide feedback on the data. As Lincoln & Guba infer 'It is a process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytical sessions and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind.'²²⁹ Through using a disinterested peer, the researcher can use their analytical proving to help uncover biases and faulty assumptions on the researcher's part, becoming more aware of their own position toward the data and analysis. It should also provide helpful critique and feedback. This technique was utilized through a fellow peer doctoral candidate who also used qualitative methodology in his research, though his research subject was a completely different field. His feedback generated questions that were previously not thought of by the researcher, and aided in identifying some faulty assumptions in the data that the researcher did not originally find. Furthermore, the doctoral method seminar at the University of Vienna afforded the opportunity of a professor and ten other doctoral candidate peers to go line by line through an expert interview. This provided a varied and valuable feedback session where the researcher (myself) could implement suggestions given from peer and professor. It helped to sharpen and deepen the scope of the thematic analysis used on the data.

4.8.3 Negative Case Analysis

This requires searching for parts of the data that appear to contradict patterns or themes that emerge from the data analysis. It is a process of refining the analysis until it appears to explain a majority of cases, it can serve to sharpen, deepen and confirm the patterns and themes emerging from the data analysis. In grounded theory this process is called 'constant comparison procedures'²³⁰ (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This requires the researcher to intentionally seek out data that is different from the

²²⁹ Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. P. 308.

²³⁰ Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter. P. 28-52.

researcher's expectations, assumptions or theories. The findings are strengthened by intentionally seeking out data to go against the researcher's expectation and assumptions. This process was done in concert with the peer debriefing, as several peers were able to point out contradictions in the data. An example of this was when one student asked if any Native Canadians had reported a positive experience with the residential schools, a fact that would be out of alignment with my general presentation of the history of the residential schools as seeming to have a negative impact. It turned out that indeed one interviewee had reported that in her role as a social worker to former residential school students, she had encountered individuals who claimed to have suffered no abuse and even considered the schools a positive experience. It was helpful to identify this fact and include it in the data, that though many of the residential school former students claim to have suffered abuse, not all make these claims and some even report the benefit of the schools. Furthermore, it was also important in the selection of the expert interviewees to include interviewees who had a more positive view of the schools, as well as those who labeled the system as 'a form of genocide.' This provided a full range of perspective and therefore enriched the data source.

4.8.4 Thick Description

Thick description is an anthropological term first coined by Clifford Geertz in his 1973 work 'The Interpretation of Cultures.'²³¹ He used this term to describe his method of ethnography. It is a description of human behavior that describes both the behavior and the context in such a way that would be meaningful to an outsider. The researcher has to interpret signs to distill their meaning embedded in the culture itself. Thick description of such a sign sees all possible meaning. Geertz uses the example of a 'wink of any eye.' When a man winks, is he only 'rapidly contracting his right eyelid' or is he 'practicing a burlesque of a friend faking a wink to deceive an innocent into thinking conspiracy is in motion'²³² Therefore in this case one can apply a thick description to interviews, by accurately describing and interpreting social actions within the context in which the social action took place. It captures the thoughts, emotions, and intricacies of social interaction within the interview. Through describing the behavior and context as intricately as possible, one can promote a thick interpretation of the actions which can lead to thick meaning. Ponterotto (2006) uses the metaphor of a tree to explain the interconnection of these concepts. The thick description is the roots which support the thick

²³¹ Geertz, C. (1973). Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture' In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books. P. 3.30.

²³² Ibid.

interpretation which supports the trunk, which then feeds the branches and leaves which signify thick meaning. These branches and leaves, according to Ponterotto, are what capture the attention of the reader of the study.²³³ This technique was applied in the data analysis by describing in detail the themes and patterns that came out of the data, and how it could apply to the context of the participants in their successive communities (this is further detailed in the 'results' chapter). Ideally, through utilizing and applying these techniques to the data collection and analysis, one can attempt to ensure acceptable standards of scientific inquiry.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

This section of the methodology briefly mentions three major principles associated with ethical conduct in scientific research in application to the research project: the Do Not Harm principle, (a cornerstone of ethical conduct), Confidentiality, and Informed Consent. Normally this principle is applied to studies involving drugs or mistreatment during experiments. It is important to acknowledge any possible adverse effects of the research. On this principle, on reflection of the research project it was discussed among peers if the recalling of traumatic memories would have a harmful effect on the interviewees. To address this issue there was a lengthy process in obtaining interviews with Native Canadians which included a full disclosure agreement. The full disclosure agreement described the research aim, purpose, and research questions. It was also assured that the participant need only share the information they felt comfortable sharing. The full disclosure agreement assured confidentiality of the interview, as well as anonymity and privacy. The names, occupations, and interview details of the participants were only disclosed when they gave their express permission to do so. The interview was only conducted and recorded after explicit permission from the interviewee was given.

²³³ Ponterotto. J. (2006). Brief Note on the Origins, Evolution, and Meaning of the Qualitative Research Concept 'Thick Description'. *The Qualitative Report*. Vol 11, 3. September 2006. P. 543.

5. Research Findings

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the research study is to examine the social phenomenon of the residential schools through the perspective of a maximum variety of relevant interview partners. The reconstruction of perspectives on this subject provides a broader understanding of the history and those affected by it. Through this, one can see how individuals today remember the phenomenon, and to what extent their social environment has impacted this framing of memory. As well, what faulty assumptions could be found in such framing? During the in depth interviews, study participants described their perceptions, experience, and knowledge about the residential schools. These perspectives are reconstructed in this chapter to illustrate the emergent themes and their connection to one another. The following research questions informed this study:

1. The first question explores the specific and detailed history of the system, namely, what were the specific events in the 129 year history of the Indian Residential Schools that can be perceived to have caused lasting harm to Aboriginal Canadians?
2. The second question investigates what evidence, if any, testifies to the assumption that this history has a causal relationship between the history of the NRS and a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians?
3. The third question investigates what evidence, if any, reveals racist and discriminatory attitudes against Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians today?
4. The fourth question looks at how the Canadian Government has responded to the mass reporting of abuse after the last school closed in 1996 and how Native and non-Native groups view the response of the Government.
5. The fifth question investigates what steps have already been taken in the education and awareness of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians.

The reader should be cautioned that abuse is sometimes described in detail. The findings from participant interviews are presented as they related to the research questions. The first section of this chapter shows the descriptive analysis of the demographics, (sample size, range of participants, Native or Non-Native status, interview type). The second section briefly explains the data collection and analysis. The third section describes the findings.

5.2 Background

5.2.1 Demographic Analysis

The study is comprised of 15 interviews that began in July of 2014 and most of which concluded in October of 2014. All of the participants were Canadian. There were 6 PCI Interviews (all Native) and 9 Expert Interviews (4 of whom were Native, 5 of whom were non-Native). There were 6 PCI interviews, all of whom were Native Canadian and had attended residential schools. The participants ranged in age from 28 to 80. On average, the experts had 15 years of experience in the chosen fields, related to the criteria of the sampling (professor/scholar/politician specializing in with Canadian studies/Aboriginal studies). On average, the Native Canadians spent 7 years in residential schools. Figure 1 illustrates the description of the participants' characteristics.

Figure 1: Demographic Analysis of Participants

#	Length	Pseudo	Profession	NRS	Status	Type
1	2 hrs	JQ	Professor	No	Non	Expert
2	2 hrs	CL	Professor	No	Non	Expert
3	1.5 hrs	JD	Director	No	Native	Expert
4	1.5 hrs	TF	Politician/Prof	No	Non	Expert
5	1 hr	RN	Professor	No	Non	Expert
6	1 hr	JH	Director	No	Non	Expert
7	1 hr	JL	Council	No	Native	Expert
8	1.5 hrs	RM	Director	No	Native	Expert
9	1 hr	EM	Council	No	Native	Expert
10	2 hrs	VT	Support Worker	Yes	Native	PCI
11	1.5 hrs	RH	Nurse	Yes	Native	PCI
12	1 hr	LB	Retired	Yes	Native	PCI
13	3 hrs	EI	Elder	Yes	Native	PCI
14	1 hr	DN	Artist	Yes	Native	PCI
15	1 hr	SB	Teacher	Yes	Native	PCI

5.2.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, which was described in the methods chapter of this dissertation, was used to analyse the data. This method is used to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within the data. It organises and describes the data in rich detail. An advantage is this form of analysis is not linear, it is a recursive process of feedback loops done through a series of six phases. The data analysis began after the interview data was transcribed from Skype recordings (used with a software recording device in conjunction with the Skype app) and a handheld recording device. The data was reduced after reading through each transcript several times. After the transcripts were read through, preliminary analysis was conducted. After the preliminary analysis was conducted with the initial themes emerging, an open, inductive, bottom up coding process was implemented. Atlas.ti software was used in the coding process to deal with the high volume of data collected and to better organise the codes into categories and themes.

5.2.3 Organisation of Findings

The following pages present the perceptions and experiences described by the participants. The findings are presented in five successive sections, where the five research questions are each addressed and their emergent themes illustrated. This is done so as to provide a clear and logical order for the reader. The quotes from these participants are written in the everyday vernacular as they were conducted through an open and conversational manner. This manner of presentation allows the reader to reflect on the thought processes of the responses of the participants, seeing the phenomenon through their eyes. There is some overlap among the themes. Many responses from the interview partners often dealt with more than one theme. In such cases, the interview data is described where it appears to fit in most logically.

5.2.3 Operational Definitions

The five graphs presented in each successive section are colour coded according to interview type. Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI). Blue is Expert Interview (EXP). TRC refers to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The Apology refers to the 2008 National Apology given from

Conservative Party Leader and former Prime Minister Stephen Harper. IAP refers to the Independent Assessment Process (see full list of Abbreviations on page 1).

5.3 Presentation of Findings

5.3.1 Research Question 1: Perceptions of Harm

The first research question explores the history of the system, namely, what were the specific events in the 129 year history of the Indian Residential Schools that can be perceived to have caused lasting damage to Aboriginal Canadians? While this was addressed empirically in the literature review, the interviewees described their perception of the events which caused harm. Figure 2 in this section illustrates the themes and their connections to the first research question. The emergent theme for PCI interviews was harm. The subthemes of PCI perception of harm revealed the specific details of abuse occurring at the schools: cutting family ties, cultural shame, identity loss, loss of language, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. These subthemes provide the answer to the research question one, ie: what were the specific dimensions of harm perceived to have caused lasting damage. Furthermore, other emergent subthemes of Harm for PCI found were: government and church is guilty, government is hiding, guilt and shame, and staying silent. The emergent theme for EXP interviews was direct harm (linked with healing) and rationalised harm (linked with justifications for schools, minimizing impacts and doubting abuse claims). It was apparent after the interview process with both PCI and EXPs that the theme of Harm was the most dominant theme across the findings; therefore this section is the longest. For research question one, all the above mentioned themes and their linkages are illustrated in Figure 2. *Please note that while all the quotations are chosen for their relevance, the sections marked in **bold font** are of particular importance to the other because of their themes connected to the research questions.*

In the PCI interviews, harm was expressed through the following subthemes:

- A. Cutting Family Ties
- B. Cultural Shame
- C. Identity Loss
- D. Loss of Language
- E. Child Labour
- F. Physical Abuse
- G. Sexual Abuse

The PCI groups explained these subthemes of harm that occurred in three different schools across Canada (St. Anne's in Fort Albany Ontario, Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, and Brandon Hall in Fort Smith Alberta). In four different time periods: 1930s, 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The following quotations illustrate these subthemes with each interviewee. A space indicates a separate quotation. At times the quotes are used several times where they share themes in several categories. The grammar and spelling of the interview text was kept the same way the interviewees spoke in order to maintain authenticity and accuracy of their answers. Additionally, the terms reserves and reservations are both used, referring to the same thing, where Native Canadians live on designated treaty land.

Subtheme of Harm

A. Cutting Family Ties:

VT: We were told to go this way and the other one that way. My recollection was that I had long hair, and I had my teddy bear, and **we were told to take off our clothes, and they cut our hair and put delousing powder on us and it was burning my eyes and stung like crazy. My teddy bear was ripped out of my arms and say you won't be using this again.** My sister was with me during this process, we were there in 1975, I was four going on five. **So I was put in a small young girl's dormitory and my sister was in the older section so we were separated.**

SB: So, we were allowed monthly visits with siblings **but we weren't allowed to have any communication or any affection.** Nobody showed us affection there. So there were a lot of lonely times. **I remember being lonely all the time.** Even though when I grew up, I will sit in a crowd of 100 people, I always felt loneliness and sadness in me. I know that was grief and abandonment issues. But I felt loneliness since, that feeling is just so...and the fear, you know?

DN: I remember, we knew each other's names, but we weren't allowed to talk to each other. **We weren't allowed to talk to each other, or our siblings, we were forbidden to communicate.** There was no affection displayed, nothing.

RH: Me and my sister, Dawn, we were in different groups. The girl that was looking after me, she remembered me and remembered a lot about me when I was little, when I first came in. She said you cried a lot. I did cry a lot. I cried and cried and cried. She said I remember **when they cut off all your beautiful hair, which they did, that was part of the routine. They deloused us all. We were sick when we came in. They cut our hair into a bowl shaped hair, and shaved the boys hair.**

EI: **I was picked up right off the road coming away from school.** Grandfather was with the constable. I guess an Indian agent had a list of children that were supposed to be picked up, sent away to school. They had different schools all through Ontario. I was picked up to go to the Mohawk Institute in Brantford,

Ontario. My Grandfathers name was Thomas Isaac. His Indian name Wapskankut, meaning white hawk. It took us 8 or 9 hours to get there. I just turned five because my birthday was in January 31st. When I got there they registered me. Grandpa took me in and that was it. That was the last time as a child I spoke Chippawa with my grandpa, he said goodbye to me in our language, and then, that was it, he was gone.

El: I have a friend from Manitoulin Island, and he had experienced the same thing. I guess he was playing near the road with his other siblings. **The Indian Agents would have a stick, and if you were above the height of that stick they would scoop you up and take you to the school.** The girls had a lady matron that took the girls and put them in the car. He lost five siblings like that, that is the way they did it over there at Manitoulin Island. Some of the families were so poor they couldn't afford to bring them back home, and a lot of the kids lost their parents while they were in school. They would have no one to come home to.

B) Cultural shame:

VT: It was not only verbal abuse, but it was another way when I started school, **or I was called a stupid little Indian, stupid little savage, you are dumb, you will never amount to anything,** you know? I was always scared to answer a question or participate and I didn't what to do. Because when you hear that every day for years, you start to believe it, especially when you are 4,5,6,7, because what you give to a child when they bring that with them, especially when they are that young.

C) Identity Loss:

VT: From there on I learned to listen. It didn't matter whether you were obedient, you would get hit no matter what. Depending on what mood she was in. I guess that is why I learned to observe people, from that. I remember other girls but I don't recall their names. **My name at residential school was number one, because I was the youngest. One. That was what my uniform said, the very few belongings that we had. After that another little girl came in I was bumped up to 2, so I don't like that number, number 1. We all looked alike, the uniforms, the hairstyles, and I think when I look back at it, the reason why they did that because it took away the identity. You know, make you look alike, like cloning I would say. And then, the numbers would take away individual identity.**

D) Loss of Language

DN: They took me down to the playroom. At that time too I didn't know any English. I had to learn English right from the start. **Nobody would talk to me, nobody could understand me.** There were a lot of different children from different reserves too. **I must have cried for about three months straight, I just sat up in a corner and just cried. It took a while to just learn the English language.**

AK: Did you go home in the summers?

LB: Yeah, we came home in the summer time, but what happened when we got home was that our parents said, what happened to you? **Because we had lost our language and we couldn't understand or speak Dogrib anymore. So it impacted our family life because we couldn't understand each other anymore.** So I was mad about it. I ran away from home when I was pretty young. **I didn't know where I belonged.**

E) Child Labour

EI: The girls made all the clothing. They made all the clothes. We never had any socks or underwear to wear underneath the clothes. We had some shoes for work and wear them until they were worn out. We wore a shirt, coveralls and shoes. **We were freezing in the winter. They made us go out and shovel snow but we didn't even have shovels, just these little spades.** I remember one time, there were about 7 or 8 of us, we had to shovel the driveway out front. **It was below zero and the snow was flying. There were huge snowdrifts and we were so cold. Some of the kids had bleeding hands. We were out there shovelling snow with no gloves.**

EI: There was always a boss, you had to keep working. You can't just lean or relax. **You always had to work. Every day for four hours nonstop work without a break. Sometimes five hours. You couldn't stand around. The boss would always be watching. For dinner we got a potato and a slice of bread or soup. That is all there was. For lunch and dinner.**

F) Physical Abuse:

SB: I could talk for ten years and still not cover all of the abuse, that's how bad it was. It was just like a little prison that is how I saw it. You had your routine, like an institutionalised upbringing. **I got slapped around a lot, slapped, beaten.**

VT: There was this one person did something (pause) **and we had to watch and she got us in a circle all around, and in the middle there was the nun, and the person that was getting beaten up. Hair pulled, beaten, everything, you name it. We had to stand there and watch that and do nothing.** We had to watch that. They said, this is what is going to happen to you guys if you do that or if you don't listen, so there was so much fear. When you are 4-5 years old and you see that, imagine all of us feeling that eh?

VT: **When there was contact, it was always with harsh ways, like slapping and yelling, getting beaten up.** There was so many things that I saw in that school it was just, there was just nothing good about it

AK: They would punish children for crying and being lonely at night?

VT: Yes, so I think that is where I learned not to cry. Because there was a couple times I got beaten up, I never cried.

AK: It would be a survival mechanism right?

VT: Yes, so it was something like that. **I was severely damaged in one ear, because I got slapped so hard across the ear, and now I am deaf in that ear. So that covered the physical and emotional abuse.** The mental abuse was what you hear, you see, and you can't share with anybody. It is kept to yourself, and what is planted in you, is always there.

VT: So words hurt, and they hurt deep. **So there was verbal abuse, everywhere all the time. We weren't allowed to show emotions, at all. I remember being in a dorm, earlier, where other little girls were sniffing and crying because everybody felt lonely and scared, and I felt lonely and scared too and heard them crying and I started crying. Then the nun comes and pulls the blankets off and slaps me and shouted at me to shut up and not to make any noise. So I learned to stop crying.**

AK: Was it limited to sexual abuse? Was there also physical abuse?

RH: **There was physical abuse, for sure. That was the name of the game around here. It was how they were controlling you.**

EI: There were some kids who tried running away from the school and five of them had died on the railroad or highway trying to get away. One of them that ran away and got ripped apart by getting run over by a train. **When they caught somebody trying to get away from the school, they would form a line. Everybody would have to spread their legs and the kid would have to crawl through the legs. As they passed through we had to smack them, hit them, the housemaster made sure that you hit them as hard as you could. So they had to crawl through 85 boys legs and get hit as hard as they could if you were caught running away. There were girls who tried running away too and there were 110, so they had an even longer line to crawl through and get hit.**

EI: It was Mr. S----. He was the principal. **Whenever you were sent to the principal to get strapped, you would get his strap. His strap had metal tacks on them, so they would rip the flesh when you got hit.** So everybody stayed away, they knew what kind of strap he had. I think one time one of the bigger guys hit him back and knocked him down the stairs! When that happened...they pulled him out of school...Chapleau...more like a detention centre. It was like a jail. Hardcore guys. The ones who were really bad. They got put into cages there until they settled down. That was also part of the scare...'I don't want to go to Chapleau'.

G) Sexual abuse:

AK: And do you know if other children experienced abuse at the school you attended?

LB: Yes, I am certain they did. **When I was 13 years old, I was sexually assaulted. Nobody knows about this, I forgave him. But the judgment day will come. A majority of the girls there had this happen to them, but they are scared to share their stories. It is very painful to share these stories. And a lot of the Aboriginal youth today are getting into heavy drugs because of this circle of abuse in the Yellowknife community.**

AK: What happened after your mom left, after visiting you at the school?

RH: The only thing I remember next was sitting on Reverend Zimmerman's (School Principal) lap. I was in his office. He started to put his hands in my underwear. I remember that. I didn't know what he was doing, I had no clue. **To me, it was just foreign as a six year old child, because you are an innocent child who doesn't understand, you have no clue. Then the next thing I knew he stood me up and shoved his penis in my mouth, and I was just so overwhelmed I cannot describe what that felt like. I was choking, I was gagging, I couldn't breathe. So I don't know. The next thing I remember I was wiping my mouth off, how I got back to the dorm I don't remember. I don't remember that at all. He knew how distraught I was after my mom left; he knew how vulnerable I was. He knows I had nowhere to go. My mother was in an institution, who was going to stick up for me? Who would tell?**

AK: Right, this is what, seven generations of a people who were affected?

VT: **Yes, so the impacts with the survivors, and this was the ripple effect what we brought back to our community and how we grew up because that fear, that shame, that guilt, that anger, the resentment. All kept inside of you.** And then you got the outside to deal with. Which brings triggers, smells, sounds, voices, characteristics, personalities, resemblances of somebody else you know? You go back into your shell again, that old me, where you put those walls up and that is how you protect yourself right? The nightmares, that is terrible. I was scared to sleep in the dark when I was living on my own, I always had to have a light on while I slept. **We were chosen when we were sleeping; someone would come in and take one of us.**

AK: Sorry to interrupt but you said, while you sleeping, someone would come in and take one of you?

VT: Yeah, from the girls, from the little girls. The junior dormitory.

AK: Why?

VT: **When the sexual abuse would happen, it was at night and somebody would take us away from the dorm and take us to a room and start the sexual abuse.**

AK: And they would just take girls at random?

VT: Yeah, I could hear footsteps, and I would hold my breath.

VT: **I was sexually abused there. Big time, for a long time. I was sexually abused by a priest there. And each time I was sexually abused by him it escalated to other acts, other harms, it escalated each time.** I shut that off for a long time. So that is what I was saying, when they showed you that film, especially when they used religion, this is Gods will. **And this priest used the rosaries in the abuse with me.**

The latter quotations illustrated the subthemes of the theme of harm from the perspectives of the PCI on the social phenomenon of the history of the Native residential schools, in different schools, in different provinces and territories in Canada, and in different decades. These previously mentioned subthemes were consistent through all PCI interviewees. These subthemes are also discussed in the literature review. The following dominant subthemes were discovered in the PCI interviews in connection with Harm:

- A. Intergenerational Impact
- B. Guilt and Shame
- C. Government and Church is Guilty
- D. Government is Hiding
- E. Staying Silent

A. Harm → Intergenerational Impact

Harm seemed to have a causal relationship with Intergenerational impact from the perspective of the PCI interviewees:

AK: How has this experience at the school impacted you as an adult?

LB: When I left home when I was 16 after residential school, this lady took me in in Yellowknife, I started drinking alcohol, and that got worse. When I was 19, I was already a mum, and had a very abusive partner. All of my relationships with guys were unhealthy. These guys were in jail and they promised you, and always broke their promises.

AK: Were these men also in residential schools as children?

LB: Yes, for sure yes. Because I got three daughters, and their dad was in residential school, and he really physically mentally and psychologically abused me. I stayed with him off and on for ten years, he was always in jail. I was so silent at that the time. I had really low self-esteem, and I had a lot of anger, because when I drank I just lashed out at people, I just knew that this all came from my parents. My dad was in residential school too, from 3 years old until he was ten. I heard they really abused him there. I think that is where he learned how to be abusive. He would beat my mom too. I was only 3 or 4 years old and I remember her crying from him beating her. I remember seeing the mark on her back, I just cried. It wasn't a very healthy home. **They all went to residential schools and learned how to abuse there.**

VT: **We have been quiet so long**, and we are speaking up for those children that make it out of there, and for those that are still suffering on the street. The street people, the addictions, everything that you can put in that nutshell, eh? **The alcoholism, the violence, the domestic abuse. All that, which is absolutely the legacy of the Residential schools!** Now I speak for those people who cannot do it. And this is a starting point for them, this is their chance to say what happened, and the courage they have to come and show up, they had that courage all along, because they lived with it, they survived it, and they want to go on.

VT: I am a survivor from the Indian Residential School. And as a survivor of that dark era of education school system, I struggled from the negative impacts that affected all areas of my life. I was a victim of abuse in more ways than one. I will spare the reader details that I endured during the ages of 4-9 while attending the Indian Residential school. It is said this education system went horribly wrong, but the reality of it remains that it robbed and hindered many Aboriginal children potential towards achieving education. **The pain is submerged deep, as a child I was called dumb and that I would never amount to anything because I was a stupid little Indian.**

The causal relationship between Harm and Intergenerational impacts was consistent in all PCI interviews. The Intergenerational Impacts appeared in association with the theme of Guilt and Shame.

Intergenerational Impact → Guilt and Shame:

DN: I remember being taught about our history was that we were savages. **That was all I was taught, we are all stupid savages.** You are not capable of learning anything other than the basic English.

AK: Can you comment on the Intergenerational Impacts of the NRS?

RH: For sure, for sure! You are going to be what your parents are going to be right? If that is the kind of parenting you get? Yeah! As a parent, I was the same way, I was trying to do what I was taught. These are my rules. I parented basically the same way. That takes you years to understand that you are wrong. But I did what I did because that is all that I knew! **So you carry a lot of guilt with you. So many of these residential school survivors carry a lot of guilt with them. That is what I am saying; it is time to give it back. It is their guilt, not ours.**

AK: How do you think the residential schools have impacted the youth in your community today?

EI: This is the problem...they think that it's their fault...**they feel ashamed...the whole system...it is the Canadian governments fault not ours...**and the youth need to understand that because they blame themselves, **they are ashamed of themselves and their culture.**

EI: The language and culture was taken away from them and that hurts...as well as sexual and physical abuse. **They were made to feel ashamed about their culture,**

and now they are ashamed because they can't speak to their own people because they lost their language. I keep trying to talk Chippewa with Native people, and so many people lost their language. So it was taken away from them. But they want their language. **They are ashamed. But it's not their fault.**

LB: **we were made to feel ashamed about our culture.** I was made to speak English. They assimilated us. **They tried to assimilate me, trying to change me into a white person.** That is what I felt. I was supposed to become white. But I was strong, I said no! I kept my traditions alive through my family. My mom is 91 years old and she taught me a lot of the Dene culture. She passed down to me traditions of sewing, crafts, beading. I had to sit there and bead with her. But we lost a lot of the Dene culture, a long time ago.

Another emergent theme linked to intergenerational impact and guilt and shame was government and church is guilty. This theme emerged consistently in association to government is hiding. Furthermore both government and church is guilty and government was linked as a cause for the theme of staying silent.

