

IN THEIR OWN WORDS:  
MANITOBA'S NATIVE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS REMEMBERED

by

Barbara A. Dalseg

A practicum/thesis

submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Psychology  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Manitoba

Winnipeg Manitoba Canada

© 2003

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
\*\*\*\*\*  
COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE

**IN THEIR OWN WORDS:  
MANITOBA'S NATIVE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS REMEMBERED**

BY

BARBARA A. DALSEG

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University  
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree  
of  
Master of Arts

BARBARA A. DALSEG © 2003

Permission has been granted to the Library of The University of Manitoba to lend or sell copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilm Inc. to publish an abstract of this thesis/practicum.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither this thesis/practicum nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

## Table of Contents

I. Introduction.....	p.3
II. Methodology.....	p.13
III. Findings.....	p.16
IV. Discussion.....	p.106
V. Appendix.....	p.116

Running head: NATIVE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS REMEMBERED

In Their Own Words: Manitoba's Native Residential Schools Remembered  
Barbara Dalseg  
University of Manitoba

Abstract

This qualitative study was conducted using 41 archival interviews that were conducted in 1993-1994 with a non-random sample of former students of residential schools in Manitoba. A qualitative design was used in order to respect the oral tradition of Aboriginal people in allowing them to tell their story in their own way; thus vividly illustrating the residential school experience. It provides an in-depth look at the possible effects of the residential school experience and the impact on survivors' lives (and future generations). Three main categories emerged from the data; physical abuse, sexual abuse, and emotional harm, with each category containing subsections; participants' experiences, perceived effects, and literature on the topic. The findings are congruent with similar studies and research on residential school.

### In Their Own Words: Manitoba's Native Residential Schools Remembered

In the last few years there has been considerable media coverage on residential schools for Native (also referred to as First Nation, Indian, and Aboriginal) children in Canada. Critical to this issue have been allegations of abuse that occurred at these schools. There is also the belief that many of the problems that exist within Native individuals, families, and communities are a result of the abuses that occurred at these schools being passed down through the generations from family members that attended residential schools (also known as intergenerational effects). In order to develop an appreciation for what First Nations individuals have experienced in residential school, it is important to develop an understanding of First Nations' history. This is essential to fully understand the present circumstances of First Nations' individuals.

In addition to the abuses and effects suffered as a result of maltreatment, it is also important to keep in mind that the very idea of Native residential schools (removing young children from their homes and families to live in isolation from their communities) was a devastating ordeal for Native families. Even if the abuses had not occurred, just the experience of tearing families apart would have generated detrimental effects for Native communities. The effects resulting from this experience alone were a reality for Native families, adding to the effects from the various abuses that occurred while at residential school. While the main focus may be on the abuses that occurred, residential schools in general were not the most ideal environments for young children.

A very important and influential document, *Shingwauk's Vision*, written by J.R. Miller (1996), provides an extensive account of the history of residential schools. It provides a comprehensive look of the residential school system, beginning with the

reasons for the creation of the schools to the reasons for closing the doors. According to Miller (1987) residential schools for Canadian Natives developed as a prime component of a policy aimed at the assimilation of indigenous peoples to the life styles of the Europeans. Miller cites an interpretation of Canada's Indian policy that underlies the main goal of the policy as the "extinction of Indians as Indians" (Harper, 1945). Through education it was hoped that young Native children could be socialized to a European, Christian, and capitalist set of values and aspirations (Miller, 1987).

After the War of 1812, the population balance began to change in favour of the Europeans. At this time the role of the Native person changed from that of a commercial partner or ally in war and became more of an obstacle for the Europeans (Patterson, 1972). Natives were no longer essential to the realization of the goals that the Euro-Canadians were pursuing; their skills in the fur trade and their proficiency in warfare were not seen as valuable as they once were because the eastern fur trade was dead and there was no more warfare (Miller, 1996). An "Indian Policy" began to take shape. This policy decided that Native people would be settled on reserves and would be taught European occupations in order to support themselves in a manner that would not interfere with the economic activities of the white population (Harper, 1945). The policy of the colonial governments towards native tribes at the time was that "native races must, in every instance, either perish, or be amalgamated with the general population of their country" (Merivale, 1967).

Treaties signed in the 1870's promised schools on the reserves, which resulted in day schools on the reserves, but the government gradually began to encourage residential schools that were located far off the reserves (Miller, 1987). It was agreed by the Indian Affairs bureaucrats and missionaries that a child's home influence

undid the work of the teacher (Miller, 1987). As a result, Native children were sent to far away schools to acquire the ways of the Euro-Canadians. This involved the first part of the three-part education plan; removing the children from the community and disrupting families. The day schools were abandoned in favour of residential schools from the latter 1800's to the 1950's (Kirkness, 1992). A few day schools did continue to be built, but it was not until the 1950's that the building of day schools increased.

According to Crowe (1974), the people who designed the schools and hired the teachers did not take into account the Native way of life, including their ideas about education and the importance of language. The environment at these schools, such as the games, food, and manners was completely foreign to the Native children. The books used in these schools were about cities, farms, and other things the children and their parents had never seen. Teachers usually stayed only one to two years which meant the students had to constantly adjust to new faces. Crowe (1974) also writes about how the connection between the children, their parents, and their grandparents was broken in that the older generations did not understand what their children were going through and the parents felt a lack of control in trying to teach their children Native ways. The second part of the education plan of re-socializing the children came about by denying them the opportunity to learn Native ways and customs from family.