Government and Church are Guilty == Government is Hiding → Staying Silent == Guilt and Shame

Government and Church are Guilty:

RH: **I think the government doesn't want to let the world know that they were perfectly aware of what was going on. They were complicit in all of us, because the church ran it hand in hand with the government.** You can't run and hide; you can't say we had no knowledge or control. If you thought this was such a good education system, why wasn't everybody in Canada running the same thing? It wasn't a good education system. When I left here, I went into foster care. I failed miserably! And that was a whole other system, this foster care, different from this one.

RH: They had children in their care! How can you say that we are guilty of anything? **The government and the church is guilty as hell, the policies, whatever they put in place, allowed these things to happen with no oversight, no one looking at what was going on at these institutions because they didn't want to look and they didn't care. They wanted us gone.** But we are still here. We are still here.

Government is Hiding → Staying Silent

RH: Yes, and see that is my friend. She is very quiet. She doesn't raise her voice. Once you get her going and if you start doubting her and basically calling her a liar she shuts down. So she didn't get a fair trial. But hopefully things will get resolved. Especially when the government got caught hiding those files on St. Anne's, so if you hid files on St. Anne's, what else are you hiding? You could hide

files and have no conscious about it, to save a few nickels? **They don't want the world to know they allowed torture of children, which they did. They were just as guilty, they are guilty of lots.**

RH: **You want us to shut up you want us to be quiet, to stay silent. It is not going to work anymore.** It is just not going to work anymore. **There are too many horrible things that have been done across this country in residential schools.** This one is probably the oldest as an industrial school. You know what, **I had a great grandmother that was in here, I had aunts that were in here.**

RH: I went in to ask for my records once and they said, no, sorry, all the records from that time are destroyed. What? Well what right do you have to destroy my records? To me that means they are hiding something again. So I asked the nurse there...why are you destroying this, and she said we had permission...they didn't have my permission! So who is to say what happened. **I still think it was very much a closed system, so once you start sealing off any eyes looking at you; you can pretty much do whatever you damn want.**

RH: Personally, I can't reconcile with the past until people tell the truth. If you have already started hiding stuff, what else are you hiding, how much more are you hiding? How much documents have been shredded that really hides a lot of the ugliness, tell it! Tell it! Then we can at least start with a clean slate when you just tell it! That is where it is all about, you punish me, or you can withhold payment to me if you think I am lying. What about you? What about when you lie and withhold information from us? **When you hide documents that proves that these children were hurt terribly, you know? But reconciliation right now is not even close to what it should be. Not even close.** No, how can it be? The day that you can actually sit down and say, open your history books, on this year, here is what we destroyed, on this year, here is what we destroyed. **You look at people who can't even get their records because they can't prove they were there, and that is when they were shredding admission records.** They should automatically be compensated. The lawyer says it is not up to us to find those documents, you were a student in that school, but its their business. We were not supposed to ever go looking for those. It is another part is what is very wrong. **But reconciling the past, people say, move on, get over it.**

Therefore in the PCI interviews, the emergent theme of Harm with its subthemes of specific details of harm occurring at the schools (cutting ties, child labour, identity loss, physical abuse, and sexual abuse) and its wider implications (government and church is guilty, government is hiding, guilt and shame, and staying silent) has emerged as the dominant and significant themes attached to the research question. The next set of quotations describes the theme of harm explained by the Experts, none of whom attended the residential schools. The theme of harm from the perspective of the experts was divided into two subthemes, direct harm and rationalised harm, expressed in the following:

Direct Harm

JD: The residential school system had the policy of assimilation which was **the most destructive factor in the lives of Aboriginal people disrupting community disrupting ties to culture disrupting ties to family.**

JD: **Imagine a village with no children.** And the people who are there to reconcile that absence, where there are only babies and then a gap a 5-15 years old, the people who are there to reconcile that reality, they themselves were taken as children. Their parents themselves were taken as children. Their grandparents and great grandparents were taken as children. **It was the reality for so many communities so you have a community that has for generations experienced this loss from the way that would have traditionally and contemporarily been a family as communities that interconnectivity of family and community so that breakdown had occurred over generations.**

JH: It makes you sick, it makes you sad, like when you hear the numbers, you are talking about an entire city, **a cities worth of children. You could put a city on the map, a substantial size city, that many people were badly abused.** Or that many people died. So, there, put that many people on the map and then wipe that many people off. And you do you think that is a significant issue? If that many blonde, blue-eyed children disappeared overnight, there would be an incredible uproar you know?

Rationalised Harm

TF: The schools were clearly an attempt to acculturate Indian children to teach them well there mostly English but there were French, to teach them either English or French. **To inculcate them with Christianity, to teach them useful knowledge some could be housekeeping or practical trades.**

TF: But **at the time it was considered quite a normal approach and boarding schools** used for Aboriginal education in the US and Canada.

TF: So the use of a residential school today seems strange but was **at the time, quite normal.**

TF: it seemed like a **logical thing** to do. Having the churches do it, seemed like a **logical way to do it effectively and to save money.**

CL: The government I guess around the turn of the century in an effort to **modernise them and socialize them to become good Canadians, stuck them into these schools run by religious people, see if we can turn them into good white kids, with good white values,** and all the things that go along with that.

Furthermore, these different perceptions of harm triggered different directions of subthemes. The direct harm theme was expressed as ‘village with no children’ and connected to the theme of healing (through arguing for the need for healing for the Aboriginal community and awareness on the part of non-Native Canadians). Conversely, the rationalised harm led to the theme of justification for schools associating with the theme of minimizing impact and doubting abuse claims, shown as follows:

EXP: Direct Harm → EXP: Healing

JD: Imagine a village where there are no children of a certain age.

AK: How important it is for non-Aboriginal Canadians to know about history of the residential schools?

RN: I think it is really important. I think there is a very wide spread widely accepted racism about Native people in in casual conversation jokes about drunken Indians, jokes about welfare Indians. So I think it is really, really important for Canadians to understand that there is this particular history, so when you make a joke about a drunken Indian, why does that stereotype persist? What is the reality behind that stereotype right? **If people understood that, children had basically been kidnapped for seven generations in a row, there is a reason for poverty or etc., etc.** So I think it’s hugely important and I think people are very resistant to it. So you will have partial acceptances, as in: ‘Oh yeah that was terrible’, and ‘I know what that was like’...so it is a partial acceptance, not really getting it.

EM: **I think that the majority of non-Aboriginal Canadians don’t know anything about it.** I think that the majority of Canadians just go on and were raised and go on living their lives with absolutely no knowledge of that aspect of Canada’s history.

RM: **The more I learned about the residential school system and legacy, the more I understood that you really can’t understand any aspect of aboriginal and non-aboriginal relations in this country without understanding the history of the residential schools.** It’s a fundamental key to true understanding.

EXP: Harm → Justification for Schools and Minimizing Impact

TF: I think there were good practical reasons for doing it, the **alternative would have been in many cases, no education at all.** And then we would look back and would say this is an enormous blot on our history that we made no attempt to offer western style education to these people. So, I have no doubt that the residential schools were flawed. But I can understand, **I am not sure what a better alternative would have been, at the time.** In modern times, we have better means of transportation and education, the need for residential schools, I

suppose, has passed. But in the context of the day I can understand why they were established.

CL: **The idea in and of itself wasn't entirely misguided, just the execution is somewhat flawed.** That was probably not the best, we know now it wasn't the best mechanism to do that, but the principles behind that were better behind it than what many Aboriginal people have suffered elsewhere in the world.

CL: The policy may have been I mean the idea of **integrating of sort of finding a way from the perspective at the time bringing them up to speed with modern society.**

CL: But I guess at the time that wasn't uncommon and I guess to some extent **it's still better than what happened to, as bad as it sounds, to many American Indians for instance, because the American government just did away with them.**

EXP: Minimizing Impact → EXP: Doubting Abuse Claims

TF: There is this difficulty with the evidence that a lot of it is either people talking about what happened to their ancestors so passed down through word of mouth, or also very common is people who are now in their fifties or sixties, talking about what happened to them fifty years ago. **While human memory is far from infallible, I think that as a scholar I find a lot of question marks about the kinds of evidence that was brought forward.**

TF: Often complaints about not what happened to me but what happened to my father or mother or earlier generations. **It makes it very difficult to assess the validity of the complaint.**

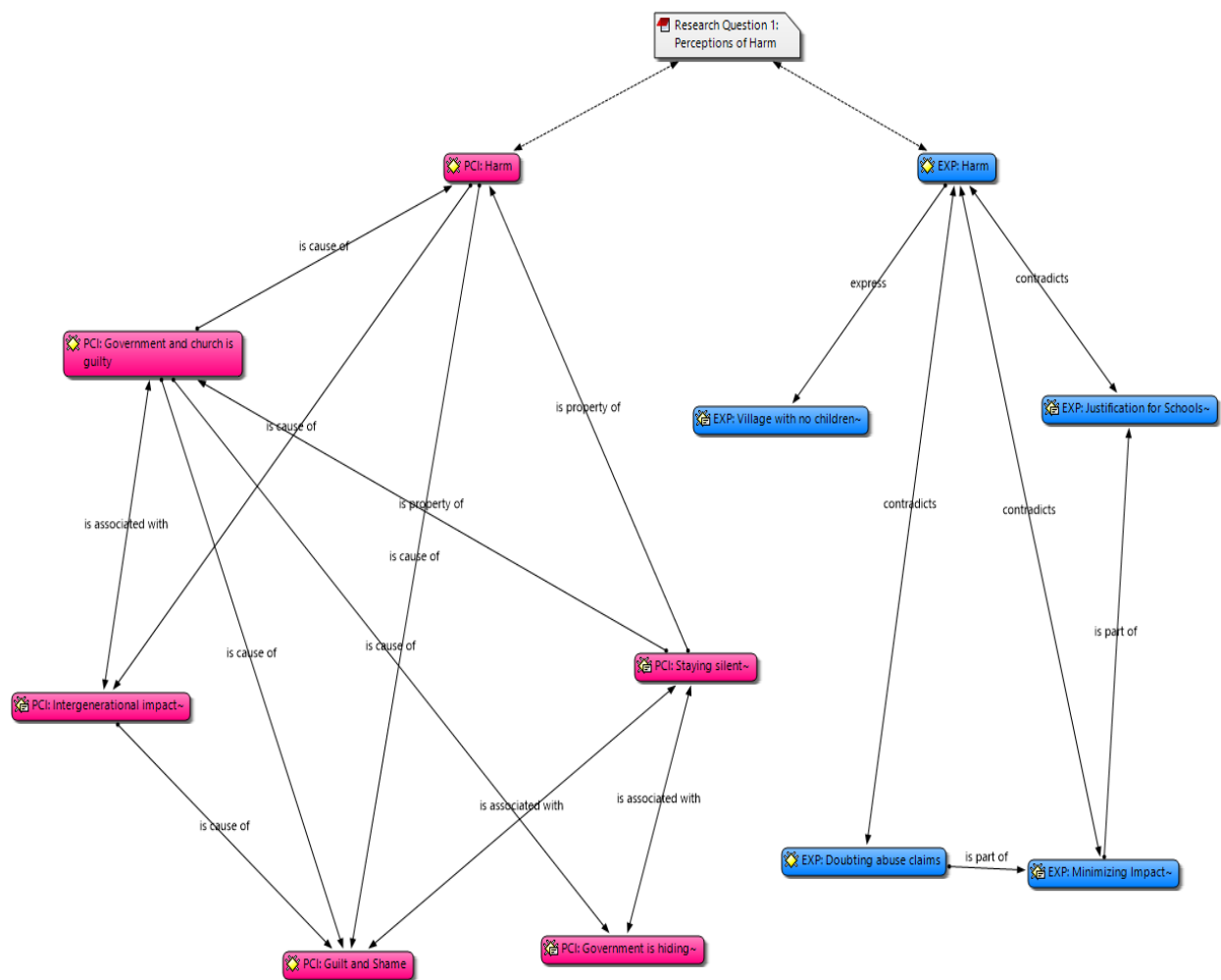
CL: **And the moment you throw you throw money at people, it's surprising what type of people come out of the woodwork,** and this is what the settlement process does, it tries to figure out by formula how much money you are entitled to and you know many cases there is no documents and people tell their stories.

TF: **Well one of the unfortunate lessons is that if you seize on something and you complain about it long enough you can get the government to hand over large amounts of money.**

To summarise this section for research question one, the emergent theme for PCI interviews was harm with its subthemes of specific details of harm occurring at the schools (cutting family ties, child labour, loss of language, identity loss, physical abuse, sexual abuse) and its wider implications (government and church is guilty, government is hiding, guilt and shame, and staying silent). The emergent theme for EXP interviews was direct harm (linked with healing) and rationalised harm (linked with justifications for schools, minimizing impacts and doubting abuse claims).

For research question one, all the above mentioned themes and their linkages are illustrated in Figure 2. The pink boxes indicate the Problem Centered Interview themes (PCI). The blue boxes indicate Expert interview themes (EXP). The lines between the boxes indicate the relation between the themes, as previously discussed (associative, causal, property, contradicts, etc). The greater repercussions and impacts of this analysis will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation.

Figure 2: Perceptions of Harm (Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI) and Blue is Expert Interview (EXP))



5.3.2 Research Question 2: Perceptions of Quality of Life Gap

The second research question investigates what evidence, if any, testifies to the assumption that this history has a causal relationship between the history of the NRS and a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians. While the difference in quality of life between Natives and non-Natives was addressed empirically the literature review, the interviewees described their perceptions on this matter. Figure 3 illustrates the themes and their connections to research question two. There are two main discoveries to this inquiry. One group of findings indicates the intergenerational impact of the schools was a major contributing factor for a poor quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians. This was consistent for all PCI interviews, however true for only some of the EXP interviews. The second group of findings indicate the intergenerational impacts of the schools have some or no contributing factor for a poor quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians, however when this theme was present it was connected with the theme of having positive impacts for Aboriginal Canadians. The second group was exclusively EXP interviews. A subtheme that emerged out of this discussion was whether it was better on reserve or off reserve for Natives, with most experts believing there would be better social outcomes for Natives who live off reserves. The data is illustrated in the following section. A space indicates a separate quotation. PCI indicates a quotation from a Problem Centered Interview. EXP indicates a quotation from Expert interview.

PCI: Intergenerational Impact =causal relationship= PCI: Poor Quality of Life

AK: So you would say, that time at the residential school was a huge negative impact not only for you, but also your parents, and grandparents?

LB: **Yes, absolutely. This has affected my relationship with my own kids, too. My kids were taken away from me in 1987. They were adopted out into other families....I was on the street after I lost my kids. I didn't care about anything.**

AK: How would say the experience of residential schools has impacted Aboriginals today? This was around 150 years of these schools right? How would you say it has impacted you, your community?

LB: **So many are homeless, so many are homeless here, they live on the street. They keep that feeling of having no home. They use alcohol and drugs to forget the pain and abuse and stay in that cycle. It is because of their experience at the residential schools. I see it and I see them suffer. They are in great pain and they don't know how to deal with it so they drink and drink and drink.** Thank God I got out of it. Because I was drinking too.

RH: They tried to silence us just like this hell hole here! They want us to shut up you want us to be quiet, to stay silent. It is not going to work anymore. It is just not going to work anymore. **There are too many horrible things that have been done across this**

country in residential schools. This one is probably the oldest as an industrial school. You know what, I had a great grandmother that was in here, I had aunts that were in here.

AK: OK. Do you think that non-Aboriginals should learn about the history of the residential schools?

LB: Yes. I think they should know because of what happened to us and how it affected us and how it is now affecting our children and grandchildren. My two grandchildren are in foster care now, and so I am fighting for them. This all has to stop. **This cycle has to stop. It is the same thing, over and over. Residential schools are over, but now foster care and child welfare is the same thing, just a different name.** One of my grandkids, I have seen his ribs and his backbones when I visited him last month, he was starving. They were starving him. I want him out of there. So I fight for them.

AK: Do you know a lot of people in your community in Yellowknife that have also gone through residential schools?

LB: **Yes, the majority of us did, yes.**

AK: In your opinion, so this is 150 years, 150 schools, and 150,000 children roughly. How has this impacted the Aboriginal community today?

RH: **A hugely negative one. I mean when I think of all the things that have gone on in every Aboriginal community. There is the drugs, the alcohol, a lot of alcohol and there is a whole lot of abuse. Sexual abuse, physical abuse, it is a total disruption. Any society that totally was self-sufficient never had these issues, never had social problems like that before, so it has had a huge impact and it is still being felt today.**

AK: Intergenerational?

RH: **For sure, for sure! You are going to be what your parents are going to be right? If that is the kind of parenting you get? Yeah! As a parent, I was the same way, I was trying to do what I was taught. These are my rules. I parented basically the same way. That takes you years to understand that you are wrong. But I did what I did because that is all that I knew! So you carry a lot of guilt with you. So, many of these residential school survivors carry a lot of guilt with them. That is what I am saying; it is time to give it back. It is their guilt, not ours**

VT: But now we are slowly coming around, we are slowly coming around talking about some stuff because I tell them, if we want to give our children a chance, we have to tell them the truth about what happened, and that abuse occurred. We don't have to go into detail. **Just to say, I was abused. And then they will come to understand why we are the way we are and why we are so messed up!**

SB: And I wanted to say something, OK I went through the emotional, physical, mental, cultural, sexual abuse, the family breakup. Now I wanted to speak about the community as a whole, which has a big impact. **There is a lot of people who won't acknowledge that, still today. That legacy of lack of parental skills, that legacy of lack of communication. Lack of affection, lack of understanding, you know? That has a lot to do with that.**

EXP: Intergenerational Impact =causal relationship= EXP: Poor Quality of Life

EM: You have these 15 or 16 year olds (sometimes younger sometimes older) people coming back to a community completely disconnected from family and community but they come back to find that those ties have been broken. Their parents have experienced it a generation before having returned to their community and having been broken to their own parents, so you have that **classic intergenerational effect of residential schools**. So while has been done there is still a lot to do, and we are going to do be living these effects, these intergenerational effects of residential schools for at least a few more generations.

JQ: I had heard people giving testimony at this conference. There was a woman who said my name is Rose, but from the time I was five years old I was given a number, and my number was 16735 and she said they didn't call me by my name but by my number, and my sister came to school and they gave her a number as well but we were not allowed to talk to each other. They cut off my braids and they gave me a delousing bath and we were made to eat this funny food and we couldn't use our own language and we couldn't call each other by our own names. She said she would lay in bed in the dormitory at night while she heard priest sexually abuse the girls in the other beds, we weren't allowed to say anything even if we heard people crying in the night. She said when I finally left residential school I married a guy who had also been in the residential school and he drank a lot and she said we got into this terrible cycle of drinking. **We had children, we started using drugs and she said I feel like a failure because my kids would cry in the night and I didn't know that I was supposed to go to them because that had never been modeled to me. One of my kids is in jail, one is abusing alcohol and drugs, and the other committed suicide. She said I see this as symptomatic from the experience they had in the residential schools.**

RM: Yeah, **I think the more I learned about the residential school system and legacy, the more I understood that you really can't understand any aspect of aboriginal and non-aboriginal relations in this country without understanding the history of the residential schools.** It's a fundamental key to true understanding.

JQ: When you think about that Woman who said my name is Rose but I was number 16785, she comforted her kids and her kids were into drugs, and when you are into drugs....you steal and **you see how even the incarceration rates are due to this systemic and longstanding intergenerational problems they have faced...all of this needs to be addressed.**

This group of findings indicate that for all of PCI interviews and some of EXP interviews, they shared the belief that the intergenerational impacts of the schools had a causal relationship with a poor quality of life for many Native Canadians today. Another group of findings for this theme shows that some of EXP interviews contradict this result, shown below in the theme of EXP: No Intergenerational Impact:

EXP: Intergenerational Impact > no relationship to< EXP: Poor Quality of Life

TF: Well, I don't see how you can implicate residential schools as the cause of this gap. **No. I am not even sure the residential schools are a contributing factor to the gap.**

TF: Beyond that you get references some physical abuse causing inability to parent which is then passed down over generations. I think there is an **awful lot of mythology here which the media and politicians have swallowed very uncritically.**

TF: That the **residential schools are somehow responsible you know all Aboriginal peoples in Canada somehow being sort of left behind and suffering and whatnot is just empirically and simply not the case.**

TF: **I don't think there is any good evidence that this kind of experience causes inability to parent which is passed on across generations.**

TF: **I am not aware elsewhere in the world that people maintain that this kind of trauma causes pain that is passed on across generations.**

TF: I think that the ability to parent is partly learned but there are strong natural drives there and so **I think this is bunkum to be honest, but is repeated uncritically so that we are supposed to excuse criminal actions by somebody whose grandparents attended a residential school, this theory that it has destroyed the family. I just don't think there is good evidence for that.**

CL: And where, on a purely objective measure, the overall outcomes of Aboriginals today are probably still orders of magnitude better even a hundred years better or 200 years ago, I mean health outcomes and educational outcomes. **I think Aboriginals have come a long way in the last 40 years.**

Those experts that disagreed with the correlation of the residential schools and a negative quality of life for Natives also expressed the positive impacts of the residential schools:

Intergenerational Impact No Correlation → Positive Impacts of NRS

TF: **While there were certainly were successes, if you look at look at the leadership of the modern aboriginal movement which starts to make itself felt in the 1960s in Canada. These people were almost all educated in residential schools. Some came out of day schools as well but there is a large number of them who were educated in residential schools. So it created leadership categories.**

TF: Secondly it created a certain number, **I don't know the exact percentage but there were grads of these schools that went on to become economically successful. Not necessarily in a political sense but they became successful farmers.**

TF: If you look at the **leading family on reserves, often the high offices have passed on to this family when you trace back the family. You are going to find that they went through residential schools and that gave them an advantage. So, they created kind of an Indian...bourgeoisie, a political and economic elite.**

CL: I know people who have had some dimension of the residential school experience who would say this is important. **That their schooling is what positively contributing in whom they are today.**

JQ: I asked my mother: Did you know what was it about? She said, 'No not really.' I started asking her about the Indian Residential Schools. And you may remember there was a man named Dudley George who was killed at Ipperwash in about 1992 and my mom is a nurse, and she had treated his mother and his aunt, and she said, well yes I know about residential schools because they were private schools that Aboriginal people were able to go to, and Dudley George's mom and aunt whom I had treated **they all went to residential schools and they had the opportunity for this amazing education that regular people didn't get.**

Furthermore, those Experts who cited no correlation between the NRS and a negative quality of life for Natives often associated with theme of living off reserves as creating a better outcome for Natives, expressed in the following:

EXP: Intergenerational Impact no Correlation → Better off reserves for Natives

TF: We have, in my view, a higher proportion of poverty stricken people in these Aboriginal communities but the percentage of that varies greatly and the reasons are quite different. I mean, there are some overall similarities, **but the situation of somebody who has moved to Vancouver is very different who is still living on a remote reserve in Northern British Columbia.**

CL: **I have no doubt that it is difficult to attract very high quality teachers to some of these very difficult reserves. And the only way we are going to make a difference there is making sure we get people from the reserves and getting them to come back just like Aboriginal lawyers...**have to be there to make some important inroads...the same we need Aboriginal teachers we need Aboriginal role models in all aspects in our society...

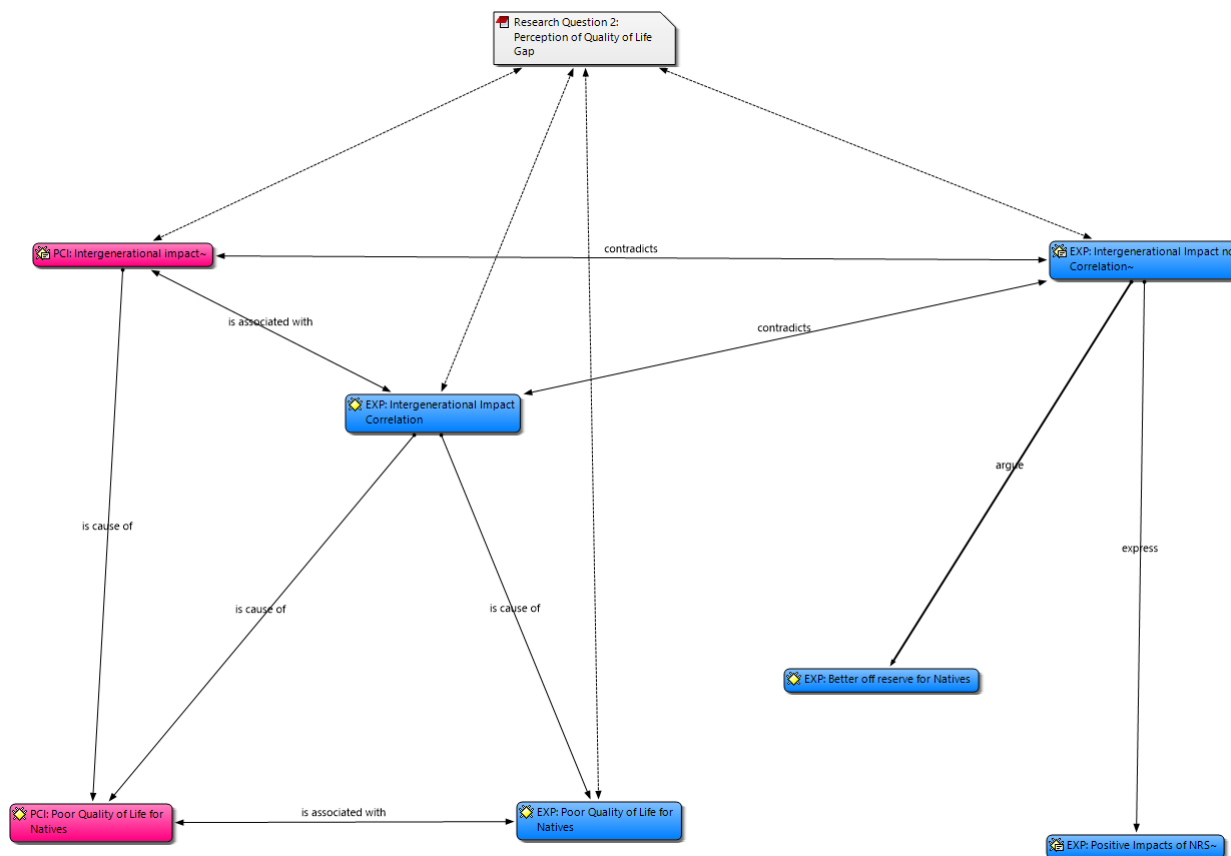
TF: No matter how much we do that there will be an element of population have become comfortable with reserve life and they are not going to want to leave and some of them actually live very well, not the majority but some do. So, we have also created a tax haven for them, which is not something that can politically change easily. Again, there is a material incentive for some who want to continue to live very separate lives so we have to...you know my conservative friends say we could pull the assimilation bill and we can deal with this. Well maybe in some very long span of hundreds of years, but for any foreseeable **future we have to**

reckon with large numbers of Aboriginal people continuing to want to live on Indian Reserves or in Remote Metis Villages.

TF: The percentages are highest among first nations people living on reserve, like those are, by every indicator, most likely to be unemployed, living on welfare, afflicted with kinds of social pathologies.

To summarise this section for research question two, the first group of findings indicate that for all of PCI interviews and some of EXP interviews, they shared the belief that the intergenerational impacts of the schools had a causal relationship with a poor quality of life for many Native Canadians today. The second group of findings for this theme showed that some experts disagreed with the correlation, and when they disagreed it was followed with the schools having some positive benefits and that there would be better social outcomes for Native Canadians to live off reservations. Figure 3 illustrates the themes and their connections to research question two.

Figure 3: Perceptions of Quality of Life Gap (Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI) and Blue is Expert Interview (EXP))



5.3.3 Research Question 3: Perceptions of Negative Stereotype

The third research question investigates what evidence, if any, reveals negative attitudes against Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians today? Figure 4 illustrates the themes and their connections to research question three. The prominent theme for this research question was Negative Stereotype and how it was connected to whether or not interviewees believed that Canada had an issue with racism towards Natives or not. A space indicates a new quotation. PCI indicates quotations from Problem Centered Interview. EXP indicates quotations from Expert interview. The findings shows that some Expert and all PCI groups identified a negative stereotype existing with non-Native Canadians, expressed as 'drunk and lazy Indian.' This negative stereotype was shown in the interviews to be due to a 'lack of knowledge.' Those Experts who did not share this opinion tended to doubt that there was any racism in Canada whatsoever.

EXP: Negative Stereotype was associated with PCI: Negative Stereotype and expressed as 'Drunk and Lazy Indian'

JD: They may be inclined to think **the negative stereotypes like well we give them money but they don't know how to manage it. They are familiar with glue sniffing. Something to do with their tax dollars going to support these people who otherwise don't have to work or pay taxes or pay for their education. I really do find that is quite common in the people I speak with who are well outside of the Aboriginal community.** Or well outside of working closely with the Aboriginal Community.

CL: **They want more money, and then the chiefs just use all the money.**

CL: It is probably important for the general public to understand that for an Aboriginal homeless guy there is a much bigger story, there is a reasonable chance that **there is a much bigger story behind this, than simply some dude who is just lazy and doesn't want to get a job**

TF: So now the action has shifted to the missing and murdered women and the desire for a national commission for missing and murdered women and **the obvious point of that is to shake the money tree again because a national commission would be worse than addressing the real issue but it might be a way of extracting another apology and another round of compensation.**

RN: I mean **you could talk the really detrimental impacts within communities so cycles of abuse and violence and hopelessness and suicide, you know all of that really negative.** And I think in terms of national relationships, you know, nation to nation or settler-Aboriginal relationships um, it is an unknown part of that underlying structural violence which **feeds our stereotypes and attitudes about**

you know drunken natives or you know the successful natives who assimilate or you know the mythical native or whatever, you know the stupid stereotypes that there are.

PCI: Negative Stereotype expressed as ‘Drunk and Lazy Indian’

RH: I find when I look at all the Aboriginal communities across the country and I think, doesn’t anyone understand? Doesn’t anyone want to understand? That we are not like this normally! This is not the way we were. This was not what my childhood was like before we entered this hellhole. It was a good childhood before I came here.

RH: Non-Aboriginal Canadians you see us as drunk, lazy, looking for a handout. It is not true. We have social problems. Like anyone else we have problems, but probably more so because of the residential schools. But very few are on welfare, and that is the system the government created for us. That is not what we had before. This was very much an independent nation. Very much. But do you know what it all boils down to? Land and resources. All of this property here is under dispute under Grand River lands. So if the government were to get rid of all the people from six nations, or at least assimilate, then there should be no problem. That is what the government says, get rid of the Indian eh? They don’t ever want to be accountable for all the thefts of the land. They don’t want to compensate

RH: Don’t put the blame on us, don’t make us look back because what you are doing is you are saying that all these children who went through residential school you are putting the blame on them and saying we were the problem! How can children be the problem? They weren’t! We were little kids trying to survive all on our own, with no parents. And being hurt by the people who were supposed to protect you. Tell the truth! Here is what you did to these kids, just tell it, just tell the truth. I don’t care about your image. If you really cared about your image exactly what happened and then this is how we are going to work to fix it. We are going to just throw these little piddly things at us and hope we go away

RH: There is always the name calling. Even the mayor of Caledonia speaking publically said that we are all just basically lazy waiting for that check, that hand out. You know how hard I have worked all my life? I could have slapped her. I have been hard working for a long, long, time. I don’t ask for handouts you know? And even if I did, it would be an embarrassment to me. It makes me more independent when I can do it myself. **It is those kind of attitudes, and when you get leaders having that attitude?**

RH: A lot of Canadians think we are really just there to get the money. If you really looked at history, all of the lands that were taken from us, where are the dollars? Do you know that we have never, ever, had an accounting of all our lands and all the sales? Never, never. So where is all our money? This country was built on First Nations money. It was. And yet we just sit by and wait and wait

and wait for somebody to be honest and tell the truth and say, you know what, we have got a solution.

VT: But you know, **I think we hear too much about us, we hear the negative and that is what stings.**

Furthermore, the negative stereotype that was prominent in both expert and PCI groups, expressed in the 'drunk and lazy Indian' image, is a property of theme 'lack of knowledge', expressed here:

EXP: Negative Stereotype *} EXP: Lack of Knowledge:

RN: So again I think there is this kind of conservative fear of bankrupting your church or being seen to be spending money where it shouldn't be spent particularly people would perceive this probably what you are dumping more money on our big social problem...the Indians? **Oh you know the lazy drunken welfare cheats, so I think that is part of it.**

EM: **I think that the majority of non-Aboriginal Canadians don't know anything about it. I think that the majority of Canadians just go on and were raised and go on living their lives with absolutely no knowledge of that aspect of Canada's history.**

JQ: I relate stories like this to my mom and she said, I don't think so. **She said, I live in this country, I grew up in this country, if that kind of stuff had happened, we would know. I was like, Mom, it did happen, and it continues, and she said I don't think so, I would know about this.**

JH: Those Canadians who do know, this may be unfair, but I think that Canadians are probably divided into three groups. **I think the largest group are people who know nothing about the residential schools at all, and there is probably a group that knows the residential schools exist and thinks that it was a good thing, it got native kids off the reserves, or off the boondocks and into something good and away from squalor and gave them an opportunity and a chance for a better life and a very small group knew that it was a maybe well intended experiment that went horribly wrong and that it was the site of terrible abuse.** First of all abuse because it was founded in the belief the right thing to do was remove young people from their roots and founded in the belief that the right thing to do was to take them away from their background and their families, rather than move something helpful to those families in the first place and that rupture to those kids and something helpful. I think a very small group of people think, wait a minute, this was wrong. Why did we do this? Why would we ever think that we would take those young people and place them there and then why did we ever let that happen? Why did we abuse them when they were there? Why did we let that go on?

CL: It's a generational issue right, so I think kids learn about it in school today at the time **that's a narrative that was still being, that is a still historical narrative that is still being written.**

RN: Yeah, so I can, you know, there is a couple examples I can give, so when I first started with the TRC in 2010, actually through the entire with the TRC I spent a lot of time on planes, flying around all over the place, because we are busy doing all sorts of stuff, so you know, a very highly unscientific study, is sort of, you sit down next to someone on the plane, and what do you do, who do you work for, sort of thing. And it started off in the beginning I say I work for the TRC, and people go...huh? You know, the Indian Residential Schools, huh? And by the end of four years, typically I was met with the kind of expression more like...oh yeah, I have heard about that, what is happening with that now? And then you get this sort of, '...is nothing done yet?' questioning. Or like, 'when are we ever going to get past this' or, 'isn't it just all about the money,' like, you know, those kind of comments, you know, I have had some really great conversations, and then there is a lot of education on that...so very unscientifically, yes, there has been some increase in awareness, for sure. **Does everybody know about it? Not at all. I mean, not at all. There is tons of work to be done yet.**

This contradicts with some experts who claimed there was no issue of negative stereotype in Canada whatsoever:

TF: **I honestly don't think that there is a social problem with Aboriginal people as such.**

TF: **I don't think we have an overall Aboriginal problem as such to which you can identify a solution.**

TF: if you go into large western cities, particularly, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina and Edmonton, there are very large areas of the city, not dominating the city, but still substantial areas of the city that are inhabited largely by Native people and these areas have very high crime rates and other social pathologies about employment and illegitimacy and so on. **They are not really nice places to go and other people avoid them out of concern for their own safety. Now is that racial prejudice?**

Another theme that emerged was the discussion of the use of the word genocide in relation to the history of the schools. This was referred to in the literature review. It appeared that negative stereotype seemed to be associated with the argument for genocide, meaning that the experts believed that the schools could perhaps be understood as a form of genocide; however this was admitted as a controversial route:

EXP: Argument for genocide

JQ: The definition of genocide, in 1948, that was in 1948 and Canada did not ratify it until 1952 and they took out three of the conditions, so that there was only a) and c), they took out sterilization, causing bodily harm, and transferring children. They removed that from their definition and they also applied a non-retroactivity clause on that.

JQ: I have had discussions with colleagues in the pub, and technically as more evidence comes out, **I think there is a growing argument that it is genocide.**

JQ: I teach a class on genocide, and I make my students memorize article 2 of the Geneva Convention. If Genocide is categorized with the intent to destroy in whole or in part members of a racial or ethnical group, the idea that...the Government was not intending to destroy the members of the group, but they were intending to destroy the group, and Article 2 c that says deliberately inflicting on the group conditions calculated to its physical destruction, that doesn't necessarily apply, but if its inflicting on the group conditions where for example, Aboriginal people would intermarry with other people to water down the blood line, that could apply. I mean 2 e, forcibly transferring children from one group to another, that happened, putting Aboriginal children in the care of non-Aboriginal people, you know the 60s scoop and all that stuff, I think that would apply. Also 2 b causing bodily or mental harm to members of the group, I think the answer is **yes, there is a strong argument is to be made, that the residential schools were genocide.**

RN: **I do think it was genocide and I think it is an appropriate word to use.** But I wouldn't point out the 6000 children; I would point out the destruction of a community, the destruction of a way of life. I think it is so fascinating and sad to learn that Canada in particular fought against social destruction being included in the genocide convention in the 40s...they knew! They knew! Going back to your question how has government understood; they knew even back in 1948 that what they were doing was genocide.

CL: **There are probably dimensions of genocide here,** there is certainly dimensions of concentrating people in an institution of attempting to socialize brainwash them but in some places the abuse was probably systematic institutional, but that wasn't the case everywhere in all residential schools.

This theme of argument for genocide is contradicted with arguments against genocide. Some experts said, in the same breath, that while it could be argued that the residential schools were a form of genocide, it could also be inappropriate and controversial. One particular expert who was a professor who taught classes on genocide said that even if there were elements of genocide in the schools, it could not hold up in a court of law. These quotations to this theme are illustrated below:

EXP: Argument for genocide >< EXP: Argument against genocide

JQ: If what you are talking about with the IRS, is there particular evidence that would find a conviction of genocide, I don't think there would be a charge of genocide that would...there would be none in the courtroom.

JQ: I think we are too loose in using the word genocide sometimes. Sometimes people like me, have a gut reaction against it because genocide is the absolute worst crime...a scourge against humanity, there is nothing worse than it, then we need to be careful about using it inappropriately.

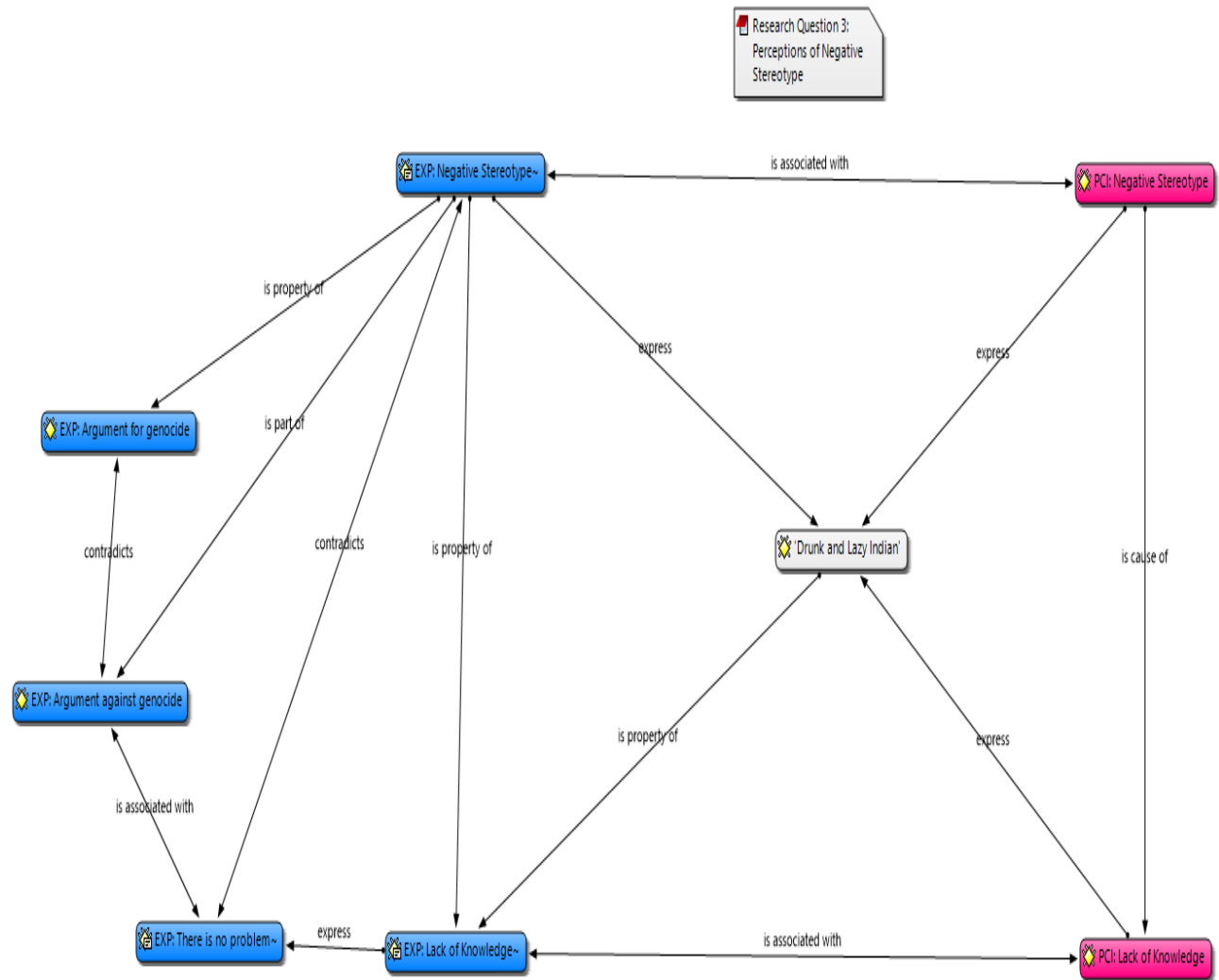
TF: But I think calling that genocide is completely misleading. There are now more first nations today than there were at the time of first contact from Europeans, so it's a funny kind of genocide which leads to the increase in population. So I think the genocide term is done for political effect and I think it's a misuse of the term.

CL: By using the word genocide towards the residential schools does serious injustice to people who have actually lived and suffered through genocide.

CL: it does a complete injustice against those who have suffered real genocide, but I think the idea of identicide might be closer, so this can happen in the context of the Balkans where people will deliberately that will take anything that is collectively meaningful to you, they will burn your libraries, they will burn your cultural artefacts, they will rape your women so your women will not be able to give birth to pure Bosniak Croatian Serb, whatever it might be, so these are all part of identicide, on an orchestrated systematic level to wipe-out a collective memory and a collective identity and not just as cultural goods or institutions but the systematic use and enforcement of rape among ethnically identifiable peoples.

To summarize the findings for research question three, the findings shows that some Expert and all PCI groups identified a negative stereotype existing with non-Native Canadians, expressed as 'drunk and lazy Indian.' This negative stereotype was shown in the interviews to be due to a 'lack of knowledge.' Those Experts that did not share this opinion dismissed that there was any problem with negative stereotypes of Native Canadians in Canada whatsoever. Residential schools were debated as genocide in the mainstream Canadian media, as referenced in the literature review, and this was brought up mostly by the experts. However the theme was contradicted with itself, as most experts who said parts of it could be considered as genocide said in the same breath that this would be an inappropriate term to use towards the schools. These themes and their relationship to each other are expressed in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Perceptions of Negative Stereotype (Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI) and Blue is Expert Interview (EXP))



5.3.4 Research Question 4: Perceptions of Government Response

The fourth research question looks at how the Canadian Government has responded to the mass reporting of abuse after the last school closed in 1996 and how this response is viewed by both Native and non-Native Canadians. When referring to Government response, the study is specifically naming the national apology by then Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, in 2008 and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission ending in 2015. Prominent themes for this research question were *'failure of government response,' 'response to mitigate litigation,'* and *'TRC some good or neutral'*. Overlapping themes from other research questions were *'education as healing'* and *'government is hiding.'* These themes and their relationship to each other are described in the following:

All PCI and some EXP identify theme of Failure of Government Response:

PCI: Failure of Government Response

RH: I think the only thing that I find troubling is that, at the end of the day, you have a five year agreement...with the TRC, the national agreement 5 years. During those five years, you have got all of us people, from across this country, all the kids that went through the residential schools, that it has taken us forty, fifty, sixty, seventy years to talk about this! **And I think the hardest part is that, oh well, you know what, this is our agreement, five years and you are done. I think there has to be more after that. I would like to see more done. As far as healing goes, stop nickel and diming us! If there is healing that needs to be going on in the communities then fund it! Fund it! You have gotten off very lightly compared to what should have been paid when you think of the whole big picture on what was done. They are not paying hardly anything. Most of the survivors are dying before they get anything anyway!**

AK: Do you feel that you have been treated fairly or unfairly by the Canadian Government?

LB: **Unfairly. I don't care for the government. I know sometimes they try to help us, but I don't believe in them. I don't believe them.**

RH: **I don't think it is very sincere. I don't think that the Apology from Harper is sincere. Personally, I can't reconcile with the past until people tell the truth. If you have already started hiding stuff, what else are you hiding, how much more are you hiding? How much documents have been shredded that really hides a lot of the ugliness, tell it! Tell it! Then we can at least start with a clean slate when you just tell it! That is where it is all about, you punish me, or you can withhold payment to me if you think I am lying. What about you? What about when you lie and withhold information from us? When you hide documents that proves that these children were hurt terribly, you know? But reconciliation right now is not even close to what it should be. Not even close. No, how can it be?**

The day that you can actually sit down and say, open your history books, on this year, here is what we destroyed, on this year, here is what we destroyed.

EXP: Failure of Government Response

RN: But if you look at the way people were treated during the ADR process, during all of the build-up, during the Blackwater Litigation, it's shocking. It is disgusting.

RN: it's an emotional issue, I became outraged by some of things that our government was doing or not doing, and have begun to feel quite political about it all.

JL: What we were missing were truths from Government and that without those truths from Government, reconciliation would be difficult.

JQ: the truth commission only deals with the people in the residential schools, it doesn't deal with, as the white paper tried to do, as the Mackenzie valley pipeline inquiry, as the missing and murdered Aboriginal women inquiry, it doesn't ever address the larger system of inequality, the structural problems and so on, and so, no matter what, this Truth Commission was set up to sort of fail from the beginning because of the way it was established, because of the conditions of the way it was established. There is, I think, a lack of want to talk about the broader contextual kind of stuff in Canada. People don't want to have those conversations because it is uncomfortable.

The theme of 'failure of government response' had a causal relationship with 'response to mitigate litigation', shown in the following quotations (additional experts who did not agree with the failure of response agreed to response to mitigate litigation). Response to mitigate litigation means that individuals believed that the government response to apologize, provide funding, and create a TRC was because of the need to stop additional lawsuits bringing brought to government. It is important to note that at the time that the interviews were conducted it was summer of 2014, therefore the Stephen Harper Conservative Government was still in power:

EXP: Failure of Government Response == EXP: Response to Mitigate Litigation

TF: It became an enormous surge of complaints to the point where the government had to respond to it. Historically, it's very difficult to assess because they come much later and the people who were closer to it when they were commenting on it didn't emphasize.

TF: I think they probably gave away far more than they would have had to or should have, but they were trying to bury the problem.

TF: **But it was the simplest way out;** politically they were going to face whole series class action litigation upon certain outcomes. Politically, working through it, Harper at the time, thought it would be the right thing to do

TF: **It was a way of getting the problem off the agenda,** and you know, for a few years it worked, but it hasn't been any kind of permanent solutions. First Nations issues have heated up again, but for a few years, it got these problems off the table.

RN: The conservative nature of government that makes them very afraid. If I understood it from my own understanding of being in negotiation of not wanting to admit liability and particularly that you just want to apologize to for fear of liability, for governments in particular there was a real sense that those politicians had a real sense of public responsibility to the public purse. **They were protecting the public purse and they couldn't open the door to all these claims.**

AK: OK, it is up to the survivors basically they can still share details of their experience even after they have gone through the IAP process...

RM: Yes, exactly. **They have absolved to their ability to sue once they are in this they can't go back and sue again...**

AK: Because they have received their compensation for this...

RM: **Exactly, it's a done deal after this, right. So, I think there is something that this settles all claims at the end.**

JQ: **The government doesn't want any liability, they will not admit culpability to anything other than what they have already signed.** And so as you would in any kind of lawsuit, the government is just like fine, we have settled, we are done. Like you can't bring any more action against us.

JQ: If you think of how the **Truth Commission had to be in the first place, it is all about the government saying, fine, you can have this and then we are finished.** We are not going to talk about this anymore.

JQ: **Harper was like, well we know these things happened, and it's really too bad, I'm not going to say anything more. Because at the same time the whole process was happening, negotiations and class action law suits and settlement agreements were happening.**

JQ: So, in the Canadian case it really is the case the government was facing all of this litigation and realised the millions and millions of dollars they were liable for and so I feel that the government of Canada has not even acknowledged that they have done anything wrong, they have simply settled a legal case. Does that make sense? Does that answer your question? **The origin of this commission has nothing to do with anything to do with benevolence or admission of culpability or anything like that. It has to do with the government seeking to mitigate the risk that they felt that they faced.**

However there was some contradiction in the findings, as some EXP interviewees considered TRC and apology having some good, in spite of acknowledging the government had responded out of a need to prevent further lawsuits, expressed in the following:

EXP: TRC some good or neutral

RM: So, when I look at it, I think of like, the Apology of 2008, and the work of the TRC, sort of **being the very first steps, you know the kind of toddleresque steps, you know the kind of lurching, fumbling sort of trying to figure out our way forward and that sort of thing but also in a way role modeling also what reconciliation can still look like but um, we can find a way to lay that foundation and that's one of the things that is going to take a long time for reconciliation to move on this.**

JQ: **Maybe a strength of the TRC is that it has stimulated other things to begin to happen.** I think that the TRC may have been more of the sentiment may have been one of the things that has influenced the Idle No More campaign and so on and so on.

JQ: **It has been successful in that the survivors that fought and lobbied for some kind of recognition by the Government of what happened got it. In that the government said, OK, fine...you can have this settlement.** I think that...you're killing me...I think that there has probably been real value for the people who have gone to the national events...survivors who have gone to the national events and participated in having their stories heard. I think that it has been successful in having to generate energy and whatever that has led to things, although I think that may have easily have happened without the TRC; but it has been part of that building momentum,

TF: **The media was unanimous in praising the Prime Minister; and he was sincere in his apology, he actually believed what he was saying it was not just political expediency.**

This was followed with some PCI admitting that there was 'some good' as a result of the TRC, however this usually was attached to a caution that the TRC was still set up as a branch of the government which was a conflict of interest, and there is still not enough attention and funding to the issue, or that this is still controlled by the government, expressed in the following:

PCI: TRC some good or neutral

VT: The Truth and Reconciliation meant well, **they had good intentions.** But without that, Canada wouldn't hear as much, but the media doesn't cover it as well. The short footage on the news is just like a tiny clip. Meanwhile, somebody on a manhunt they will go through every little detail. The media system doesn't work because the government cuts a lot of funds on CBC because that was the biggest newscast for Aboriginal people. They were covering Aboriginal issues, so

that was cut off. The healing foundation was cut off. Yes, they apologized, which was good, but a year or two later he cuts off a fund of healing foundation. If he meant well he would say here you guys need this, I hope you do well with that you need it, but no they cut it off...and a lot of funding is still being cut off. Like the Missing Women, that is a big issue today.

AK: Do you think the TRC has been helpful at all?

RH: I think they have from what they have had to work with, yeah I do. When I first heard all this, I didn't know. I thought when you said, when the government and the national agreement came out, they said truth and reconciliation will be set up, my understanding was, it would be three parties. So you set up this commission that goes to the victims, to hear all the stories, but there is no commission that goes to the church, there is no commission that goes to the government. **What they do is get to hire five archivists or something to gather all the information, and that is only as good as what the church wants to hand over and that is wrong.**

SB: It is, so truth and reconciliation is good, but the government still controls that, I find.

While all groups admitted to the response to mitigation litigation, all PCI groups and some EXP pointed to the need for greater awareness of the history for all Canadians, shown in the theme of 'education as healing' illustrated in the quotations below: (this theme was closely associated with the condemning of the Government Response and supposed failure of the TRC and apology).

PCI: Education as healing

RH: You know what Stephen Harper? I am not saying you were here in 1957 because I know you weren't. But you are now the government head, so what is wrong with the Government saying, you know what, we will admit we did a lot of wrong and he is what we did wrong. It is all we are asking...tell the truth! Open the books! Open everything! Tell the truth about what went on in this Country! The perspectives would be better if you were honest. If you start hiding and lying, it doesn't look very good. They don't see us as anything very important. We are not worth anything, other than our land. We are not worth a lot to them that is why they can step on us and push us on the way. They have already done all our dirty deals and taken everything. Basically what they have done is made us, they have impoverished us by the land deals and all the rest of it. We have nothing left because of the crookedness. But that doesn't mean we give up. We don't give up on these people. You still have to move forward! You know what, we can hold our head up we haven't done anything wrong! We haven't! I try to teach my kids. **My one daughter is pretty outspoken. You know what, she**

doesn't even know all the history, I didn't even tell her all the details even now...even my daughter has to learn. Everyone should learn from it. They have to learn from the past.

EXP: Education as healing

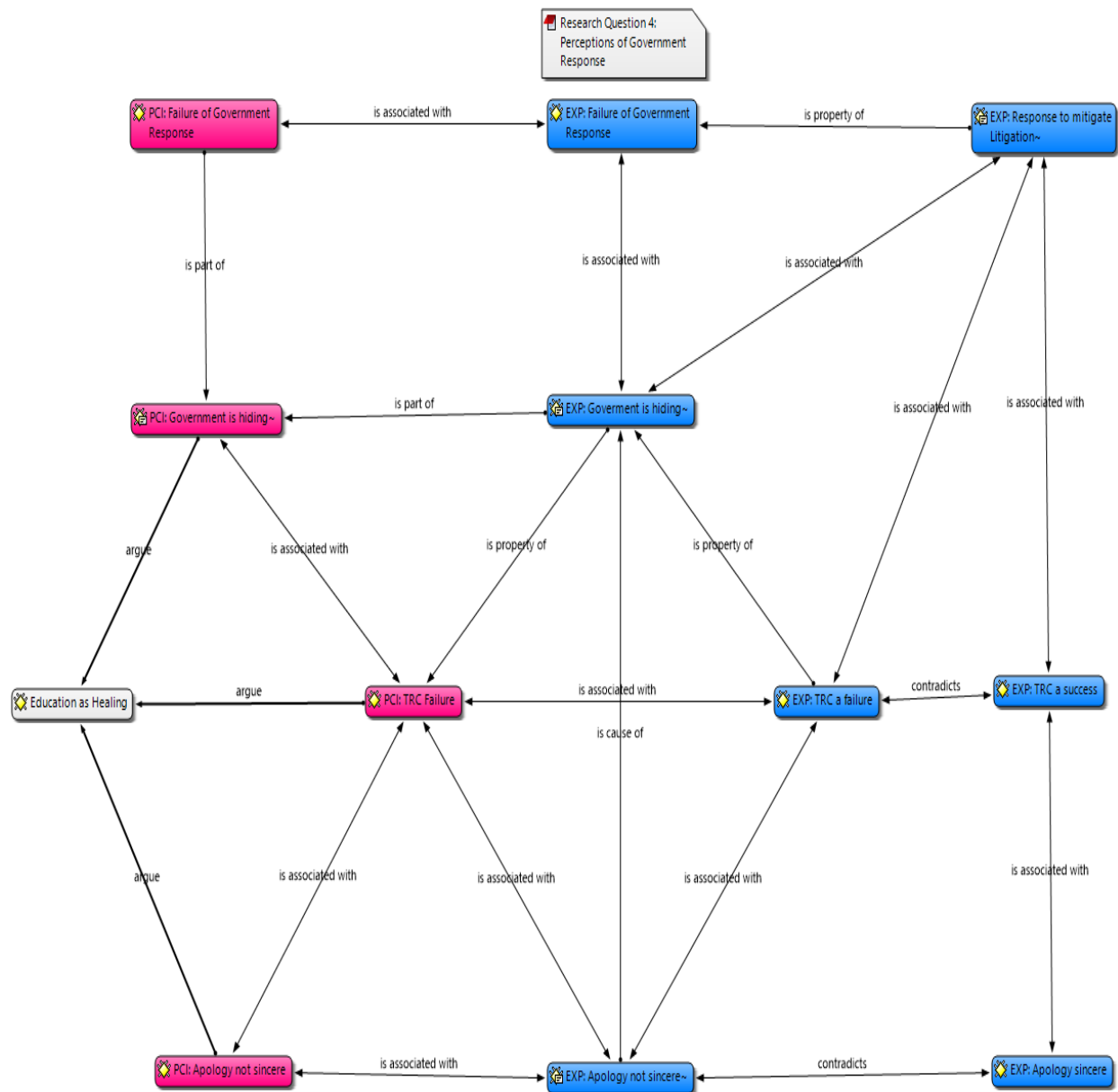
JD: But acknowledge especially with the apology that we now have a certain degree of truth, all kinds of hidden elements within that truth of course, how many children died, how did they die, where are they buried, who is responsible, those elements of truth still have to come out, but the big picture, did it happen, was there a policy of assimilation, those pieces were out there. And so it's the question of reconciliation, knowing that that was a challenge for South Africa, and we didn't have a commission like anything like South Africa's commission except in name only. I like the idea of us thinking about reconciliation. **The TRC...I don't think was done well in many ways.**

RM: So, for the Country to move forward, people really do need to understand the impact of the legacy and all that sort of stuff, and people need to understand especially the legacy in almost any field or sector that is interacting with Aboriginal people, so like health care workers that are dealing with Aboriginal people in an emergency room, they need to have the good solid understanding about the history and impact and legacy of the residential schools and they need **to carry that in hopefully a place of empathy when they are dealing with patients, the reality is the legacy is the damaged communities, and the damage manifests in drugs and alcohol and violence and other problems you know, diabetes and all that sort of stuff, poverty, right?** All of stuff, you know, a lot of poverty. And it creates a lot of damage...and people can become hardened, and if they don't understand and if they don't look beyond the individual and the history, they are missing the big story, you know, they are missing you know, the fact that this person is a survivor of a really wickedly brutal attack on their culture and being and family and ability to love and care.

To summarise, the theme of 'failure of government response' had a causal relationship with 'response to mitigate litigation', (experts who did not agree with the failure of response also agreed to response to mitigate litigation). Response to mitigate litigation means that individuals believed that the government response to apologize, provide funding and create a TRC was because of the need to stop further lawsuits. There was contradiction in the data found that while groups found the failure of government response, there were mixed reactions to the TRC and apology, mostly finding 'some good' or neutral. While all groups admitted to the response to mitigation litigation, all PCI groups and some EXP pointed to the need for greater awareness of the history for all Canadians, shown in the theme of 'education as healing.' The previously mentioned themes and their relationships to each other are illustrated in figure 5. This theme of 'education as healing' overlaps with the fifth and final research question examines the perceptions of the actions that have been taken (or not been) taken towards education and awareness

of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians.

Figure 5: Perceptions of Government Response (Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI) and Blue is Expert Interview (EXP))



5.3.5 Research Question 5: Perceptions of Healing

The fifth and final research question examines the perceptions of the actions that have been taken (or not been taken) towards education and awareness of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians. The themes and their relationships to each other are illustrated in figure 6. The prominent themes were PCI and EXP perspectives of healing. The obstructions to the promotion of healing were revealed to be the theme of Canada as a good image and EXP and PCI perspectives of lack of knowledge. Healing was expressed through education as healing, which was contradicted by complexity of narratives and education could be misconstrued as propaganda. All these themes are shown in the following:

EXP: Healing

JH: It would be good, it would be very helpful for us in Canada to step back and take a much broader view and to understand. But I am always struck, for example, when we get talking about this topic. To step back and think, for just a second, wait a minute. We are not the only country in the world that has experienced, that has had some experience with how we treat Aboriginal people. So, Australia treats its Aboriginal people. How have all these various countries, what is their history with collective memory. So it would be important I think when you get to this point in asking these kinds of questions, for people to think much more globally than is typically the case in Canada. In Canada we usually think, well, what is the answer, maybe to think as far west as Alberta. And sort of get outside of Ontario and think really big, **it would be important much more globally. It seems to me.**

RM: there is really been a lot of opening up in the country and of a facilitation of dialogue has been really super critical. **That is the result of NRC and even by just by virtue of the statement gathering process survivors...people have been able to speak about what happened to them, in a public forum where they are encouraged to do so, and where they are provided with proper ...so that has opened the door to allow communities and individuals to speak more openly and freely about what happened to them in residential schools and what the impacts and the legacies of those...you know what the history is.**

RM: It's positive just to see the sense of validation that these survivors experience matters...and it matters to Canadians. Beyond that, there is tangible stories we have heard where we have heard, family members starting members started talking about things and there has been reconciliation right inside the family, and that has been **...you know parents now speak to their children, you know these are grown parents grown children and they are saying look, part of the reason why I am who I am is because of the story that we just told, and you know, and**

now we can talk about this about this better as a family. So that has been super positive I think.

JQ: **It would be nice that the FN survivors could survive but they are dealing with physical, emotional and mental injury and they need to get help for that, and not just that but acknowledgement and recognition, it's not just about treating the symptoms it's just about someone acknowledging what has happened to them.** And Aboriginal people know that they are not going to get the money that is due them for their abuses, but you can't just forget about it, and you can't just say, there people, you got your money, go away....

JL: First Nations are less about getting more money, it is about there is acknowledgement, the acknowledgement and awareness of it in the Canadian public, and this is the issue. **It requires a paradigm shift that needs to happen within the community, and I argue that through education that could happen. That through education and awareness empathy could be created.**

RM: There is still the real question of how forced is Canada to being remember sort of thing, how much is that you know lest we forget never forget, really resounding and you know you sort of look at you know, the meaningful actions of government to make sure that history is not forgotten. That's going to depend a lot on this centre we are going to be one of the active agents of memorialization and preserving that memory and you know it's our duty to make sure that the country doesn't forget, because it is going to be easy to move on to the next crisis or something like that whatever it is after...**the history of what has happened to Aboriginal is going to continue in this country for a long time, but we can't forget about any aspect of it.**

PCI: Healing

LB: They need to bring back the programs that were helping survivors of the residential schools. They cut all the funding for that. They cut it off just like that. Now some of us are just coming out with telling the truth with what happened, and **we need a lot of support. We need more healing programs.** Especially in the North West Territories because there is nothing up here.

LB: **People need to know about this history. They need to move fast because the next generation needs to know what happened to us, way back a hundred years ago. The next generation needs to know so they can heal finally.**

RH: I think it made me more, as I grew older, it made me more, I think stronger because I got to prove them wrong! Don't call me lazy, don't call me stupid, and don't call me squaw, and that is what they would do and I wasn't going to let them call me that. I didn't know my history until probably even fairly recently I am learning my own history. This whole area is the Mohawk village. It was our Mohawk Village that Joseph Brant settled. This is it, the whole thing. So that is why, we are working on putting a memorial park up here. It is going to be called a

Mohawk Village Memorial Park. That is what we are looking to do, we have got to start fundraising to do the restoration of the building and the park.

RH: I am really stubborn, and I am not going to let them get the best of me. They did it for a long time and I never said nothing but not anymore, not anymore. It is my way of fighting back and just getting the truth out there. That is the worst thing that can happen to the government. And you know what? It is slow, but it's coming.

RH. When you don't have access to things and you have churches that are running things and they get to hide things too they are just as guilty for hiding. And all we ever ask for is the truth. What they are saying to us, OK we are going to pay this amount of money for the damages. But what is that? How can you measure it? What is that? If you raped a times several times, what is it worth? I don't think you could put a value on it. You have destroyed that child's life, and there will never be that innocent child again. You can't compensate with money with that. You can't fix the problem, ever. But telling the truth would help. That is all I want to hear, is somebody to tell the truth. But I don't think we are going to get the truth from the church or the government.

RH: I think knowledge is the key to better relationships. So, if I didn't know something and I have this stereotypical view of something, my whole attitude will change if somebody corrects that and tells me the truth about something and they will say, well I have always had this view but I didn't know any different because this is what I was taught or not taught. So if it broadens somebodies view of something, if it helps you to understand something, then that is what we need. I think education is really, really important right now. The provincial mandate, you know about the provincial mandate, they have to start teaching this at school. So these guys here, the cultural centre are already getting tours from schools. We are still here, we are survivors, we will tell you what happened. It is not going to be some little paragraph in a book. Do you want to know the truth about what happened? I am only telling you a little bit, there is a hell of a lot more that was horrendous.

RH: I was really scared of the world, I was scared of people, but probably nursing was the probably the best thing I could do. Because you didn't have a choice, you have to deal with people, patients, families, with the administration. It really did help me grow that way. So I did 32 years of nursing and I enjoyed it and now I am retired and I enjoy it even more! It was a good learning process just going into nursing. I think that helped. I think the worst part of it was is that is that you carried all this baggage still. It has only been in the last, probably since about 2008 since I even went for any help. Then I could just, I was actually a representative of a plaintiff in the IAP. But that is a whole other story too. When I think of us as representative plaintiffs with all their little battle scars sitting around a table emotionally distraught. They are supposed to be listening and making decisions and the lawyer can talk over you, you know? It still doesn't matter, what ended up to be is that we still want the truth. I don't care what

kind of deal, I mean I care that people weren't compensated adequately...but I care more about the truth.

El: I lost a lot of the Chippewa at the school...I lost a lot of my vocabulary. But I keep working on it, and try to get people to speak Chippewa with me and now today I am fluent.

El: I worked hard to get my culture and language that I lost there. I am an Elder now and I speak Chippewa fluently. I do a lot of ceremonies now. I do a lot of prayers. I shared my experience the other day at the cultural camp, and am often called for smudging and naming ceremonies. I have named 25 people already. They brought me to the meeting of the chiefs in Toronto. I blessed the new water house and council and bless the new chief and the counsellors this year. I did the smudging ceremony. I did the opening prayer for the clinic here. I did the opening ceremony at Tecumseh's tomb just a ways out from me. So, all those things now....people come to me. I go to drum ceremonies and do the opening prayer. They had me carry the eagle staff at a pow-wow. So I am an Elder now. My community gave me this title.

El: I don't think anyone should be treated the way we were treated there. To me, I decided that I would never treat my family the way I was treated at the school. I think that brought the family together, brought us close. Now there are 61 of us (Isaac clan)! People see that. They tell us that we are the closest family in the community. We volunteer with the community as much as possible. We are faith keepers. We help at Christmas...the Santa Claus parade...I am the Native Santa Claus! Now they say...hey, where is that Native Santa Claus? **I think after going through that...nobody should be treated that way. How the staff treated the children.** We always tell people, get the education and come back and help the people on the island. I did that, I went out and worked, then came back and worked here. And helped my community.

El: The government tried to hide the stuff about the schools, and now it is coming out. It is starting to take off. It will be a worldwide thing. People will find out how Canada treated its people. When they took the land away from us, it should not have happened, but it did, and we just have to live with it and deal with it and make do with what we have now. I have been telling stories at Fanshawe and Western University. **I am trying to pass down our culture in the colleges. It is slowly coming back.**

In further expanding upon the theme of Healing, it appeared that the theme of lack of knowledge seemed to be an obstacle to promote healing, seen here:

EXP: Canada's good image:

EM: And they say, we are Canadians, we are Canadians we are peacekeepers, we say sorry for everything, and we apologized for the residential schools. Look at how nice we are. So it's this huge contradiction that one is faced with, of the national stereotype as

Canada as a tolerant, peaceful, multicultural country with this piece of history that has been relatively hidden.

PCI: Lack of Knowledge:

RH: I find when I look at all the Aboriginal communities across the country and **I think, doesn't anyone understand? Doesn't anyone want to understand?**

RH: I think knowledge is the key to better relationships. So, if I didn't know something and I have this stereotypical view of something, my whole attitude will change if somebody corrects that and tells me the truth about something and they will say, well I have always had this view but I didn't know any different because this is what I was taught or not taught. If it broadens someones' view of something, if it helps you to understand something, then that is what we need. **I think education is really, really important right now. The provincial mandate, you know about the provincial mandate, they have to start teaching this at school.** So these guys here, the cultural centre are already getting tours from schools. We are still here, we are survivors, and we will tell you what happened. It is not going to be some little paragraph in a book. Do you want to know the truth about what happened? I am only telling you a little bit, there is a hell of a lot more that was horrendous.

RH : A lot of Canadians think we are really just here to get the money.

EXP: Lack of Knowledge

JD: **Why wasn't it taught twenty years ago when I was a university or 30 years ago when I was in elementary school,** you know I am not absolutely sure I think ignorance was a part of it and wilful ignorance perhaps as well.

EM: **I think that the majority of non-Aboriginal Canadians don't know anything about it. I think that the majority of Canadians just go on and were raised and go on living their lives with absolutely no knowledge of that aspect of Canada's history.**

RM: **I think it's not just non-Aboriginal Canadians who don't know anything. You know based on my reading of just popular narratives and also some of my student indigenous responses, I think it's something they don't know about either, right?** Grandma and Grandpa would never talk about it so it is silent or once they start to study like I had a different indigenous student do research on the topic and suddenly their families' behaviour becomes explainable so I think it's for generations it's also been something in the indigenous family or community I mean you will see lots of survivors who have just never talked about it right, or you will see survivors at the TRC say that they didn't tell anybody what happened to them for 30 years. **I think it is something what lots of people don't know about and that knowledge had different impacts on who you are and your family background. So I think that knowledge is beneficial for everyone. And it is a complicated knowledge right?**

JQ: I read the **Globe and Mail** every day, and probably once a week or maybe a couple times a month, there's been an article about the TRC. But if I clipped each of those articles they would not fill an entire binder. Over the lifetime of the Commission, that is a problem.

Furthermore, to counteract this lack of knowledge, all PCI groups and some of EXP groups revealed the overarching need to create education and awareness for both Native and non-Native Canadians:

PCI: Education as Healing

AK: Do you think this history of residential schools should be taught in schools?

LB: **Yes, I think that is really important. They need to know. They need to move fast because the next generation needs to know what happened to us, way back a hundred years ago. The next generation needs to know so they can heal finally.**

RH: When you don't have access to things and you have churches that are running things and they get to hide things too they are just as guilty for hiding. **And all we ever ask for is the truth. What they are saying to us, OK we are going to pay this amount of money for the damages. But what is that? How can you measure it? What is that? If you are raped a times several times, what is it worth? I don't think you could put a value on it. You have destroyed that child's life, and there will never be that innocent child again. You can't compensate with money with that. You can't fix the problem, ever. But telling the truth would help. That is all I want to hear, is somebody to tell the truth. But I don't think we are going to get the truth from the church or the government.**

RH: **It is all we are asking...tell the truth! Open the books! Open everything! Tell the truth about what went on in this Country! The perspectives would be better if you were honest. If you start hiding and lying, it doesn't look very good. They don't see us as anything very important. We are not worth anything, other than our land. We are not worth a lot to them, that is why they can step on us and push us on the way. They have already done all our dirty deals and taken everything. They made us impoverished by the land deals and all the rest of it. We have nothing left because of the crookedness. But that doesn't mean we give up. We don't give up on these people. You still have to move forward! You know what, we can hold our head up we haven't done anything wrong! We haven't! I try to teach my kids. My one daughter is pretty outspoken. You know what, she doesn't even know all the history, I didn't even tell her all the details even now...even my daughter has to learn. Everyone should learn from it. They have to learn from the past.**

EI: **They tried to hide it, and now it is coming out.** It is starting to take off. It will be a worldwide thing. People will find out how Canada treated its people. When they took the land away from us, it should not have happened, but it did, and we

just have to live with it and deal with it and make do with what we have now. I have been telling stories at Fanshawe and Western University. **I am trying to pass down our culture in the colleges. It is slowly coming back.**

VT: I can talk about it with a stronger voice and I am stronger too. If it is going to help someone, by all means. **I am not going to stay quiet anymore. And I encourage my survivors to say, you know what, it is important that you talk, speak about it, because our children, our grandchildren deserve that chance. We want to change the future for the better, then we got to be a part of it to overcome the past. We need to give them that opportunity, you know? That is love.**

EXP: Education as Healing

JL: **The most important thing is to speak to survivors.**

JD: **It has to be done.** It is complicated of course because education is a provincial jurisdiction not a federal jurisdiction so despite the fact the truth is out there because the prime minister said this truth, though we disputed how and why he said them, the way the Apology was put together, the bricks of the apologies, you can't say this truth has been acknowledge, this has been very clearly said, policy of assimilation, kill the Indian in the child, we can say it's out there. But the extent to which that influences policy, within a province, you know it's very much in the air. **There is a lot of work to be done in this area.**

JL: **So often my answers come down to speak to a survivor.**

JD: **It's a lot of work to fill in those historical contexts, and then to show how certain elements certain impacts carry forward. That is the work that we have to do.**

CL: **It is probably important for the general public to understand that for an Aboriginal homeless guy there is a much bigger story, there is a reasonable chance that there is a much bigger story behind this, than simply some dude who is just lazy and doesn't want to get a job.**

RM: **The more I learned about the residential school system and legacy, the more I understood that you really can't understand any aspect of aboriginal and non-aboriginal relations in this country without understanding the history of the residential schools. It's a fundamental key to understanding true understanding.**

RN: **I find another really powerful thing to do with my university students to just show them survivors speaking. And all of that the TRC website with all the raw footage excellent because I have been there and I can pick out a testimony that I had found particularly compelling and then showed the class.**

While all PCI groups and some EXP groups heralded the need for greater education and awareness as a means for true reconciliation and healing for Natives, another theme emerged that perhaps this should not be taught in schools, as in 'education could be misconstrued as propaganda' and 'complexity of narratives', expressed here:

EXP: Education could be misconstrued as propaganda:

TF: But, a lot of it is propagandistic and so kids tend to be turned off by propaganda, they may have to learn to repeat it in the classroom but it doesn't mean that it sinks in that deeply.

TF: From a political point of view, the First Nations have gotten the ability to get their political views into school curriculums and public events and that sort of thing. **What is more important for children to learn in school, to be able to add and subtract and read and write, and not to have somebody's politicized version of history shoved at them.**

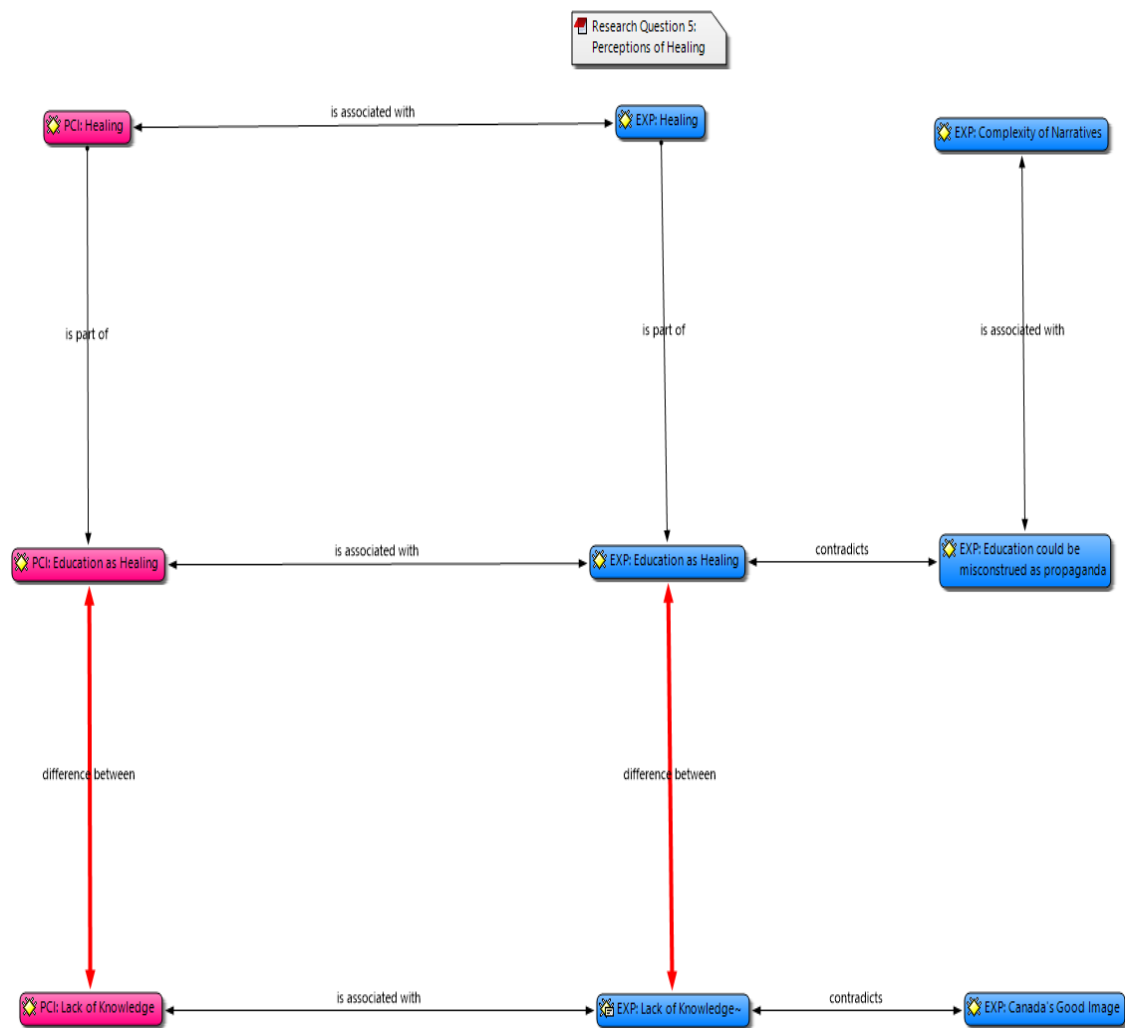
EXP: Complexity of Narratives

TF: It is a mistake to think that you can just give a one factual version of the history. It is not that simple. Students have to be exposed to different perspectives on it and have to work through the debates, which is difficult, it is not something you can do with a six year old kid, and this is actually something that has to be placed at a higher level.

CL: The problem with the way we then tell that history is that it becomes as is often the case, particular aboriginal groups get a hold of that history then because some groups politically more powerful than others and make sure the history is told from their particular perspectives. As we know the challenge with Aboriginals, many Aboriginal groups themselves don't, there is considerable disagreement and diversity among Aboriginal groups and how to tell their particular story. And there are tensions among these groups, so I think to come up with one way to tell that particular story is challenging, and it's probably part of the explanation of why it hasn't found its way into sort of our history lessons and our history books because there isn't sort of one large consensus that has emerged yet on that. We haven't had enough time to mythologize it.

To summarize, the prominent themes were PCI and EXP perspectives of healing. The obstructions to the promotion of healing were revealed to be the theme of Canada as a good image and EXP and PCI perspectives of lack of knowledge. Healing was expressed through education as healing, which was contradicted by complexity of narratives and education could be misconstrued as propaganda. The themes and their relationships to each other are illustrated in figure 6.

Figure 6: Perceptions of Healing (Pink is Problem Centered Interview (PCI) and Blue is Expert Interview (EXP))



5.3.6. Politics of Remembrance

During the data analysis phase, there were further findings discovered that went beyond that of the research questions and dealt with the theoretical framework of this research study: collective memory. The following themes were found when discussing this history as a form of collective memory or politics of remembrance:

TF: There is this difficulty with the evidence that a lot of it is either people talking about what happened to their ancestors so passed down through word of mouth, or also very common is people who are now in their fifties or sixties, talking about what happened to them fifty years ago. **Human memory is far from infallible, I think that as a scholar I find a lot of question marks about the kinds of evidence that was brought forward.**

JH: Bottom line, going back to your question about how, what to do, going forward, how to make this, how to sustain something and make it work, I think education, some way of fitting it in the education system and I guess the caution or my concern would be that it becomes broken off, or somehow it becomes only a little part, a little component, this little bit of curriculum. Here is this little thing that came out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It competes with 27 other components of history and curriculum commitments. **It becomes an integrated essential part, reading, writing and arithmetic, it becomes, if you are going to grow up in Canada, in the 21st century, it becomes part of who you are. So somehow, educators have to know all about it. And it has to become who we are if we are going to be Canadian, you got to know about it you know. How does it become that important to that Canadians? That is the key.**

CL: So, a lot of people our age simply wouldn't have studied it as part of their own socialization and education, they would have only experienced it through the media. And just because we study it in school doesn't mean we get a neutral objective on First Nations, by no means. It just, people sort of get their basic knowledge, **what do we mythologize, what is the historical national myth making around this issue?**

CL: There is probably something useful in there for children to understand that Canada too has struggled and I think there is a lot to be learned for other countries for how we can struggle through these challenges within a rule of law framework, within a constitutional framework without anybody having to take up arms, with finding a way that isn't perhaps the optimal way of solving issues but something that all sides to attention or dispute of conflict can sort of wrestle themselves together to kind of agree that this is sort of a way for moving forward, **I think that in itself is an important model to set for children not just the history itself.**

CL: The problem with the way we then tell that history is that it becomes as is often the case, particular Aboriginal groups get a hold of that history then because some groups are politically more powerful than others and make sure the history is told from their particular perspectives. As we know the challenge with Aboriginals, many Aboriginal groups themselves don't...there is considerable disagreement and diversity among Aboriginal groups and how to tell their particular story. And there are tensions among these groups, so I think to come up with one way to tell that particular story is challenging, and **it's probably part of the explanation of why it hasn't found its way into sort of our history lessons and our history books because there isn't sort of one large consensus that has emerged yet on that. We haven't had enough time to mythologize it.**

CL: **I think sort of the current government; the current government has been very much shifting away from the social history and much more towards the national history. It is shifting that ways...these national events and focusing events in terms of national consciousness.**

RM: There is still the real question of how forced is Canada to being remember that sort of thing, how much is that you know lest we forget never forget, really resounding and you know you sort of look at you know, the meaningful actions of government to make sure that history is not forgotten. **That's going to depend a lot on this centre we are going to be one of the active agents of memorialization and preserving that memory and you know it's our duty to make sure that the country doesn't forget, because it is going to be easy to move on to the next crisis or something like that whatever it is after...the history of what has happened to Aboriginal is going to continue in this country for a long time, but we can't forget about any aspect of it.**

RM: Well, I think we've got a clear mandate to priority to preserve the collection and I think that's really clear...we have got a great collection of material that will preserve this memory and we are duty bound to preserve this memory. And that is good because that will assist the country in not being able to forget...and help the country remember. And **we'll be active agents in promoting memory and promoting memorialization of this history and in so doing I think we're also going to be able to reconnect Aboriginal peoples with their history and the effects and impacts and repatriate some of this history and information back into the communities, individuals, families of survivors all that sort of stuff and better understand their own history because of course that attended the residential schools they were raised by an institution they were not raised by a family necessarily and when you are raised by an institution, the institution holds the memory, not the family. So we need to bring some of this information to the extent it's still is institutional memory but we need to bring this information back to communities and I think that is going to be um, very helpful in connecting families with their past and helping families a sense of community and internal family reconciliation.**

CL: It is difficult to make a blanket statement about it, **first of all remember that Aboriginal people are not a single entity.**

CL: We need to look at the data to see if there is any sort of correlation from the number of people who are from a community who end up in residential schools and how the community does today, there is no question that in many schools that tore the heart and fabric out of Aboriginal communities, but many communities seem to have overcome that just fine, so it seems to be, **somehow it has left that...it just shows we can't talk about Aboriginals as one cohesive community, that with First Nations, there is Inuit, there is Metis, and then even among different regions of the country just people have suffered different fates.**

CL: So, you know, **but you can hardly ignore the individual fate, but I think it often the media sensationalism of these individual fates, and the emergency of some rather mismanaged suffer, that paints the aggregate picture of Aboriginals as a merged community for all.**

CL: And also some **don't recognize the fact that not everybody in every school suffered abuse. Different psyches seem to deal differently with the abuse that they suffer. Not all people who suffer abuse today are, their lives are completely ruined.**

CL: I think we need a much more nuanced and differentiated approach to both collective and individual aboriginal history rather than kind of just...mono causal explanations are never effective in the social sciences, it's these models are also always multi-varied models and the explanatory factors are a combination of micro/macro mechanisms individual and sort of collective dimensions psychological as well sort of social psychological ...to boil it down to say residential schools are the determining factor as to why so many aboriginals can't get a leg up, is more of...it borders on apologetics, **I think a genuine appreciation might have a much more differentiated approach and also does injustice to the people who have overcome the issues they have faced as a result of the residential schools that have in many cases worked hard and have struggled and work hard and overcome those and so we boil it all down to the people who have been who haven't been able to overcome those, does a serious injustice to those individuals and communities that have surmounted that legacy and become sort of this, somehow we reconstruct aboriginal history out of one particular dimension in time seems to me rather curious way to read any narrative.**

CL: I think that is the problem with the Aboriginal issue, is there one Aboriginal issue? **Some communities share a common experience, but not even all the residential school experiences are shared by all communities.**

PCI

RH: I don't think that the Apology from Harper is sincere. Personally, I can't reconcile with the past until people tell the truth. If you have already started hiding stuff, what else are you hiding, how much more are you hiding? How much documents have been shredded that really hides a lot of the ugliness, tell it! Tell it! Then we can at least start with a clean slate when you just tell it! That is

where it is all about, you punish me, or you can withhold payment to me if you think I am lying. What about you? What about when you lie and withhold information from us? When you hide documents that proves that these children were hurt terribly, you know? **But reconciliation right now is not even close to what it should be. Not even close. No, how can it be? The day that you can actually sit down and say, open your history books, on this year, here is what we destroyed, on this year, here is what we destroyed. You look at people who can't even get their records because they can't prove they were there, and that is when they were shredding admission records. They should automatically be compensated. The lawyer says it is not up to us to find those documents, you were a student in that school, but it's their business. We were not supposed to ever go looking for those. It is another part is what is very wrong. But reconciling the past, people say, move on, get over it.**

VT: With the media, with the Truth and Reconciliation, even though it wasn't shown on television, it was broadcasted via live streaming available all around the world. So that was good because it opened doorways, so social media, and the digital world opened doorways for us. So we are using that! I know we, as spiritual people, that is who we are, if we keep on (I don't know what your cultural values and beliefs are) but at least for me sometimes I feel I hear about the government and I want to say things and I want to vent...but I can't do that, because everybody else is doing that. **We have to take some of our energy and put our energy into good ways, and the truth will come out and it is coming out. Take a look at us, we are speaking the truth. The same thing with the history, it will come out, it will be black and white. When you see that, think of me. That is what I am praying for.**

RH: I am not saying you were here in 1957 because I know you weren't. But you are now the government head, so what is wrong with the government saying, you know what, we will admit we did a lot of wrong and he is what we did wrong. It is all we are asking...tell the truth! Open the books! Open everything! Tell the truth about what went on in this Country! The perspectives would be better if you were honest. If you start hiding and lying, it doesn't look very good. They don't see us as anything very important. We are not worth anything, other than our land. We are not worth a lot to them, that is why they can step on us and push us on the way. They have already done all our dirty deals and taken everything. Basically, what they have done made us impoverished us by the land deals and all the rest of it. We have nothing left because of the crookedness. But that doesn't mean we give up. We don't give up on these people. You still have to move forward! You know what, we can hold our head up we haven't done anything wrong! We haven't! I try to teach my kids. **My one daughter is pretty outspoken. You know what, she doesn't even know all the history, I didn't even tell her all the details even now...even my daughter has to learn. Everyone should learn from it. They have to learn from the past, like with the Germans and Austrians remembering the Holocaust.**

Summary of Findings

To summarise this chapter, the following condenses all discussed themes:

For research question one, perceptions of harm, the emergent theme for PCI interviews was harm with its subthemes of specific details of harm occurring at the schools (cutting family ties, child labour, loss of language, identity loss, physical abuse, and sexual abuse) and its wider implications (government and church is guilty, government is hiding, guilt and shame, and staying silent). The emergent theme for EXP interviews was direct harm (linked with healing) and rationalised harm (linked with justifications for schools, minimizing impacts and doubting abuse claims). For research question two, perceptions of quality of life gap, the first group of findings indicate that for all of PCI interviews and some of EXP interviews, they shared the belief that the intergenerational impacts of the schools had a causal relationship with a poor quality of life for many Native Canadians today. The second group of findings for this theme showed that some experts disagreed with the correlation, and when they disagreed it was followed with the schools having some positive benefits and that there would be better social outcomes for Native Canadians to live off reservations. For research question three, the perception of negative stereotype, findings show that some Expert and all PCI groups identified a negative stereotype existing with non-Native Canadians, expressed as 'drunk and lazy Indian.' This negative stereotype was shown in the interviews to be due to a 'lack of knowledge.' Those Experts that did not share this opinion dismissed that there was any problem with negative stereotypes of Native Canadians in Canada whatsoever. Residential schools were debated as genocide in the mainstream Canadian media, as referenced in the literature review, and this was brought up by the mostly experts. However, the theme was contradicted with itself, as most experts who said parts of it could be considered as genocide said in the same breath that this would be an inappropriate term to use towards the schools. For research question four, perceptions of government response, the theme of 'failure of government response' had a causal relationship with 'response to mitigate litigation', (experts who did not agree with the failure of response also agreed to response to mitigate litigation). Response to mitigate litigation means that individuals believed that the government response to apologize, provide funding and create a TRC was because of the need to stop further lawsuits. There was contradiction in the data found that while groups found the failure of government response, there were mixed reactions to the TRC and apology, mostly finding 'some good' or neutral. While all groups admitted to the response to mitigation litigation, all PCI groups and some EXP pointed to the need for greater awareness of the history for all Canadians, shown in the theme of 'education as healing.' This theme of 'education as healing' overlaps with the fifth and final research question which examines the perceptions of the actions that have been

taken (or not been) taken towards education and awareness of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians. For research question five, perceptions of healing, the prominent themes were PCI and EXP perspectives of healing. The obstructions to the promotion of healing were revealed to be the theme of Canada as a good image and EXP and PCI perspectives of lack of knowledge. Healing was expressed through education as healing, which was contradicted by complexity of narratives and education could be misconstrued as propaganda. All of this is expressed in figure 7.

Figure 7

RQ: 1 Harm	RQ: 2 Quality of Life	RQ:3 Negative Stereotype	RQ: 4 Government Response	RQ: 5 Healing
Major themes : • Harm • Government and church guilty • Government is hiding • Guilt and Shame • Staying Silent • Direct Harm • Rationalised Harm Subthemes of Harm: • Cutting family ties, • Child labour, • Loss of language • Identity loss • Physical abuse • Sexual Abuse Subtheme of Rationalised Harm: • Justification for schools • Minimizing Impact • Doubting Abuse claims	Major themes: • Intergenerational Impacts • No Intergenerational Impacts Subtheme of Intergenerational Impact: • Poor Quality of Life Subthemes of No Intergenerational Impacts: • Positive benefits of Schools • Better for Natives off Reserves	Major themes: • Negative Stereotype • There is no problem Subtheme of Negative Stereotype: • Drunk and Lazy Indian • Lack of Knowledge • Argument for genocide • Argument against genocide	Major Themes: • Failure of Government Response • Response to Mitigate Litigation Subtheme of Failure of Government Response: • TRC and Apology 'some good' or 'neutral' • Education as healing	Major Themes: • Healing Subthemes of Healing: • Canada as a good image • Lack of Knowledge • Education as healing Subtheme of Education as healing: • Complexity of Narratives • Education Misconstrued as propaganda

6. Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this research study proceeds as follows: it links the purpose of the study to the main findings, briefly reflects on main methodologies used, revisits the theoretical framework and its usefulness to understanding the phenomenon, analyses and interprets the themes emerging from the data generated by each research question, as well as their relation to literature/other studies in the field, addresses the limitations, proposes recommendations to the study and further research, and presents the conclusion of the research.

6.2 Purpose of the Research and Main Findings

The purpose of the research study is to examine the social phenomenon of the Native residential schools through the perspective of a maximum variety of relevant interview partners. The reconstruction of perspectives on this subject provides a broader understanding of the history and those affected by it. Through this, one can see how individuals today remember the phenomenon, and to what extent their social environment has impacted this framing of memory. As well, what faulty assumptions could be found in such framing? During the in depth interviews, study participants described their perceptions, experience, and knowledge about the residential schools. These perspectives are reconstructed in this chapter to illustrate the emergent themes and their connection to one another. The main findings suggest that the Native participants who attended residential schools in Canada all claim to have suffered physical, emotional, cultural, and sexual abuse at the schools from the non-Native staff. Furthermore, Native participants believe the extent of the abuse has been hidden by the government for many years, which was also confirmed by both Native and non-Native experts. Native participants believe the residential schools had severe negative impacts which have intergenerational consequences, and this remains a major contributor for the current quality of life gap between Native and non-Native Canadians. Additionally, the Native participants wish for acknowledgement and healing more than funding, as they believe that Native demands for money is wrongly portrayed in media. They believe that much of the history and its impacts remain unknown to the majority of Canadians, without a standard provincial and territorial curriculum. This can be understood through the theory of official memory which is the remembrance of the past by official state

institutions used for educational purposes and to maintain power for those in leadership (Olick, 1998).²³⁴ However, while some experts agreed with that each province and territory should include education about the residential schools in the history of Canada, other experts raised the issue that the narrative is currently still ongoing. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission finished in June 2015. In October 2015 former Prime Minister Stephen Harper lost in the national election to Justin Trudeau. As of May 2016, Canada is in the midst of a political and social change triggered by the liberal government who have promise to implement the recommendations of the TRC. Additionally, some of the experts raised the issue of the complexity of narratives and the suggested that the presence of this history in school curriculums could function as a form of propaganda. Some experts doubted the validity of complaints of abuse, justified the presence of the schools as a norm for that time and more over asserted that those who did attend residential school had the benefit of learning English and have become the influential leaders of today. These findings relate to the dual perspective of traditionalist and revisionist that was mentioned in the literature review and which seems to continue to persist today. What was surprising in the findings was that, while the most predominant theme seemed to be the extent of the harm done to children in the schools, it seemed that Native Canadians were not overly focused on their own negative or non-negative stereotype rather they were focused on the impacts of the harm to their communities (whose status seemed to be generating this negative stereotype, for example 'drunk lazy Indian'), speaking about their grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, children and grandchildren, seemingly asserting that no Native is entirely untouched by this history. It was also surprising that Native Canadians participants in this study had the ability to share traumatic details of their past, explain how it had impacted their life, and ultimately how they had found healing in their own lives to 'overcome' the past. All the Native participants in the study, except for one who was currently still undergoing therapy, had become advocates for healing programs in their communities for those who had claimed to have suffered abuse at a residential school. One participant gave the interview in the residential school she attended, in the room where she was abused. She stated that this brought her healing to face it, and now being a part of the board of Native former students who are turning the residential school into a cultural place of learning/museum, illustrating a form of cultural communicative memory. Assman (2005) asserts this is how a society understands its past through monuments, buildings, memorials, and films. It is built on exchanges in everyday life.²³⁵ Each one of the Native participants voiced that this harm must be acknowledged and understood, pointing to a wider

²³⁴ Olick, J.K. (1998). What does it mean to normalize the past? Official Memory in German Politics since 1989. *Social Science History*. Vol 22(4). P. 547.

²³⁵ Assman, J. (2005). *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. P. 164.

discourse that a major reason behind Native inequality and suffering is due to the legacy of the residential schools, manifesting itself in persistent substance abuse, teen suicide, and poverty. Moreover, the Native participants believe that while many healing initiative and acknowledgment programs have taken place, many non-Native Canadians still do not fully grasp the damaging impacts of the relevant schools, and how they functioned as a tool of suppression for Native Canadians. What was surprising to this study, which initially began in mid-2012, was that many people had not heard of the residential schools, both in Canada in abroad. This was echoed by a Native expert who stated:

RM: When I first started working for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada, I spent a lot of time on planes, flying around all over the place. And when you sit down next to someone on the plane and ask each other what you do for a living, it started off in the beginning as me saying I work for the TRC, you know the Native residential schools? People went blank at the beginning, meaning they didn't have a clue what I was talking about. Now they say, oh yeah, is that thing done yet? I have heard 'When are we ever going to get past this, or isn't it just about the money?' You know, these types of comments.

Due to the presence of the TRC and its national events and the subsequent reporting of its findings in the mainstream media, this researcher has noted a shift in the national discourse. It appears that many of the stereotypes towards the schools have changed and a new collective consciousness is emerging that shows greater empathy and a deeper understanding that the schools are seen as a major cause of harm for First Nations in Canada, this has been greatly impacted by the publishing of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its 94 recommendations to the Federal Government of Canada.

6.3 Reflection on Main Method Used

The methodology of the research was qualitative, based on expert and problem-centered interviews due to the subjective meaning interview participants assign to their understanding of the Native residential schools. It allowed for direct interaction with the interview partners. Through the method of interview, the data was obtained in a respectful and safe setting where the individuals were comfortable to share their views without obstacle. As previously mentioned, there were two types of interviews, expert (Bogner et al, 2015)²³⁶ and problem centered (Witzel, 2000),²³⁷ both including elements of a narrative interview (Schiebelhofer 2008).²³⁸ The participants were selected to represent a maximum variety of

²³⁶ Bogner, A et al. (2015). *Experteninterviews:Theorien, Methoden, Anwendungsfelder*. Heidelberg: Springer Verlag. P. 4.

²³⁷ Witzel, A. (2000). The Problem Centered Interview. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*. Vol 1 No. 1-200. Pp. 1-6.

²³⁸ Schiebelhofer, E. (2008). Combining Narration-Based Interviews with Topical Interviews: Methodological Reflections on Research Practices. *Int. J. Social Research Methodology*. Vol. 11, No. 4.

perspectives. The criterion for expert interviews was to have a thorough knowledge of the NRS, and/or scholar/professor in the field with a profound knowledge of Canadian history and Aboriginal studies. The criterion for the problem centered interview was to have direct involvement and experiment, meaning they must be a former student of a Native residential school. The interview guidelines were 8-12 open-ended questions inspired by the research questions, though not specifically the research questions. The interviews were recorded in person when available, and via Skype when the interviews could not be conducted in person. A handheld recording device was used to record the sessions in person, and mp3 recording software linked to Skype was used for the Skype interviews. Consent was obtained before each interview. The interviews were all transcribed by the author, and later analysed via atlas.ti software. Inductive coding was used on the transcripts, whereby codes were derived bottom up from the reading of the data to allow for grasping the reasoning, argumentation, perspectives and underlying assumption provided by the interview partner in as detailed a manner as possible. The interview participants were found through a first interview with an expert, who accepted a request for an interview in early 2013. This professor then opened the door to other names in the field who gave interviews, who in turn gave names to individuals who attended residential schools. This is referred to as snowball technique (Davis & Wagner 2013).²³⁹ While just over half of the interviews were conducted via Skype, the other half was conducted in person. It was easier to do the interviews via Skype because they were faster and there was no double recording as there was when one interviewed in person (first via handheld device then re-recorded onto a computer file). However, the interviews that were done in person were longer, richer, and more rewarding. There was more personal rapport built between interviewer and interviewee. Additionally, some in-person interviews were conducted at a residential school, and this was combined with a tour of the premises (see Appendix). The tour of the residential school provided a powerful perspective into the history, and was a historical memory site for the Natives who attended residential school there. Another interview was conducted at a memorial site where a former residential school stood before it was burnt down in the seventies. This was located on the reserve and had particularly powerful meaning to the participant giving the interview who was responsible for organising community events around the memorial site and also reiterated that all Natives were affected by the schools. This echoes the theoretical perspective of Halbwachs' collective memory which is a social phenomenon that is formed through interaction and communication (Halbwachs 1952). While the literature review allowed for grasping the historical details of the schools, it was the interviews that allowed direct interaction with the social phenomenon and this was truly

²³⁹ Davis, A., Wagner, J. R. (2003). *Who Knows? On the Importance of Identifying 'Experts' When Researching Local Ecological Knowledge.* *Human Ecology*, Vol. 31, No. 3 p. 471.

enlightening. It also impacted peers and family who had attended some native cultural camps and heard the history of the residential schools for the first time, stating that they had no idea of this history and how it had made them identify their own negative stereotypes towards Native Canadians and drastically changed their perspective on the Native history and culture in Canada. Therefore, the methods used were rich and effective to answer the research questions. It was a rewarding experience for the researcher and also the peers and family members of the researcher.

6.4 Discussion of Findings in Light of Aim and Research Questions

The following research questions informed the data analysis. Themes emerged from a bottom up, inductive reading of the interview data, as was reported in chapter four. The following five sections of this chapter will interpret and discuss the themes found in the data framed around each research question. It will summarize the findings, evaluate and interpret, compare with other findings, discuss limitations and discussions, and provide recommendations for further study:

1. The first question explores the specific and detailed history of the system, namely, what were the specific events in the 129 year history of the Indian Residential Schools that can be perceived to have caused lasting harm to Aboriginal Canadians?
2. The second question investigates what evidence, if any, testifies to the assumption that this history has a causal relationship between the history of the NRS and a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians?
3. The third question investigates what evidence, if any, reveals racist and discriminatory attitudes against Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians today?
4. The fourth question looks at how the Canadian Government has responded to the mass reporting of abuse after the last school closed in 1996 and how Native and non-Native groups view the response of the Government.
5. The fifth question investigates what steps have already been taken in the education and awareness of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians.

6.4.1 Perceptions of Harm

The first research question explores the history of the system, namely, what were the specific events in the 129 year history of the Indian Residential Schools that can be perceived to have caused lasting damage to Aboriginal Canadians? While this was addressed in the literature review, the interviewees described their perception of the events which caused harm. The first findings suggested that there was

a pattern of specific harm to those who attended residential school. The subthemes of cutting family ties, child labour, loss of language, loss of identity, physical and sexual abuse were prominent in the PCI interviews. This has also been acknowledged in the wider Canadian discourse. These forms of harm have also been cited in the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.²⁴⁰ Therefore it appears that what the Native participants shared has been acknowledged and documented by the TRC which is supported by the Federal Government. Furthermore in July of 2015 the TRC opened the National Research Centre for the residential schools, where there are archives and personal statements from former students of residential school, open for public access at the center and online. This is an incredible jump from the time when this research study was underway in 2013, when there were heated and angry debates about the use of the word 'genocide' when referring to the residential schools in mainstream Canadian media, as cited in the literature review: 'Native Leaders talk of genocide just fuels anger'²⁴¹ and 'What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it.'²⁴² Chrisjohn et al (2002) wrote that the legacy of the residential schools caused great harm to most of the students who attended, and went a step further and made use of the word genocide:

It has been the sexual, physical, and emotional abuses that occurred within these schools, which has aroused public interest (such as it is) aroused governmental action (such as it is) and formed the basis for more than 8,000 civil charges against churches and government...These abuses take center stage in contemporary discussion of Indian Residential Schooling so that another more important topic may be ignored, that Indian Residential Schooling was genocide.²⁴³

The use of the word genocide is expanded in the negative stereotype theme. This research project in no way claims the use of the word as being correct or incorrect, rather examines how it has been used by individuals in contemporary Canadian discourse and mainstream media, as well as the controversy it has generated. Relevant to this section is the dimensions of harm, which Miller first began to reference in the same year as the last residential school closure. Miller (1996) in his work *Shingwauk's vision, a history of native residential schools* lists these forms of abuse in chapter 11 of his aforementioned work, titled: 'Sadness, Pain, and Misery were my legacy as an Indian: Abuse:'

²⁴⁰ 2015. Truth and Reconciliation Commission. July 2015 Findings.

http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf

²⁴¹ Martinuk, S. (9 August 2013). Native Leaders talk of genocide just fuels Anger. *Calgary Herald*. Retrieved from.

<http://www.calgaryherald.com/news/topic.html?t=person&q=susan+martinuk>

²⁴² Farber, B., Fontaine, P. (14 October 2013). What Canada committed against First Nations was genocide. The UN should recognize it. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/what-canada-committed-again-first-nations-was-genocide-genocide.the-un-should-recognize-it/article14853747/>

²⁴³ Chrisjohn, R. et al. (2002) *Genocide and Indian Residential Schooling. The past is present. Canada and International Humanitarian Law: Peacekeeping and War Crimes in the Modern Era.* (eds) Wiggers, R & Griffiths, A. Halifax: Dalhousie University Press: 2002. P. 2.

As a rule, abuse fell into three categories: physical, sexual, and emotional...A few months ago a boy was hit and his glasses broken for no cause by a staff member who had been drinking and who also swore at the boy,' noted a United Church report on the problems. 'I've seen a staff member knock a small child flying as the supervisor passed, in a hurry. And statements like 'stupid Indians' said by staff in front of the children are common...A female staff worker at the Presbyterian school in northwestern Ontario was described by a fellow worker as violent and almost desperate in her treatment of the children...the common practice of forcing children who had wet their beds during the night to parade through the building with the damp sheet over their heads was also excruciatingly humiliating for the young people, who in many cases had medical or emotional problems that had caused the nocturnal accidents. The insensitivity of many supervisors in such situations were staggering.²⁴⁴

One of the former residential school students in the interviews described the exact same experience that Miller describes after wetting the bed and having to parade the damp sheet over her head around the school. Another epitome that sheds light on the abuse occurred in the residential schools is Agnes Grants' 1996 *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada*.²⁴⁵ Grant extensively writes in chapter 11 where she details some of the human rights abuses including physical, sexual, spiritual and psychological abuse. Grant's writing was before the 2008 National Apology and 2015 conclusion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but was an early challenger of this system as being a form of genocide. Court cases began appearing in the late 1990s, after the national assembly leader Phil Fontaine detailed his abuse on national television. It could be seen to have been a catalyst to allow others to come forward and claim reports of abuse. One of the first court cases was *Mowatt v. Clarke* in 1998.²⁴⁶ This was a court case where the plaintiff was Floyd Stephen Mowatt, Sr., and the defendant was Derek Clarke. Floyd Mowatt Sr. resided at St. Georges' Native Residential School in Lytton, British Columbia from 1969 to 1976. Mowatt claimed he was repeatedly sexually assaulted by his dormitory supervisor, Derek Clarke. Clarke's assaults upon the plaintiff began with fondling under Mowatt's blankets in the dorm in the early morning as he 'check for things' when Mowatt was in grade 3. All other assaults occurred in Clarke's room which was adjacent to the dorm. On the second occasion, during the study hour, he removed the plaintiff's clothing, and turning the plaintiff towards the wall, proceeded to place his privates between the plaintiff's legs. Clarke also forced the plaintiff to perform oral sex on him. Clarke was found guilty of sexual assault against Mowatt as well as other boys and is not imprisoned. The case was to determine the liability of the Anglican Church of Canada, the Anglican Diocese of Cariboo or Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada and whether they are responsible for what

²⁴⁴ Miller, J.R. (1996) *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. University of Toronto Press. Toronto. P. 322, 324-325.

²⁴⁵ Grant, Agnes. (1996) *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada*. Pemmican Publications.

²⁴⁶ 1998. Supreme Court of British Columbia. *Mowatt v. Clarke*. Retrieved from <http://www.courts.gov.bc.ca/jdb-txt/sc/99/13/s99-1341.txt>

happened to Floyd Mowatt, Sr. Justice Dillon found that the Anglican Church of Canada was negligent and both the Anglican Church and the government of Canada were liable for the sexual assaults perpetrated on Mr. Mowatt. The Anglican Church was held 60% responsible and the Government of Canada was found 40% responsible. The case was a precedent for setting judgment in the British Columbia Supreme Court. This case falls under constitutional law, from the Indian Act of 1876 and the Truth and Reconciliation of Canada.²⁴⁷ The public confession of Phil Fontaine and this first precedent court case formed a catalyst for others to bring their claims against the Church and Government. It was then that the government of Canada began to take action to set up healing funds and a collective agreement that would end in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. What was found in the PCI interviews overwhelmingly verified the writings of Miller, Grant, court cases, and demonstrated that Phil Fontaine's claim of that abuse was not an isolated event. The subthemes of PCI perception of harm revealed the specific details of abuse occurring at the schools: cutting family ties, cultural shame, identity loss, loss of language, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. These subthemes provide the answer to the research question one, i.e.: what were the specific dimensions of harm perceived to have caused lasting damage. Furthermore, other emergent subthemes of Harm for PCI found were: *government and church is guilty, government is hiding, guilt and shame, and staying silent*. The emergent theme for EXP interviews was *direct harm* and *rationalised harm* (linked with justifications for schools, minimizing impacts and doubting abuse claims). The PCI Groups described that within their experience of abuse at the schools, they felt that they had to be silent, shown in the theme *staying silent*, they were not allowed to tell that someone had been hurting them for fear of being further hurt. The PCI interview participants seemed to suggest that due to having to staying silent, they had a deepened sense of *guilt and shame*, which caused a lot of problems in their relationships as adults. The guilt and shame seemed to have followed them their entire lives. One PCI interview participant said:

RH: I just got so tired of the guilt and shame. It's not mine! It's the governments' fault. It's time they took back the guilt and shame they burdened me with since I was six years old.

For the PCI groups, it appeared that all except one had overcome their abuse and found healing; therefore they were able to openly discuss it. Through discussing it and finding healing in counselling, they could identify that the pain, guilt and shame was not their fault but rather the fault of the government, found in the theme *government and church are guilty*. The lack of acknowledgement and

²⁴⁷ Littlechild, T. (2012). *A look at the 1998 Mowatt v. Clarke and Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada*. [PowerPoint Slides] Retrieved from <https://prezi.com/i3ed85uhlsq/mowatt-v-clarke-and-canada-and-the-anglican-church-of-canada/>

the healing they had waited for the many decades since their abuse led them to feel as though the *government was hiding*. Furthermore they mentioned the lawsuits that came out in the 1990s after the last school closed and how Mowatt vs. Clarke showed the liability of the government. Wanting to avoid this, the PCI participants suggest that the government tried hard to prevent the public from knowing the full extent of the abuse that went on during the schools, referencing one concrete example of this being the 2011 Supreme Court case where the court ordered the Federal government to release around 3.5 million historical documents from the residential schools, and when eventually these documents were handed over many were found to be redacted (as discussed in the literature review). For the expert interviews, the answer to inquiry of dimensions harm occurring at the residential schools, it was divided into two groups. One group answered that there was *direct harm*, where they outlined that the residential schools were the most destructive factor in the lives of Native people in Canada. The other group answered that it was *rationalised harm*, which was connected with the themes of *justifying the schools, minimizing impact, and doubting abuse claims*. This is illustrated in the following: ‘the use of a residential school today seems strange but was at the time quite normal.’

‘The schools were clearly an attempt to acculturate Indian children to teach them. To teach them English or French. To inculcate them with Christianity, to teach them useful knowledge.’

‘I am not sure what a better alternative would have been at the time.’

‘The moment you throw money at people, it’s surprising what type of people come out of the woodwork.’

These responses seem to reflect the dual perspective of the schools as discussed in the literature review. The group that spoke of a rationalised harm seem to reflect the traditional perspective which sees the schools as well-intended but flawed.

6.4.2 Perceptions of Quality of Life Gap

The second research question investigates what evidence, if any, testifies to the assumption that this history has a causal relationship between the history of the NRS and a lower quality of life for Aboriginal Canadians. While the difference in quality of life between Natives and non-Natives was addressed empirically in the literature review, the interviewees described their perceptions on this matter. The expert and PCI groups predominantly featured the schools as having strong negative intergenerational impacts which are felt today. However, some of the experts heatedly disagreed with this, arguing that the schools could not be the cause for the life gap, and that even though some Native communities

suffer more than the average Canadian community, there are others that do well, and that there should be no connection between the schools and the present quality of life gap. It is problematic and faulty to state that the schools are an absolute and direct cause of those Native communities that are well below the Canadian standard of life. First it is important to define the quality of life gap, a 2011 study shows that one in four children in First Nation communities live in poverty, which is double the national average. Suicide rates among First Nation youth are five to seven times higher than other young non-Aboriginal Canadians. The life expectancy of First Nation citizens is five to seven years less than other non-Aboriginal Canadians and infant mortality rates are 1.5 times higher among First Nations. Tuberculosis rates among First Nation citizens living on-reserve are 31 times the national average. A First Nation youth is more likely to end up in jail than to graduate high school. First Nation children, on average, receive 22% less funding for child welfare services than other Canadian children. There are almost 600 unresolved cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada. There are 40 First Nation communities without schools, and there are First Nation communities where children haven't been to school in more than two years. In 2006, the unemployment rate for First Nation people living on-reserve was 25% - approximately three times the rate for non-Aboriginal Canadians. In 2006, the average household income for First Nations living on reserve was \$15,958, compared to \$36,000 (before taxes) for non-Aboriginal Canadians. In 2006, 61% of First Nation young adults (20-24) had not completed high school, compared with 13% of non-Aboriginal Canadians. One in five First Nations is diabetic – that's three to five times the national average. Approximately 25% of on-reserve water treatment systems pose a high health risk. 12% of First Nation communities have to boil their drinking water, impacting about 75,000 citizens. First Nations are experiencing a housing crisis with approximately 85,000 housing units required across Canada. In many cases multiple families live in one and two bedroom homes. Approximately 44% of the existing housing stock needs major repairs and another 15% require outright replacement. Of the 88,485 houses on-reserve, 5,486 are without sewage services.²⁴⁸ According to these statistics, First Nations have a lower quality of life in Canada than the average non-Native Canadian. There are indeed exceptions to these statistics. The Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada department published success stories of Native communities across Canada, such as St. Mary's First Nation in Fredericton New Brunswick, and Swan Lake First Nation in South-western Manitoba (2015 Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada).²⁴⁹ The reconstruction of the perspectives of the interview participants seem to show that regardless of some of the success stories of

²⁴⁸ Assembly of First Nations. *Quality of Life Fact Sheets*. (June 2011). Retrieved from http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/factsheets/quality_of_life_final_fe.pdf

²⁴⁹ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada Government of Canada official website. (2015). *Success Stories of Native Communities* Retrieved from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1307014211008/1307014336701>

some Native communities, there is a persistent gap in quality of life and social outcomes. The native participants believed that this was a direct result from 7 generations of Natives going through the Native residential school system:

Negative Intergenerational Impact

LB: Growing up during the summers I was left alone for three or four days, and my grandma and great grandpa used to try to keep an eye on us, but I was alone a lot. During the summer there was sometimes no wood for fire, no food, because my parents were drinking. But their parents drank too. And their parents. Now I don't blame them. I used to blame them. It's not their fault. They were all abused at residential schools and were trying so hard to forget the pain.

LB: So many of us Natives are homeless, so many are homeless here, living on the street. It's that feeling of having no home. Using alcohol and drugs to forget pain and abuse and stay locked in that cycle. It is because of their experience at the residential schools. I see it and I see them suffer. They are in great pain and they don't know how to deal with it so they drink and drink and drink.

RH: I think as a child when you go through all the emotional and psychological problems associated with living in those kind of conditions, you become withdrawn you learn to hide things. You learn to keep things very close to you. You learn to stay silent. This is not a good thing. The schools had a hugely negative impact. When I think of all the things that have gone on in every Aboriginal community. The drugs, the alcohol, a lot of alcohol and there is a whole lot of abuse. Sexual abuse, physical abuse, it is a total disruption. The schools had a huge impact and it is still being felt today.

RH: I didn't know there were nice people out there. But I didn't know how to handle nice. I only knew how to act in a bad relationship because of the abuse I suffered as a child at the Mohawk residential school. You become submissive to your abuser. It took me years to get out of that cycle. It seems like all the relationships I attracted were abusive, and it was what stuck with me for a long time.

EI: This is the problem...they think that it's their fault...they feel ashamed...the whole system...it is the Canadian governments' fault not ours...and the youth need to understand that because they blame themselves, they are ashamed of themselves and their culture.

Aboriginal people are still disproportionality ranked among the poorest of Canadians and there is still a disturbing level of income inequality as well. In 2006, the median income for Natives was 30% lower than the median income for the rest of Canadians. The income inequality between Native and non-Native Canadians decreased only slightly between 1996 and 2006. At the current rate would take 63

years for the gap to be erased.²⁵⁰ Moreover, it appears that quality of life is better off reserve: On reserve Natives have a median income of \$29, 014. Off reserve Natives have a median income of \$37,477, a difference that is roughly \$8,500 higher than on reserve. A smaller proportion of First Nations people lived on reserve than off reserve. In 2006, an estimated 40% lived on reserve, while the remaining 60% lived off reserve. The off-reserve proportion was up slightly from 58% in 1996. The vast majority of the First Nations people living on reserve in 2006, 98%, were Status Natives.²⁵¹ These findings are reflected in one group of Experts answers. When answering the question of quality of life for Natives, one group of Experts focused that Native Canadians who live outside of reserves could have better socioeconomic outcomes:

Better Off Reserve

TF: We have, in my view, a higher proportion of poverty stricken people in these Aboriginal communities but the percentage of that varies greatly and the reasons are quite different. I mean, there are some overall similarities, but the situation of somebody who has moved to Vancouver is very different who is still living on a remote reserve in Northern British Columbia.

CL: I have no doubt that it is difficult to attract very high quality teachers to some of these very difficult reserves. And the only way we are going to make a difference there is making sure we get people from the reserves and getting them to come back just like Aboriginal lawyers...have to be there to make some important inroads...the same we need Aboriginal teachers we need Aboriginal role models in all aspects in our society...

TF: The percentages are highest among first nations people living on reserve, like those are, by every indicator, most likely to be unemployed, living on welfare, afflicted with all kinds of social pathologies.

While the above excerpts agreed with the findings of better socioeconomic findings off reserves, it was not fully corroborated with PCI Native interview participants who lived on reserves. Those who lived on reserves (all of them) focused on the positive cultural identity elements of living on reserves and the community experienced there. This could be recommended for further research. The other themes found out of these research questions seemed to show that the PCI group saw that the schools absolutely created negative *intergenerational impacts*. They closely associated these negative

²⁵⁰ Wilson, D. Macdonald, D. (2010). *The Income Gap between Aboriginal People and the rest of Canada*. Report. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Publication. P. 3. Retrieved from:

<https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/reports/docs/Aboriginal%20Income%20Gap.pdf>

²⁵¹ Canadian Census. (2006). Statistics Canada. Official homepage of the Canadian Government department of Statistics. Retrieved from <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/p16-eng.cfm>

intergenerational impacts with the *poor quality of life* that many Native Canadians face today. When asked if there were any exceptions, and if anyone had a positive experience of the schools, all of the participants had said that they didn't know any that had a positive experience; however that is not to say that it could be ruled out. They stated that if they had been abused at that school at that time, there was a great likelihood that the same abuser (school staff/supervisor/nun) had abused other children in those schools and at that time. Most of their peers and family members seemed to have suffered some form of abuse at the schools. The expert interviews were also put into two groups. The first group agreed with the perspectives of the PCI group in terms of the schools having negative intergenerational impacts and a close relation with the poor quality of life that face many Native Canadians today. The second group stated that there was no intergenerational impact, and had underlined the positive outcomes for the schools:

No Intergenerational Impact

TF: Well, I don't see how you can implicate residential schools as the cause of this gap. No. I am not even sure the residential schools are a contributing factor to the gap. Beyond that you get references some physical abuse causing inability to parent which is then passed down over generations. I think there is an awful lot of mythology here which the media and politicians have swallowed very uncritically.

TF: That the residential schools are somehow responsible you know all Aboriginal peoples in Canada somehow being sort of left behind and suffering and whatnot is simply not the case. I don't think there is any good evidence that this kind of experience causes inability to parent which is passed on across generations.

TF: am not aware elsewhere in the world that people maintain that this kind of trauma causes pain that is passed on across generations.

Positive Outcomes

CL: I know people who have had some dimension of the residential school experience who would say this helped them. That their schooling is what positively contributed to who they are today.

TF: If you look at the leading family on reserves, often the high offices have passed on to this family when you trace back the family. You are going to find that they went through residential schools and that gave them an advantage. So, they created kind of an Indian...bourgeoisie, a political and economic elite.

This second group of experts saw no intergenerational impact, decrying the claims that abuse could affect ones parenting and challenging the claim of this hurt being passed down to generations. They highlighted that these claims could be exaggerated and overdone. They also pointed out that one could find indicators of success as a result of the residential schools, stating that many of the outstanding Native leaders of today had attended residential schools (for example, Former Assembly of First Nations Chief Phil Fontaine, Chief Justice Sinclair Murray whose parents and grandparents attended residential schools).

6.4.3 Perceptions of Negative Stereotype

The third research question investigates what evidence, if any, reveals negative attitudes against Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians today. The prominent themes for this research question were negative stereotype and how it was related to interviewees' perception of racism towards Natives in Canada. The Globe and Mail published an article in 2011 'Natives still suffer shameful stereotypes' where they wrote that 'Canada's urban Natives, who now comprise half of all Metis, First Nations and Inuit, almost all feel they are viewed negatively by the larger society, even though that larger society displays a high level of tolerance for other cultures.'²⁵² This article was published shortly after the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study came out which examined the views of both aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 11 Canadian Cities. The key findings of this study showed that Natives who live in cities believe that they are consistently viewed in negative ways by non-Aboriginal people, and identify perceived assumption about 'addiction problems, laziness, lack of intelligence and poverty.'²⁵³ According to this study, many Natives in Canadian cities believe that non-Native Canadians view them negatively, and can name specific negative identifiers. Darren Dokis (2007) wrote that students at the University of Western Ontario were asked to identify stereotypes of First Nations people. The following stereotypes were identified: drunken, lazy, dumb, dirt, gasoline sniffing, useless, gambling, thieving, welfare, poor, and uncivilized.'²⁵⁴ Another Native interview participant comments on Native stereotypes in Canada and how he has confronted the issue with his own identity:

²⁵² Globe Editorial. (25 February 2011). Natives still suffer shameful Stereotypes. Globe Editorial. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/editorials/natives-still-suffer-shameful-stereotypes/article568349/>

²⁵³ Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (UAPS). (2011) *The Environics Institute*. Retrieved from <http://www.uaps.ca/knowledge/key-findings/>

²⁵⁴ Dokis, D. (2007) "Racism against First Nations People and First Nations Humour as a Coping Mechanism," *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*: Vol. 15, No. 1, Article 8

I have deep-rooted and ugly prejudices about native people in Canada. When I think of native people, I immediately think of alcoholic, jobless and homeless people who abuse themselves and others in every imaginable way. For all of my life I have seen these images and I continue to see native people this way. Here's the catch: I'm native. I grew up in a small native community. My home was stereotypically native: abusive relationships dominated my younger years and permeate every aspect of my life today. My family, friends, and community have seen, and continue to see, disproportionate levels of murder, suicide, violence, sexual abuse, prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction, emotional abuse, homelessness, and poverty and the criminality that follows from all of this. We feel the intergenerational effects of residential schools, dislocation, and many other policies designed to civilize and assimilate us at best, and to exterminate us at worst. Every native person I know has, to varying degrees, lost his or her language, traditional knowledge, and sense of identity and belonging as native people when I moved to an urban centre to attend university, I noticed that the native people I saw in the city fit the stereotype: they were homeless, jobless, and hopeless. Not me. I was healthy, studious, goal-oriented, ambitious, and eventually I achieved my goals. Successful, I guess you could say. As a result, I denied to others and to myself that I was native. It was the only way that I could process the cognitive dissonance that arose when I contemplated my success as a native person and the thought that in order to be a real native, I had to be all of those ugly things. People around me reinforced that "success" and "native" were mutually exclusive concepts. Some said that despite my native heritage, I was a darn good student. A credit to my race! They were the well-meaning ones. The less sensitive people belittled me by making mean jokes about native people. In either case, they reinforced the idea that to be native, I could not be healthy, successful, and well-adjusted.²⁵⁵

Lou James attests that the negative stereotype still exists in Canada. As he writes 'success' and 'native' seemed mutually exclusive. Even those who manage to get out of the cycle of poverty and poor socioeconomic outcomes still face the current income gap between Natives and non-Natives in Canada. In the PCI interviews, all the former students of the residential schools described their experience of negative stereotype, aligning with Dokis finding, most typically represented as the 'drunk, lazy, greedy Indian':

RH: Non Aboriginal Canadians see us as drunk, lazy and looking for a handout.

VT: People just think we are all on welfare.

JD: The negative stereotype is something to do with thinking non-Native Canadians tax dollars going to support these people who don't have to work or pay taxes or pay for their education.

Most of the experts agreed with this, however, some did not, stating that:

²⁵⁵ James, L. (22 August 2013). *I admit it: I hold racist views about Native people in Canada*. Huffington Post Canada. Retrieved from: www.huffingtonpost.ca/lou-james/racist-native-canada_b_3795232.html

TF: If you go into large Western Canadian cities, particularly, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina and Edmonton, there are very large areas of the city, not dominating the city, but still substantial areas of the city that are inhabited largely by native people and these areas have very high crime rates and other social pathologies about unemployment and illegitimacy and so on. They are not really nice places to go and other people avoid them out of concern for their own safety. Now is that racial prejudice?

CL: That's not to say that individuals haven't genuine racism or discrimination in the labour market, but we can show the data in aggregate, that discrimination does not exist in the Canadian labour market.

These experts also asserted that Canada was known as a peaceful, tolerant country and frequently made reference to how Canadian Natives were treated better than in Australia or the U.S.:

TF: Whatever trauma was suffered by kids in the residential schools, they were never a majority of the native population, but for those who went and whatever severe trauma they did suffer, it is arguable less than trauma suffered by a lot of other young people in desperate circumstance that we know about in human history like Jewish kids who suffered concentration camps.

JD: I live in a country with a history of not doing what the United States did, we didn't send the cavalry out to kill the Indians.

TF: Acculturation is related to the very real sorts of injuries that we see in the Native population. It also happens in every other country, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, various African countries that the Native people who are subjected to this...from moving one way of life to another, and there are a lot of casualties along the way.

Some evidence suggests that Canada sees itself as a pluralistic and diverse country that celebrates its multiculturalism. The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 signaled that Canada celebrates social diversity, embracing different customs, religions and languages. The act included protection of minorities, recognizing and promoting their rights. This along with its history of peace keeping in the 20th century and its high international measure of education, government, transparency, civil liberties, quality of life and economic freedom seemed to aid in fostering a global image of a peaceful and tolerant country. Therefore it may be difficult for non-Native Canadians to acknowledge that the Canadian government and churches could be responsible for a great deal of harm done to a single group of people. Hutchings, 1998 highlights this:

Canada is praised internationally as a model of cultural diversity and has an admirable reputation for its progressive anti-racist policies. It was the first country in the world to adopt a comprehensive policy on multiculturalism and has always been a vocal critic of racism and staunch defender of human rights in the international arena. However, despite Canada's unquestionable achievements in cultural pluralism and anti-discriminatory practice, racism remains a significant

issue. The living standard of Aboriginal peoples in Canada falls far short of those of non-Aboriginals, and they, along with other racial minorities, continue to encounter barriers in gaining equality. Aboriginal life expectancy is lower; they have fewer high school graduates, higher unemployment, almost twice as many infant deaths and spend more time in jail. They have lower incomes, enjoy fewer promotions in the workplace and remain, as a group, the poorest in Canada. In Canada, suffering clearly continues to be related to the politics of race.²⁵⁶

What was interesting was how this assumption was acknowledged by one group of experts who emphasized that this attitude could perhaps typify mainstream Canadian self-image, as peaceful and tolerant. However the other group of experts along with the PCI group identified a *negative stereotype* of 'drunk and lazy Indian.' All PCIs and most of the experts attribute this negative stereotype to *lack of knowledge*, and citing that those who have those views are generally ones who are well outside of the Aboriginal community and have a deep *lack of knowledge* on the part of Native Canadian history:

JD: Non-Native Canadians may be inclined to think the negative stereotypes. I really do find that is quite common in the people I speak with who are well outside of the Aboriginal community.

RN: So again I think there is this kind of conservative fear of bankrupting your church or being seen to be spending money where it shouldn't be spent particularly people would perceive this probably what you are dumping more money on our big social problem...the Indians? Oh you know the lazy drunken welfare cheats, so I think that is part of it.

EM: I think that the majority of non-Aboriginal Canadians don't know anything about it. I think that the majority of Canadians just go on and were raised and go on living their lives with absolutely no knowledge of that aspect of Canada's history.

JQ: I relate stories like this to my mom and she said, I don't think so. She said, I live in this country, I grew up in this country, if that kind of stuff had happened, we would know. I was like, Mom, it did happen, and it continues, and she said I don't think so, I would know about this.

Additionally, the group of experts who emphasized Canada as a peaceful nation with a positive image (see Perceptions of Healing, RQ five) also seemed to think that there was no racism towards Natives, shown in the theme *there is no problem*:

TF: I honestly don't think that there is a social problem with Aboriginal people as such.

²⁵⁶ Hutchings, C. (1998). *Canada's First Nations: A Legacy of Institutional Racism*. Retrieved from: <http://www.tolerance.cz/courses/papers/hutchin.htm>

TF: I don't think we have an overall Aboriginal problem as such to which you can identify a solution. If you go into large western cities, particularly, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina and Edmonton, there are very large areas of the city, not dominating the city, but still substantial areas of the city that are inhabited largely by Native people and these areas have very high crime rates and other social pathologies about employment and illegitimacy and so on. They are not really nice places to go and other people avoid them out of concern for their own safety. Now is that racial prejudice?

6.4.4 Perceptions of Government Response

The fourth research question looks at how the Canadian Government has responded to the mass reporting of abuse after the last school closed in 1996 and how this response is viewed by both Native and non-Native Canadians. When referring to Government response, the study is specifically naming the national apology by then Prime Minister Stephen Harper in 2008 and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission ending in 2015. Prominent themes for this research question were '*failure of government response*,' '*response to mitigate litigation*,' and '*TRC some good or neutral*'. Overlapping themes from other research questions were '*education as healing*' and '*government is hiding*.' The theme of '*failure of government response*' had a causal relationship with '*response to mitigate litigation*', shown in the following quotations (additional experts who did not agree with the failure of response agreed to response to mitigate litigation). Response to mitigate litigation means that individuals believed that the government response to apologize, provide funding and create a TRC was because of the need to stop additional lawsuits against the government. It is important to note that at the time that the interviews were conducted it was summer of 2014, therefore the Stephen Harper Conservative Government was still in power. However there was some contradiction in the findings, as some EXP interviewees considered TRC and apology having some good, in spite of acknowledging the government had responded out of a need to prevent further lawsuits. After the release of the call to action from the TRC, in June of 2015, the then Prime Minister Stephen Harper asserted that his government would not be implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, referring to the document as 'aspirational.'²⁵⁷ Harper had also refused to support the conclusion of the commission which stated that the residential schools were a main tool used by the Canadian Government in its policy of cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples. Aboriginal Chief Justice Murray Sinclair, who was a commissioner on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission stated that the Harper government had done little towards

²⁵⁷ (2 June 2015). PM Harper won't implement TRC recommendation on UN Declaration on Indigenous peoples. National News. Retrieved from <http://aptn.ca/news/2015/06/02/pm-harper-wont-implement-trc-recommendation-un-declaration-indigenous-peoples/>

reconciliation after the 2008 apology and called the history of the residential schools 'cultural genocide.'²⁵⁸ The term 'cultural genocide' has no legal implications. The full details of the how the government has responded to the mass reporting of abuse through the national apology, subsequent healing funds, collective agreements and truth and reconciliation commission have been detailed in the literature review. The most interesting findings from the interviews showed that all interview participants stated that the apology, healing funds, agreements and the commission itself came as a decision from the conservative government to get the matter off the table as quickly as possible:

TF: It was the simplest way out, politically they were going to face a whole series of class action litigation upon certain outcomes. It was a way of getting the problem off the agenda, and you know, for a few years it worked, but it hasn't been any kind of a permanent solution. First Nations issues have heated up again, but for a few years, it got the problem off the table.

Flanagan here explains how it the apology and TRC was a strategy to avoid a more expensive backlash of government litigation from the tens of thousands of still living former students who claimed to have suffered abuse at the schools, detailed here by a Canadian professor of political science at Western University who specializes in Truth Commissions:

JQ: It took me a while to understand that the Apology came out of the settlement agreement and the government said, oh gosh we can't possibly pay back all this money so we are just going to settle, so the Natives can have the common experiment agreement, the apology and a truth commission.

JQ: The government doesn't want any liability, they will not admit culpability to anything other than what they have already signed. And so as you would in any kind of lawsuit, the government is just like, fine, we have settled, we are done. The TRC is all about the government saying, fine, you can have this and then we are finished. We are not going to talk about this anymore. Harper was like, well we know these things happened, and it's really too bad, but I'm not going to say anything more. Because at the same time the whole process was happening of negotiations and class action law suits and settlement agreements.

JQ: In the Canadian TRC it is really the government facing all this litigation and realised the millions and millions of dollars they were liable for and so I feel that the government of Canada has not even acknowledged that they have done anything wrong, they have simply settled a legal case. The origin of the Truth and Reconciliation commission has nothing to do with anything with benevolence or admission of culpability. It has to do with the government seeking to mitigate the risk that they felt they faced.

The findings in the interviews aligned with Stanton, 2011, who stated that:

²⁵⁸ Schwarz, D. (13 June 2015). *Cultural genocide label for residential schools has no legal implications, expert says*. CBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/cultural-genocide-label-for-residential-schools-has-no-legal-implications-expert-says-1.3110826>

Unlike other truth commission that have been created due to regime change, where a majority of citizens sought a truth seeking process, Canada's TRC arose as a result of protracted litigation by survivors of the IRS system against the government and churches that ran the schools.

Stanton challenged the origins of the TRC, arguing that it was different in nature than most truth commissions and that it was launched only in response to 'overwhelming legal pressure'²⁵⁹ which agrees with what all the interview participants viewed about the government response to the residential schools. This would suggest that the commission perhaps would not have occurred if it were not for the thousands of claims made against the government after the last school closed. O'Connor highlighted the dismissive nature of the government, writing in 2000:

While the patterns of events emerging from the accounts (of abuse from the schools) were of concern, it was still possible for governments and churches to dismiss them as anecdotal and exceptional while maintaining that the removal policies were benevolent in intent.²⁶⁰

Furthermore, James (2012) writes that this response appears to be more of a victim centered approach to address injustice which is an 'undertaking of partial symbolic reparation for the injustices of the residential school system' and furthermore argues that for more than a decade after the last school closed in 1996 that 'authorities first rejected the students claims of injustice and then attempted variously to resist, evade and callously minimize the country's reparative obligations.'²⁶¹ The interview participants' responses seem to agree with the position set out by Stanton and James, however those scholars fail to truly highlight the theme of the '*government is hiding*', which both the PCI and experts unanimously agreed. This overlaps with the emergent themes found in research question one: perceptions of harm. Therefore the participants claims of failure of government response seems to be closely related with the response to mitigate litigation, which also echo Stanton's underscoring the TRC borne out of legal pressure on the government. However, some participants in both PCI and experts showed that the TRC had some good or was neutral. Some claimed that regardless of how the commission started, it has indeed started. Connecting to all of the emergent themes found in research question four, the most predominant theme was the theme of '*education as healing*.' Irrespective of the government responding well or not, the TRC having been effective or not, the apology being sincere or not, was the overwhelming call for this history to be taught in schools. From the perspective of the

²⁵⁹ Stanton, K. (2011). Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Settling the Past? *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*. Vol. 2 (2) p. 1.

²⁶⁰ O'Connor, P. (2000). Squaring the Circle: How Canada is dealing with the legacy of its Indian Residential Schools Experiment. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*. Vol. 6 (1). P. 188.

²⁶¹ James, M. (2012). A Carnival of Truth? Knowledge, Ignorance and the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*. Vol.1 (23). P. 2.

participants, the idea behind this is to have children educated in this across Canada and generate more empathy and awareness of the history. This could also help in improving relationship between Native and non-Native Canadians by showing that it appears to be seen that the Church and Government did lasting damage to Natives over a long period of time, engendering a struggling demographic and causing a quality of life gap. However this was not supported by some of the expert participants, leading to the next theme of *Education as Propaganda*. One expert argued that teaching the residential schools in the classroom could be seen as a form of propaganda that may not be effective. One participant called it 'somebody's politicized version of history' being shoved at the children, pointing out that this could be over simplification:

TF: But, a lot of it is propagandistic and so kids tend to be turned off by propaganda, they may have to learn to repeat it in the classroom but it doesn't mean that it sinks in that deeply. What is more important for children to learn in school, to be able to add and subtract and read and write, not to have somebody's politicized version of history shoved at them.

TF: It is a mistake to think that you can just give a one factual version of the history. It is not that simple. Students have to be exposed to different perspectives on it and have to work through the debates, which are difficult, it is not something you can do with a six year old kid, and this is actually something that has to be placed at a higher level.

This last theme of *Education as propaganda* leads and overlaps into the last research question: Perceptions of Healing.

6.4.5 Perceptions of Healing

The fifth and final research question examines the perceptions of the actions that have been taken (or have not been taken towards education and awareness of the history to promote peace, healing, and cooperation between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians. In this last research question, the emergent themes overlap with and are closely connected with the other research questions. The most dominant theme was Healing, in the perspective of all the PCI groups and some of the expert groups. The theme of healing was expressed in the acknowledgement of the past and truth telling for all participants of the PCI groups, reflected here:

LB: People need to know. They need to move fast because the next generation needs to know what happened to us, way back a hundred years ago. The next generation needs to know so they can heal finally.

RH: When you don't have access to things and you have churches that are running things and they get to hide things too they are just as guilty for hiding. And all we ever ask for is the truth. What they are saying to us, OK we are going to pay this amount of money for the damages. But what is that? How can you measure it? What is that? If you raped a child times several times, what is it worth? I don't think you could put a value on it. You have destroyed that child's life, and there will never be that innocent child again. You can't compensate with money with that. You can't fix the problem, ever. But telling the truth would help. That is all I want to hear, is somebody to tell the truth. But I don't think we are going to get the truth from the church or the government.

RH: I think knowledge is the key to better relationships. So, if I didn't know something and I have this stereotypical view of something, my whole attitude will change if somebody corrects that and tells me the truth about something and they will say, well I have always had this view but I didn't know any different because this is what I was taught or not taught. So if it broadens somebodies view of something, if it helps you to understand something, then that is what we need. I think education is really, really important right now. The provincial mandate, you know about the provincial mandate, they have to start teaching this at school. So these guys here, the cultural centre are already getting tours from schools. We are still here, we are survivors, we will tell you what happened. It is not going to be some little paragraph in a book. Do you want to know the truth about what happened? I am only telling you a little bit, there is a hell of a lot more that was horrendous.

For these individuals in the PCI group, the emergent theme of healing was reflected in providing healing programs and more support for those who went to these schools, to celebrate and affirm ones Indigenous identity, to inform and educate people in order to foster better relationships. This was the resounding theme in the PCI interviews. This group of experts also emphasized it was not about getting more money, rather deepening the awareness of the history to generate a paradigm shift. This paradigm shift would be one of seeing the damage done to generations of First Nations mandated by the government and understanding that it has been a major contributing factor to many of the problems Native Canadians face today. One Native expert, the director of the National Research Centre in Winnipeg, described how he saw healing happening through the statement gathering process that was a part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

RM: its positive just to see the sense of validation that these survivors experience matters...and it matters to Canadians. Beyond that, there is tangible stories we have heard where we have heard, family members starting members started talking about

things and there has been reconciliation right inside the family, and that has been ...you know parents now speak to their children, you know these are grown parents grown children and they are saying look, part of the reason why I am who I am is because of the story that we just told, and you know, and now we can talk about this about this better as a family. So that has been super positive I think.

The theme of *healing* was closely connected with the theme of *lack of knowledge*, already expanded upon in research question three, perceptions of negative stereotype:

JD: Non-Native Canadians may be inclined to think the negative stereotypes. I really do find that is quite common in the people I speak with who are well outside of the Aboriginal community.

It appeared that experts associated healing to be resolved by addressing the lack of knowledge on the part of non-Native Canadian. This lack of knowledge was also deeply linked to the negative stereotype towards Natives by non-Native Canadians. Therefore they attribute education as healing. They define education as acknowledging the past, which includes teaching about the perceived damage incurred on the Natives by the government and church. Some experts also referred to Canada's image as a barrier to truly being able to comprehend that Canada did harm to the Natives. While another group of experts stated that due to the complexity of narratives the role of education of residential school would be too difficult. It could also be seen as a form of propaganda and 'shoving someone's politicized version of history down their throats.'

6.5 Understanding Social Phenomenon through Collective Memory

While the education implemented in each province and territory is not complete as of December 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission released its final report in July 2015 and with it 94 recommendations for Canada. Within the 94 recommendations is the guideline for the government to implement a standardized and approved form of teaching the residential schools in classrooms across Canada. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has promised to fulfill these recommendations and forge a new and respectful relationship with Indigenous people. This has shown the collective memory of the residential schools is moving from the hearts and minds of Native communities and that the State has moved into adopting the Residential schools into a more official memory. Olick's (1998) theory of official memory memorializes past events through memorials, museums, and national public events. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, regardless of the fact that it was formed out of a desire to move the topic off the table, appears to have accomplished the opposite of that. The National Research Center in Winnipeg has opened in July of 2015. The NRC created an open to the public digital source of residential school archives, as well as free access to teaching resources on the topic of the residential schools. As of May 2016, never before has the Canadian government been so transparent about the impacts of the residential schools. The residential schools continue to play a role in mainstream media and since the closing ceremony of the TRC in June 2015 seem to have a trickle down affect. When this research project was first begun in 2011, the majority of the authors' peers in Canada and Austria had never heard of the intergenerational impacts of the residential schools. As of December 2015, the collective consciousness has appeared to shift, and as the Cree elder states:

El: They tried to hide it, and now it is coming out. It is starting to take off. It will be a worldwide thing. People will find out how Canada treated its people. When they took the land away from us, it should not have happened, but it did, and we just have to live with it and deal with it and make do with what we have now. I have been telling stories at Fanshawe and Western University. I am trying to pass down our culture in the colleges. It is slowly coming back.

This research project draws its theoretical framework from the prominent scholar of collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs, who writes: While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember.²⁶² Along these lines, understanding the perspectives of individuals belonging to a certain group allows one to explore the group's collective memory of an event. This is what was proposed from this study. French psychologist

²⁶² Halbwachs, M. (Posthumously 1940). *On Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. p. 48.

Paul Fraisse referenced Halbwachs in discussing the mechanisms of individual memory: ‘our most individual memories are closely dependent on the group in which we live.’²⁶³ This theory also supports the qualitative approach to the study, where the aim is to understand the social phenomenon through those participants who are immersed in the experience. This paper asserts that through a deeper understanding of the perceived damage caused by residential schools, both Native and non-Native Canadians can work on the persistent social dissonance between themselves. Halbwachs empirically examined how collective memory is transmitted from the collective to the individual. He focused on family, social classes, and religious communities, arguing that the socialization of memory happens through those three institutions. Thus one can explore how specific emotional imprints occur during this process which impacts how events are interpreted and perceived. For Halbwachs, an important question was how one can demonstrate the causal relationship between the collective and individual, for although humanity can think freely, society often influences this thinking. To relate this back to the residential schools, how does one evaluate the causal relationship between the perceptions and experience of former students of the residential schools and the greater collective of Natives who attended those schools, and even further the problematic ‘Aboriginal’ group? The study relies on the reconstruction of their perspectives, and the themes that originate out of theme, mainly in that all individuals in the PCI group described an intense feeling of being hurt in many different spheres, and how this hurt has impacted them as adults and their family relationships, which have then impacted their communities. Therefore understanding the bigger picture of the residential schools would be important for understanding social pathologies in the various Native communities and the trends of poverty, suicide, and substance abuse which is substantially greater than that of the non-Native populations in Canada. The study does not claim that the reason for the overall lower quality of life is due to the impacts of the residential schools, rather it points to the individual perspective seeming to show that the residential schools are a major contributor to the quality of life gap that should not be overlooked when addressing the issue and seeking to shrink the quality of life gap. However, while most of the experts in the study emphasized the need to avoid oversimplifying the impacts, the PCI groups emphasized the singular impacts. The study also suggests it could be important when seeking to shrink the gap to examine the perspectives of the Native former students and to assess how important they deem the impacts of the history for today’s generations. The study reflects Halbwachs idea that memory is a social construct.²⁶⁴ The study is less concerned about measuring the validity of the perspective of the Native students experience and more capturing their assigned meaning of the remembered experience.

²⁶³ Fraisse, P. (1957). *Psychologie du temps*. Paris: PUF, 168.

²⁶⁴ Halbwachs, M (1992): *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original Work published 1952). P. 37.

Following Halbwachs' argument is that when an individual remembers an event it is always in relationship to their experience with other individuals and the social norms belonging to them. This memory is selective and accorded importance based on the social context. Halbwachs also suggests that the individual, as a social being, changes its views as the social context changes, or years after an event has taken place. An event that was initially isolated and unexplained can over time become common in the collective consciousness. However this explanation of the event is actually an expression of new collective representations which reflect the time and society. Therefore Halbwachs argues that individual memory is indeed a social artifact. Hence, the individual memories of the former students of the residential schools are informed by the collective memory of those Native communities that also 'remember' the schools. However, it is not entirely reflecting one individuals' voice as representing the collective, rather to see how social context shapes individual perspective. At the time that this study was conducted, it could be argued that the social influence and impact of the collective memory of the Native residential schools is being constructed in its early phases of collective memory creation. This study has aimed to capture this particular moment of Canadian history shortly after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission published its findings which aligned with the perspectives and sentiments of the Native former students interviewed in this study who wished for such a body to publish such results and make it open to the greater Canadian public. As one Native expert explained:

RM: I think we've got a clear mandate to prioritize and preserve the collection and I think that's really clear...we have got a great collection of material that will preserve this memory and we are duty bound to preserve this memory. And that is good because that will assist the country in not being able to forget...and help the country remember. And we'll be active agents in promoting memory and promoting memorialization of this history and in so doing I think we're also going to be able to reconnect Aboriginal peoples with their history and the effects and impacts and repatriate some of this history and information back into the communities, individuals, families of survivors all that sort of stuff and better understand their own history because of course that attended the residential schools they were raised by an institution they were not raised by a family necessarily and when you are raised by an institution, the institution holds the memory, not the family. So we need to bring some of this information to the extent it's still is institutional memory but we need to bring this information back to communities and I think that is going to be um, very helpful in connecting families with their past and helping families a sense of community and internal family reconciliation.

What is fascinating about the above quotation from this expert is that he believed that the collective memory of the residential schools belonged to the institution of the Canadian government and not to the individuals and families impacted by them. By sharing the personal statements and stories that he

describes about in the archives of the national research center, they can better understand their history and 'repatriate that history back to the communities, individuals and families of the survivors.' Halbwachs contends that our memory depends on social interaction, serving as a function of social life. It allows us to live in communities thereby able to build memory. Jan Assman builds upon Halbwachs theory of collective memory relating to cultural identity in his work *Communicative and Cultural Memory* (2008). Assman asserts that memory is the 'faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level. Identity, in its turn, is related to time.²⁶⁵ Therefore the recollection of individual memory could also be an expression of selfhood, for the individual recalling it and the social group to which this individual belongs. This identity is built through the selective memory process in a social dimension. Therefore according to Halbwachs and Assman, memory is a social construct which aids in identity formation. This theoretical framework of collective memory informs the qualitative nature of the study, underscoring that the individual perspective contains elements of a collective representation of a remembered event: the residential schools and the subsequent Native identity built out of it. The oral traditions of Native history are particularly significant in this respect, as storytelling and listening to Elders is a key social norm and a way in which history is passed down from generation to generation. It is different from the western way of written records, therefore from a western perspective it is more difficult to capture. One needs to access to the Native community to experience and understand that history and identity. The experts reference of 'repatriating memory' from the state to the Native individual and its community is significant when understanding collective memory applied to the schools. The expert was suggesting that the memory of those who experienced the schools has not been included in history, the state seems to have operated for many years insisting that the system was put in place to integrate native children with benevolent intent. Including the tens of thousands of personal statements in the public archives of the National Research Center is a way in which Canada is repatriating the memory of the schools back to Native communities. The existence of the TRC and NRC show the shift in official memory (Olick 1998) happening in Canada from a traditional perspective of the schools as a benevolent form of integration, or 'well intended but flawed' to more embrace the narrative of 'a system of oppression which caused great harm to Native children for over a century.' This has been further reinforced with the change in government seen on 20 October 2015 with Justin Trudeau taking over the position of Prime Minister from Stephen Harper. From the time the study started in early 2012, there has been a shift in tone politically towards the memory of the residential schools. The former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, in

²⁶⁵ Assman, J. (2008) *Communicative and Cultural Memory*. Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York. 109.

spite of issuing the apology in 2008, made headlines in June of 2015: 'Harper's refusal to seek residential schools apology from Pope 'deeply disappointing'²⁶⁶ and 'four years later, Harper's apology for residential schools rings hollow for many.'²⁶⁷ This is contrasted with the new Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau being 'warmly welcomed by First Nations.'²⁶⁸ Trudeau has also vowed for a new era of a positive relationship with the First Nations in Canada, and pledging to fully implement the 94 recommendations set out by the TRC; which includes encouraging provinces and territories to include Native approved residential school history curriculum. The study has aimed to reconstruct the perspectives of Canadian individuals on the perceived damage done to Natives by the residential school system, the negative stereotypes, quality of life gap, government response and steps of healing that compose this social phenomenon. The theoretical framework of Halbwachs collective memory has guided the research process through the understanding that these perspectives are informed by their social context.

²⁶⁶ Kennedy, M. (June 2015). *Harpers Refusal to seek residential schools apology from Pope 'deeply disappointing'*. Ottawa Citizen. Retrieved from <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/national/harpers-refusal-to-seek-residential-schools-apology-from-pope-deeply-disappointing>

²⁶⁷ Scofield, H. (June 2015). *Four years later, Harper's apology for residential schools rings hollow for many*. The Star. Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/06/11/four_years_later_harpers_apology_for_residential_schools_rings_hollow_for_many.html

²⁶⁸ The Canadian Press. (9 December 2015). *Trudeau warmly welcomed by First Nations*. Retrieved from: www.thestar.com/video.html

6.6 Conclusions

As previously stated, the purpose of the research was to examine the social phenomenon of the Native residential schools through the perspective of a maximum variety of relevant interview partners. The reconstruction of perspectives on this subject provided a broader understanding of the history and those affected by it. Through this, it could be seen how individuals today remember the phenomenon, and to what extent their social environment has impacted this framing of memory. Faulty assumptions were discovered in the data in both groups. During the in depth interviews of two groups (expert and PCI interviews composed of Native and non-Native Canadians immersed in the subject matter), study participants described their perceptions, experience, and knowledge about the residential schools. These perspectives were reconstructed to illustrative the emergent themes and their connection to one another. This chapter has explored each theme and its relation to current contemporary Canadian debate on the phenomenon. The main findings suggest that Native participants who attended residential schools in Canada state that they have suffered physical, emotional, cultural and sexual abuse at the schools from the non-Native staff. Furthermore Native participants believe the extent of the abuse has been hidden by the government for many years, which was also confirmed by both Native and non-Native experts. Native participants believe the residential schools had a severe negative impact which has intergenerational consequences, and remains a major contributor for the current quality of life gap between Native and non-Native Canadians. Additionally, the Native participants wish for acknowledgement and healing more than funding, as they believe that Native demands for money is wrongly portrayed in media. They believe that much of history and its impacts remain unknown to the majority of Canadians, without a standard provincial and territorial focus in the curriculum. However, while some experts agree with that each province and territorial should include teaching the history of the NRS in the curriculum, other experts raised the issue that the narrative is currently still ongoing and has yet to be settled upon.

6.7 Limitations of study

This study examined the perceptions of 15 individuals from different locations across Canada. While this number of in-depth interviews was small, it allowed for saturation of themes in both expert and problem centered groups in a phenomenological approach. In qualitative research, sample size is smaller than quantitative studies. The aim is to understand the phenomenon through the lens of those who are entrenched in the experience. The study reconstructs the perspectives of members of this group regarding the impacts of the residential schools, in their own words. The study has a high inter subjectivity to it as the research questions inquire upon a lived experience, where the researcher attempts to understand the meaning as it is lived by the participant. This is also understood through the theoretical framework of Halbwachs idea that memory is a social construct and when an individual remembers an event it is always in relationship to their experience with other individuals and the social norms belonging to them. This memory is selective and accorded importance based on the social context. While the data was found to be rich and varied, it does not represent the diversity of what it means to be Aboriginal in Canada. Being Native in Canada can mean being Cree, Ojibwa, Iroquois, Metis, Inuit, Dogrib, Dene, Salish, being of mixed Native and other ethnicity, therefore there is a limitation to address the complexity of the Native definition. The group of Native Canadian former students of residential schools in this study do not represent the lived experience of others who went through residential schools and did not find a way to healing as most of these participants did. Another limitation to the study is the danger of oversimplification of blaming the residential schools as the primary cause for the quality of life gap between Natives and non-Natives due to faulty logic of lumping all Native people into one group, as one expert notes:

CL: I think that is the problem with the Aboriginal issue, is there one Aboriginal issue? Some communities share a common experience, but not all the residential school experiences are shared by all communities.

However while understanding that the study does not represent the Aboriginal group in its complexities and entirety, it is useful and valuable to understand that from the point of view of all the native participants who were interviewed, they believed that the schools had major negative intergenerational impacts in individuals and communities felt to the present day, and can be seen manifested in the lower quality of life statistics between Native and non-Native Canadians, and therefore should be taken into account when observing this social phenomenon and context.

6.8 Recommendations of study

From the perspective of the Native Canadians in this group, it could be highly relevant and significant for each of the provinces and territories of Canada to include a comprehensive yet balanced curriculum on the residential schools and their impacts. While the Truth and Reconciliation Commission concluded in June 2015 and the National Research Center has created an open digital resource for the public, all provinces and territories have not yet implemented the history of the NRS to the curriculum. This study would recommend that Federal government incentivizes provinces and territories to teach the schools with the aim of generating empathy between Native and non-Native Canadians and as a more thorough understanding of the history of Canada, with not only a Eurocentric telling of Canadian history. From the perspective of the participants in this study, their own personal healing journey was incredibly important for them. For all of them it meant returning to their communities, sharing their stories, and turning their pain into a tool to help others find healing as well. This would suggest that it would be advantageous for continued funding into healing programs for former students of residential schools.

6.9 Recommendations for Further Research

Since 2010, there has been a rise in the Indigenous movement in Canada. This can be seen in movements like Idle No More in December 2012 when Chief Theresa Spence of Attawapiskat went on a hunger strike to demand more representation for Native Canadians. 100,000 people joined the protest and marched on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. Another key issue in Canada is the Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women. The former Prime Minister Stephen Harper was criticised for not prioritizing this issue, even admitting this in an interview: 'It's not high on our radar.'²⁶⁹ With the new change of government in Canada on 20 October 2015, Liberal Leader and new Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (son of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau) came as an antithesis to Harper, reverting his muzzling of scientists, restoring new reforms for climate change and environmental protection, and announcing that the 94 Recommendations from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would be honoured and the Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women would become high priority. This study was conducted during the time of Harper's leadership. He was often seen as uncooperative with First Nations, and seemed to

²⁶⁹ Kappo, T. (19 December 2014). *Stephen Harper's comments on missing, murdered aboriginal women shown lack of respect: Prime minister says national inquiry not high on governments' radar.* CBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/stephen-harper-s-comments-on-missing-murdered-aboriginal-women-show-lack-of-respect-1.2879154>

want to get rid of the issue of the Residential schools as fast as possible, this was corroborated by Tom Flanagan, his campaign manager. Justin Trudeau has taken a different stance and promised to implement the 94 recommendations that the TRC has made. Since the election of Justin Trudeau, there has been a shift in the national discourse on the NRS. This shift seems to reflect the increasingly dominant view that through acknowledgement, cooperation, and bringing the discourse out into the open, positive change for Natives and non-Natives can occur. Another recommendation is the dire need to close the quality of life gap for Native Canadians. Closing the quality of life gap would allow Native Canadians to enjoy the same social outcomes as non-native Canadians. Native culture, languages and traditions could be more celebrated and find a way to balance their cultural identity with the modern Canadian identity. Acknowledging that the residential schools did great harm to Native Canadians has been a turning point in the national collective consciousness. For future research, it would be useful to evaluate how the recommendations of the TRC have been implemented; and to assess if those implementations have successfully achieved their targets. In the end it should improve the quality of life for Natives in Canada, and make sure that Canada retains its' positive global image, exemplifying how a democratic country can effectively deal with past injustices and how such a country can heal and grow from doing so.

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APPENDIX A: EXPERT INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

The expert interview protocol is as follows:

1. Can you provide me with a brief summary of your background and expertise in relation to the topic of residential school?
2. Can you comment on how and when you found out about the history of the residential schools in Canada?
3. Can you comment on how it is currently being dealt with (or not dealt with) in the media?
4. Can you comment on your opinion of the current Truth and Reconciliation Commission and in what ways do you think it has been successful or unsuccessful thus far?
5. What has been your impression of the First Nations communities? What has been your experience with them in your professional and personal experience?
6. In what respect do you think the general Canadian public knows or does not know the extent of this history?
7. In what ways do you think that this perhaps lack of knowledge of this part of Canadian history has impacted stigmas and lingering distrust between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians?
8. In what ways do you think there are intergenerational effects of the history of the residential schools?
9. How can Canada work to shrink the quality of life gap for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians?
10. The word genocide has been, at times, thrown around in the media when discussing this history, can you comment on the use of the word given the details of the system?
11. Can you comment on the specific dimensions of the history which were perceived to have caused lasting damage?
12. In your opinion has the Federal Government adequately and sufficiently responded to the needs of the Aboriginal community with regards to the residential schools?

APPENDIX B: PROBLEM CENTERED INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

1. Could you introduce yourself, where you are from and your tribe?
2. Can you explain a bit of the history of the residential school you went to, where was it and what was it called?
3. Could you share perhaps your first memories of being registered and what it was like for you as a student there?
4. Can you share your impressions of the children at the school? What was it like for you interacting with the other students?
5. Can you share your impressions of the staff?
6. A lot of the schools come with a reputation of abuse of the students from the staff, (to what degree you feel comfortable sharing) how does that compare to your experience?
7. Have you been involved in the IAP process? If so how has that experience been for you?
8. Can you comment on the impact this experience has had on you as an adult?
9. Can you comment on the impact of this collective experience this has had on the Aboriginal community today?
10. Can you comment on your personal opinion of how the Canadian Government has responded today in terms of reconciliation?
11. How would you like non-Aboriginal Canadians to remember this history?
12. What further comments would you like to add?

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Title of Study: *Social Influence and Impact on the Collective Memory of the Native Residential Schools: 1867-1996.*

Researcher: *Alicia Krömer, University of Vienna doctoral candidate (with assistance from Prof. Karin Liebhart, University of Vienna Professor)*

This is a research study. Please take your time in deciding if you wish to participate. Please do not hesitate to ask any questions at any time.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of the research study is to examine the social phenomenon of the Native residential schools through the perspective of a maximum variety of relevant interview partners. The reconstruction of perspectives on this subject provides a broader understanding of the history and those affected by it. Through this, one can see how individuals today remember the phenomenon, and to what extent their social environment has impacted this framing of memory. You are invited to participate because you have experience and/or knowledge relating to Native residential schools in Canada.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate, Alicia Krömer for at least 60 minutes. You will be presented with an interview guide ahead of time (see attached for list of interview questions). The interview will be recorded either via Skype or in person whichever is more suitable for you. You will be identified by a pseudonym for the study and your information will be protected before, during and after this research project.

During the interview, you are free to answer only those questions which you feel comfortable answering.

After the interview is finished it will be transcribed and this transcript will be available to you. At the end of the study project you will be provided with the final results of the study.

RISKS

There are no known or foreseeable risks for participation in this study. If it is too painful to recall painful memories attached the schools, then it is not necessary to share them.

BENEFITS

There are no personal benefits to participate in the study. It is hoped that through participation in this study you are contributing to a more open discussion of the residential schools and their impacts on Native Canadians.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION

There are neither costs nor compensations attached to this study.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation is totally voluntary and you can stop the interview at any time. If you wish to refuse participation at any time it will be respected by the researcher.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Records which identify participants will be kept confidential strictly according to their wishes and viewed by only the researcher and the supervisor.

To ensure confidentiality, the following will occur:

1. Your interview will be recorded and transcribed but you will be given a pseudonym.
2. The data will be stored on a password protected file and accessible to only the researcher and supervisor.
3. The data will only be kept until the completion of the study.

QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS

Please feel free to ask questions or voice your concerns at any point.

For further information about the study, contact primary researcher Alicia Krömer, + 43 0650 421 92 62 or alicialkroemer@gmail.com Canada: 1 519 207 0612

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

Your signature below indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given time to read this document, and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered.

Participants Name (printed) _____

(Participant's Signature)

(Date)

APPENDIX D: PHOTOGRAPHS OF MOHAWK RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL AND MEMORIAL SITE



'The Children Remembered' Memorial for Native Children for Mount Elgin in Oneida Reservation (picture taken by Alicia Krömer in July 2014)



Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, circa 1909. Dates of Operation: 1851-1862, 1867-1946²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Archived photograph from The Children Remembered Official Website. Retrieved from: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/school-locations/mount-elgin/>



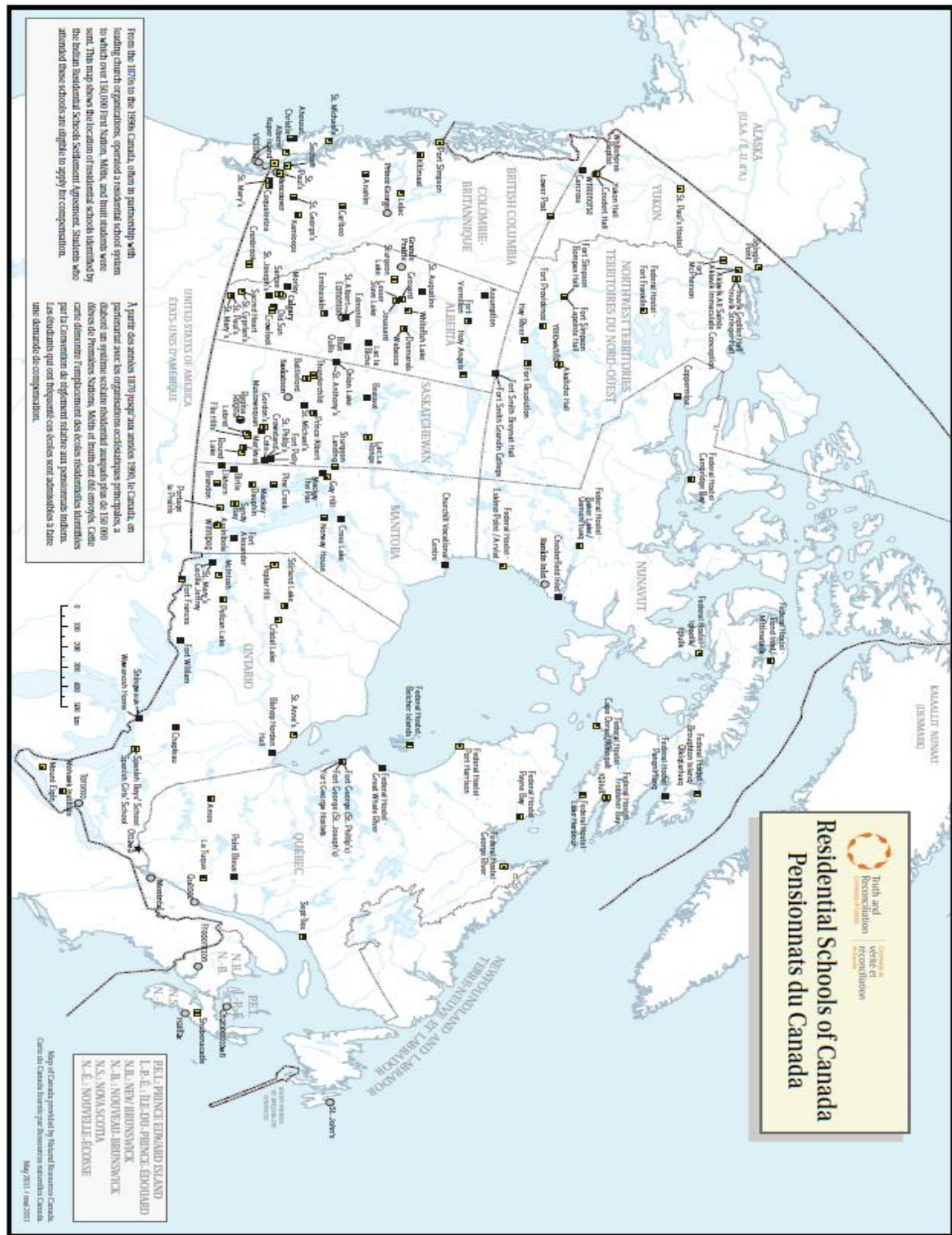
Mohawk Residential School in Brantford Ontario, 2014. (picture taken by Alicia Krömer June 2014)



Mohawk Residential School, Brantford, Ontario (specific date unknown)²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Archived photograph from Where are the Children official website. Retrieved from: <http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/timeline/research/>

APPENDIX E: MAP OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS ACROSS CANADA



APPENDIX F: LETTER FROM FORMER MINISTER OF INDIAN AFFIARS CHUCK STRAHL

Ministre des Affaires indiennes et
du Nord canadien et interlocuteur fédéral
auprès des Métis et des Indiens non inscrits



Minister of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor
for Métis and Non-Status Indians

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0H4

DEC 22 2009

Ms. Alicia Burke
Hans Riehl Gasse 2/9
GRAZ AUSTRIA 8043

aliciaburke1@gmail.com

Dear Ms. Burke:

Thank you for your correspondence of November 23, 2009, concerning the Government of Canada's position on the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. As you are aware, on September 13, 2007, the Declaration was adopted by vote at the General Assembly. Canada voted against adoption. This decision was not an easy one, but it was the right one.

For over 20 years, Canada worked for a strong and effective Declaration that would promote and protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of every Indigenous person and recognize the collective rights of Indigenous peoples around the world. We sought, along with many others, an aspirational document which would advance Indigenous rights and promote harmonious arrangements between Indigenous peoples and the States in which they live.

The text presented to the General Assembly in 2007, did not meet such expectations and Canada's concerns still remain the same. This text is flawed, contains provisions which are inconsistent with our constitutional framework, and does not address Canada's core concerns, including provisions relating to: lands, territories and resources; free, prior and informed consent; and the need to achieve an appropriate balance between the rights and obligations of Indigenous peoples, States and third parties.

The provisions on lands, territories and resources are broad, unclear and capable of a wide variety of interpretations. They could be interpreted to support claims to broad ownership rights over traditional territories, even where rights to such territories were lawfully ceded by treaty. These provisions could also hinder our land claims processes in Canada, whereby Aboriginal land and resource rights are premised on balancing the rights of Aboriginal peoples with those of other Canadians, within the Canadian constitutional framework.

.../2

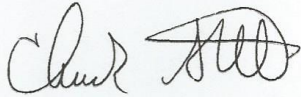
Canada

The concept of free, prior and informed consent is used in many contexts within the Declaration. Article 19 is very broad as it speaks to legislative and administrative matters which concern the broader population and may affect Indigenous peoples. It is also unclear to what extent Canada can rely on the Declaration's balancing provisions in order to ensure an appropriate balance between the rights of Indigenous peoples and the rights of others. The language of Article 46 offers less flexibility in balancing competing rights under the Declaration than it does under section 1 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* or section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Critics have said that Canada's concerns are overstated. Yet there could be attempts to use the Declaration in negotiations, in Canadian courts, and to demand that the federal government bring policies in line with the Declaration. The precise wording, therefore, is very important. In this context, it is important to stress that the Declaration is not legally binding, does not represent customary international law, and has no legal effect in Canada.

In conclusion, while Canada regrets that the United Nations was willing to adopt a Declaration that falls short of what is required to truly address the interests of Indigenous peoples around the world, we will continue to take effective action, at home and abroad, to promote and protect the rights of Indigenous peoples based on human rights obligations and our existing domestic framework.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Chuck Strahl', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Chuck Strahl

APPENDIX G: 2016 CANADA ADOPTS UN DECLARATION ON RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

In contrast to the 2009 letter from the Former Minister of Native Affairs eschewing this declaration, the news of 10 May 2016 shows the political change in Canada towards this international declaration.

Canada officially adopts UN declaration on rights of Indigenous Peoples

Standing ovation at UN greets Indigenous Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett's announcement.

CBC News | Posted: May 10, 2016 1:16 PM EDT | Last Updated: May 10, 2016 11:40 PM EDT



Canada changes course on Indigenous rights 3:33

Related Stories

- Canada removing objector status to UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

External Links

- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (.pdf)

(Note: CBC does not endorse and is not responsible for the content of external links.)

There were cheers in the United Nations as Canada officially removed its objector status to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Tuesday, almost a decade after it was adopted by the General Assembly.

"We are now a full supporter of the declaration, without qualification," Bennett said, as she addressed the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the United Nations in New York City on Tuesday.

"We intend nothing less than to adopt and implement the declaration in accordance with the Canadian Constitution."

The declaration recognizes Indigenous Peoples' basic human rights, as well as rights to self-determination, language, equality and land, among others.

Bennett — who received a standing ovation for her statement — is at the United Nations with Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould.

"It was a very emotional moment for me," said Chief Wilton Littlechild, a Cree lawyer and former commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada who was at the UN on Tuesday. Littlechild has been involved with the UN for nearly 40 years and said he's rarely seen anyone receive a standing ovation.

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■ Media teen nabbed over \$10K running for Drag the Red May 10, 7:44 PM EDT

■ Residential school survivor gets new hearing after denial of compensation May 10, 6:40 PM EDT

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Murdered and Missing

Unresolved cases of Indigenous women and girls

CBC News reports on missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

Media teen nabbed over \$10K running for Drag the Red

Liberals 'very close' to releasing details of missing, murdered Indigenous women inquiry

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APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS: EXPERT INTERVIEW

AK: Can I ask what of your first impression of this history and how did you respond to it?

TF: Several factors are important in understanding the history, first of all the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was a time of putting people into institutions, day schools, orphanages, home for unwed mothers, mental institutions, there was a whole range of institutions most of which no longer exist or barely exist anymore. But at the time it was considered quite a normal approach and boarding schools used for Aboriginal education in the US and Canada. So the use of a residential school today seems strange but was at the time, quite normal. Secondly there were very practical problems involving other approaches the education of Indians. I mean there were other approaches. The number of Indian school who went to residential schools is actually only a minority of all Indian children. You can't say most of them went through residential schools, in some cases they would attend a local school. There were lots of day schools on reserves as well, but not all Indian populations at the time could reach the day schools in particular northern parts of the provinces or the northwest territories, the people were still living by hunting and trapping and they were on the move and if they were taking their children as they would normally do, how would they attend schools? And there were in parts of the country where there were very large parts of reserves and large swathes of western Canada, how are you going to get children back and forth to school every day and there were no automobiles and buses at the time and they had to go by foot or by horseback. So, there were practical issues for other approaches so I can understand the rationale for residential schools there was a movement at about the same time in the United States, it seemed like a logical thing to do. Having the churches do it, seemed like a logical way to do it effectively and to save money. All education in Canada in the 19th century was within a religious framework. Public schools were protestant schools most provinces also had catholic schools, so the notion that schools would be religious seemed normal as well. So which is one further step from that to have them be clergymen actually conduct the whole school, so I can understand how the thing got started. I think there were good practical reasons for doing it, the alternative would have been in many cases, no education at all. As most Indian children went to other type of day schools. But if you had never residential schools there would have been Indian and Inuit children who would not have gone to school at all. And then we would look back and would say this is an enormous blot on our history that we made no attempt to offer western style education to these people. So, I have no doubt that the residential schools were flawed. But I can understand I am not sure what a better alternative would have been, at the time. In modern times, we have better means of transportation and education, the need for residential schools, I suppose, has passed. But in the context of the day I can understand why they were established.

AK: With regards to the quality of life gap non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Canadians, so Aboriginal children one in four are living poverty, an Aboriginal person is 33 times more likely to have diabetes, and the 2012 Statistics Canada report had stated a First Nations youth is more likely to end up in prison than to graduate high school. Now that is obviously, there are exceptions, first nations who have done incredibly well and become pillars of society. But can you speak to this quality of life gap that seems to exist, what impact perhaps the residential have had or not have had for quality of life between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians?

TH: Well, I don't see how you can implicate residential schools as the cause of this gap. No. I am not even sure the residential schools are a contributing factor to the gap. You can say the residential schools failed because the gap still exists. The residential schools did not close or obliterate that gap, but the gap was always there. There was an enormous difference between the standard of living between the First Settlers and the Native people who were here. So, how do you close that gap? Well nobody knows how you do that, no one colonial powers that I know of, has in modern times, has been able to completely close the gap. The gap exists in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, South Africa. The situation is a little bit different in this country but the basic phenomenon of a mass European society projecting itself, taking a higher standard of living with it, has been able to transfer that to a portion of the Native population, but only a portion. And you so you still have, these huge fiscal gaps, so I am sure the advocates of the residential schools in their time thought the schools were the way of closing that gap, well it turned out not to be that simple, but nobody has come up an obviously better way of since then everybody is now saying that Aboriginal education today is a huge failure and needs drastic reform, although people don't know what the reform should be, but everyone seems to agree that Aboriginal education is not working today so we got rid of the residential schools and we tried different options, but now its mainly being done under local chief and council, because most of them are run through delegation or however they do it. That doesn't empirically lead into obviously superior results either. So everybody condemns it, but I haven't seen anybody that has an overwhelmingly persuasive alternative that is going to better, so yeah, the gap exists, and it's regrettable but I am not sure that it's something the government can change by itself.

Handwritten notes and themes:

- MENTIONS OF MANY 'OTHER' TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS
- HISTORICAL CONTEXT
- "NORMAL" "PRACTICAL" "RATIONAL" "LOGICAL" "EFFECTIVE" "SAVE MONEY"
- HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION
- USE OF THE WORD 'INDIAN'
- MINIMIZE IMPACT
- NO CHOICE. NO ALTERNATIVE
- ACKNOWLEDGE FLAWED SYSTEM.
- GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT / HISTORICAL LIMITATION
- ALL EDUCATION RELIGIOUS
- "I CAN UNDERSTAND" "I THINK THERE WERE GOOD REASONS"
- TIME CATEGORY NEED
- ACKNOWLEDGE GAP
- NO CONNECTION TO SCHOOLS
- GAP ALWAYS EXISTS
- "NOBODY KNOWS HOW TO CLOSE THE GAP"
- "AUSTRALIA / NZ / US / SOUTH AFRICA"
- "THE GAP EXISTS"
- "NO CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP TO SCHOOLS"
- "3 MEANS TO CLOSE THE GAP"
- "MASS EUROPEAN SOCIETY" "PROJECTING" ITSELF
- "HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING"
- ACKNOWLEDGE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE

APPENDIX I: STEPS OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS ²⁷²

Step 1: Read through transcripts

- Read through all the transcripts
- Make notes of impressions
- Read carefully line by line

Step 2: Label relevant parts

- Label words, phrases, sentences
- The labels can cover actions, concepts, opinions, processes, what the author decides is relevant based on research question or theory
- The goal can be towards a conceptualization of underlying patterns.
- Explain why the selected labels are chosen.
- Stay close to the data
- There can be hundreds of codes

Step 3: Choose the most relevant codes and create categories by merging several codes together

- Go through the codes made in the second step.
- New codes are created by combining two or more codes.
- Old codes can be dropped if decided no longer relevant
- Keep codes which are deemed important and relevant
- Create categories or themes out of these combined codes
- This is the conceptualization of the data which occurs on a more general and abstract level.

Step 4: Label the categories and describe their connections

- Label the new categories based on importance and relevance, describe how they are connected to each other
- The categories and connections are the main results of the research. This is new knowledge about the world from the perspective of those interviewed.

Step 5: Look for hierarchies

- Look for hierarchies within the categories and see if one category is more important than the others
- Visualise the categories and connections with a graph. (In this study, atlas.ti was used to mine the data, with visual displays generated from the themes and their connections shown in the results chapter).

Step 6: Write up results

- Under the heading Results, explain the categories and how they are connected to each other. Describe the categories and connections neutrally. Do not interpret the results.
- Under the heading Discussion, write out the interpretation and discuss the results in light of the research questions, and/or theories, and/or previous studies.

*Note that the sample thematic analysis was one page out of a 20 page transcript from an expert interview. It is a time consuming process. This particular example was done with peer feedback where new categories were suggested after the initial two readings. After which, the material was processed in atlas.ti in order to more carefully and precisely organise, categorize and explain the data. These steps were followed in both the initial manual analysis and the atlas.ti software analysis.

²⁷² Löfgren, K. (2013) Qualitative Analysis of Interview Data. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRL4PF2u9XA>

APPENDIX J: ABSTRACT/ABSTRAKT

Abstract

In Canada, the Native Residential school system was first established and funded by the Federal Government of Canada in cooperation with the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Canada in 1867, and continued until the final school closure in 1996. During this time, 150,000 Aboriginal children were placed in a network of 125 schools across Canada. The system was designed to 'educate and integrate the Aboriginal into white Christian society' and 'kill the Indian in the child.' There are currently 80,000 survivors of the system. Many of these survivors claim they lost their cultural identity, suffering physical, sexual, and emotional abuse from the school staff. It has been reported that at least 4,000 children lost their lives while in attendance of these schools. Furthermore, this history and its impact on Aboriginal Canadians remain relatively unknown to the majority of non-Aboriginal Canadians. The literature review provides a detailed history of the system, researched from the latest available resources. The doctoral project also examines this history through the lens of a selection of interview partners. This is done in order to reconstruct the thoughts and opinions that the interview partners have on this particular subject (including Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Canadians). The interview partners are determined by their expertise and experience with the subject matter. Those selected are also chosen in order to convey the maximum variation of perspectives on the subject. When discussing the history of Native Residential Schools (sometimes abbreviated to NRS), there are two terms used to describe the groups of people involved: Aboriginal Canadians, meaning individuals with Aboriginal ethnicity and residing in Canada, and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, meaning individuals with no Aboriginal ethnicity and residing in Canada. Presently, Aboriginal Canadians are no longer referred to as 'Indians' as this was a past incorrect label. The usual labels for this group and therefore used in this thesis are the following: Aboriginals, Aboriginal Canadians, or First Nations. Aboriginal Canadians compose 4.3 % of the total population according to the 2012 Canadian census, corresponding to 1,400,685 Aboriginal people in Canada. Canada's total population is presently about 35 million. Therefore this population remains a minority though it has played an integral role in Canadian history. A theory of collective memory, developed by Maurice Halbwachs, frames the research design, by incorporating his ideas that social groups form a collective memory that is constructed by interaction and communication. Therefore the research will draw from data collected from the interviews with members of both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Canadians, sharing their views on the history of the Native Residential System, while examining how those views have been influenced by their social environment. Data collected from the interviews will be analyzed through qualitative content analysis in order to reveal hidden assumptions and patterns of meaning and, thus, providing a greater depth of understanding of the social influences and hidden narratives represented in the collective memory of this chapter of Canadian history, with its varying and often controversial perspectives.

Abstrakt

Das Native Residential School System (NRS) wurde von der kanadischen Regierung gemeinsam mit der katholischen Kirche und den protestantischen Kirchen in Kanada im Jahr 1867 begründet und finanziert und endete mit der Schließung der letzten Schule im Jahr 1996. In diesem Zeitraum wurden 150.000 Kinder der indigenen Bevölkerung in dem 125 Schulen umfassenden System in ganz Kanada untergebracht. Ziel dieses Systems war es die indigene Bevölkerung auszubilden und in die weiße christliche Gesellschaft zu integrieren und dabei „den Indianer im Kind zu töten“ (kill the Indian in the child). Derzeit gibt es ungefähr 80.000 Überlebende dieses Systems. Viele der Überlebenden behaupten, dass sie durch die Schulen ihre kulturelle Identität verloren haben und dass ihnen physischer, psychischer und sexueller Missbrauch von den Mitarbeitern der Schulen widerfahren ist. Es gibt Berichte, dass zumindest 4.000 Kinder den Besuch der Schulen nicht überlebten. Die Dissertation gibt einen detaillierten Überblick über die Geschichte und das Native Residential Schhol System, bezieht die aktuellsten Quellen ein und setzt sich zudem mit der Geschichte aus dem Blickwinkel der Interviewpartner auseinander. Dies dient dazu die persönlichen Gedanken und Meinungen der Interviewpartner zu diesem Thema wiederzugeben. Zu den Interviewpartnern gehören indigene wie nicht indigene Kanadier. Die Interviewpartner wurden nach ihrer Expertise oder persönlichen Erfahrung in diesem Gebiet ausgewählt. Im Zusammenhang mit dem NRS gibt es zwei Bezeichnungen, die die verschiedenen beteiligten Gruppen beschreiben. Erstens die indigene Bevölkerung Kanadas (Aboriginal Canadians) und zweitens die nicht indigene Bevölkerung Kanadas (Non-Aboriginal Canadians). Mit indigener Bevölkerung Kanadas ist jene Gruppe gemeint, die eine indigene Abstammung hat und in Kanada lebt. Mit der nicht indigenen Bevölkerung Kanadas sind die Menschen gemeint, die in Kanada leben und nicht indigener Abstammung sind. Die indigene Bevölkerung Kanadas macht laut der Erhebung im Jahre 2012 4.3% der gesamten kanadischen Bevölkerung aus. Die Gesamtbevölkerung Kanadas beträgt derzeit ca. 35 Millionen Menschen. Daraus folgt, dass die indigene Bevölkerung eine Minderheit darstellt, obwohl sie einen wichtigen Platz in der Geschichte Kanadas einnimmt. Das Konzept des kollektiven Gedächtnisses von Maurice Halbwachs bildet den theoretischen Rahmen für die Dissertation. In den Interviews kommen die nicht indigene Bevölkerung Kanadas sowie die indigene Bevölkerung Kanadas gleichermaßen zu Wort. Vertreter beider Gruppen geben ihre Meinung über die Geschichte des NRS wieder. Zugleich wird analysiert, wie diese Meinungen durch das soziale Umfeld mitgeformt wurden.

APPENDIX K: LEBENSLAUF

Alicia Krömer, B.A., M.E.S.,

alicia.kroemer@univie.ac.at

7. February 1984

Born in London, Canada

1999-2002

St. Thomas Aquinas Secondary School, London, Canada

2003-200

University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada
Bachelors of Arts in English Literature

2008

Government of Canada, Yukon Territory
Supervisor for Statistics Project

2008-2010

University of Graz in Austria, University of Zagreb in Croatia, University of Barcelona in Spain, EURAC in Bolzano, Italy, and the European Institute for Public Administration in Luxembourg

Master of European Studies

Title of Master thesis: Voices in the Wind: A comparative analysis of Rights and Representations of First Nations in Canada and Sami in Scandinavia.

2011

United Nations Industrial Development Organisation in Vienna, Austria

External Consultant in Energy and Climate Change Branch.

2012-2016

Mind&More Management and Education Services
Corporate Language Trainer

SS 2012- SS 2016

University of Vienna, Austria
Doctoral Studies in Political Science

Conferences

'Indigenous Education in Artic communities' for First Central European Polar Meeting: Vienna, Austria, November 10-13, 2015.

'Impacts of NRS in Canada' for 37th Annual Conference for 'Social Justice in Canada' Gesellschaft für Kanada Studien in Grainau, Germany, February 12-14, 2016.

'Canada as a model of Collective Memory' for Annual Conference for Young scholars in GKS Nachwuchsforum, Vienna, Austria, June 24-26, 2016.

Publications

Forthcoming: *Arktische Assimilierungspolitiken anhand von First Nation Kindern in Internatsschulen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Beispiel Kanada* in „Arktis und Subarktis. Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft“ (hgs): Saxinger, G, Schweitzer, P, and Donecker, S. 2016.