Industrial schools and boarding schools were the terms used to describe residential schools before 1923, after which the term residential school was coined to refer to industrial and boarding schools combined (Miller, 1987). Industrial schools were developed around 1900, and were larger than boarding schools and better funded (Manitoba Joint Committee, 1994). The emphasis for industrial schools was the learning of a useful trade, such as that of a farmer, mechanic, or housemaid, but



the concept of assimilation was there also (Miller, 1987). There were no general differences in the programs for the two types of schools. The administration of the schools worked as follows: the government provided funds, approved curricula, and inspected operations, and the Christian denominations provided the staff, supplemented the budget, and attempted to “Christianize” as well as teach the children (Miller, 1987).

When the schools began, most required the children to spend half the day in class and the other half doing manual labour on the school property (Kirkness, 1992). This resulted in inadequate academic and vocational education, especially since the free student labour was utilized to minimize the operating costs of the schools (Manitoba Joint Committee, 1994).

In the years between 1896 and 1923, Ottawa attempted to reduce expenditures on residential schools by closing some institutions, shifting emphasis to “new, improved, day schools,” and not providing funds to Native bands in need of funding (Miller, 1987). The government began to see residential schools as expensive, ineffective, and a political problem. The cost of Native education continued to rise. This provided a problem for the Canadian government, whose intent was to spend public funds for railways and harbours to help national economic expansion (Miller, 1987).

Despite the efforts of the government and churches, the schools did not bring about the results hoped for (Miller, 1987). Neither the Native people nor the federal government were happy with the results of the schools in the initial period of residential schooling from 1883 to 1923. Few students graduated, and even fewer found employment in the trades they learned. Native children did not emerge prepared for life in either Native or European society. Instead, they did poorly in

academic subjects, and acquired few of the necessary skills for successful living. The European society provided only menial roles for Natives in their society. The government was not happy because the students were not prepared for either life on the reserve or off. Also, the expense of Native education was too high considering the fact that Canada did not value educated Natives very highly (Miller, 1987).

The residential school went through a period of reorganization in 1923 (Miller, 1987). The approach to education shifted to a more integrated approach in response to the costs of separate schooling for Native children. The costs were rising due to the growing Native populations. The government argued that public provincial schools were the best way to educate Native children. According to Miller (1987), the shift toward integration was based for the most part on the growing cost of having separate residential schools for Native children, while keeping the underlying objective of assimilating Native people into the larger society.

According to the proposal for the Manitoba Healing Resource Centre (1994), there were 12 residential schools in operation for extended periods of time in Manitoba from 1889 to about 1975, when most schools were no longer in operation. There were four churches that operated these schools: the Roman Catholic Church, which operated the Guy Hill, Pine Creek, Fort Alexander, Assiniboia, Sandy Bay, and Cross Lake schools; the United Church (the United Church took over the role of the Methodist Church in the 1920's), which operated three schools, Brandon, Portage La Prairie and Norway House; the Anglican Church, which operated the Mackay and Elkhorn schools; and the Presbyterian Church, which operated the Birtle school. Intense rivalries existed among these denominations (Manitoba Joint Committee, 1994).

In order to determine what services will be needed at these healing centres it is important to know what effects the residential schools brought about in their students and subsequent generations. Residential schools were considered a problem for many reasons. There have been books and research articles written about individuals' allegations of abuse (Bull, 1991; Grant, 1996; Jaine, 1993; Knockwood, 1992). There are documented reports of physical and sexual abuse, lack of proper food, child labour, among others (e.g. Bull, 1991; Knockwood, 1992). However, there have been a limited number of research studies concerning what enduring effects have resulted from the abuse at the schools. Among the research study topics available directly related to Aboriginals and the effects of residential school are effects on Native child-rearing practices (Ing, 1991), parenting (Morrissette, 1994), and the traumatic effect on counsellors from hearing former residential student's stories (Morrissette & Naden, 1998).

The fact that there is so little research on the psychological effects that directly pertain to the residential school experience is an issue of importance for the Healing Resource Centres that are being developed in Native communities in the provinces of Canada through the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. This Foundation was developed with money allocated to assist survivors in dealing with their experiences at residential school and also in dealing with intergenerational effects for those who are descendents of residential school survivors. Lack of research on the effects limits the knowledge of those attempting to help Aboriginal people in their healing process.

Some psychological effects have already been identified by Native elders, such as loss of trust, dignity, self-worth, spirituality, language, parenting and parenting skills, respect, self-love, independence, traditional teachings, sobriety,

personal power, among many others (Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, 1993). Another such study was a formal investigation conducted in British Columbia with four bands within the Cariboo Tribal Council (Alkali Lake, Canim Lake, Soda Creek, and Williams Lake) which focused on three main areas: school experiences, sexual abuse, and family life (Caribou Tribal Council, 1991). There were a total of 187 individuals interviewed, half of whom attended residential school, while the other participants attended non-residential schools away from home. (The characteristics of the non-residential schools were similar to residential schools, although they were not specifically referred to as residential schools.) The results were primarily quantitative data collected through a detailed interview guide.

They found some differences between those who attended residential school and those who did not, including; residential students recalled spending less time on academic instruction, reported lower satisfaction with school, and judged their school experience to have had a more negative influence on their relationship with others and perceptions of themselves (Caribou Tribal Council, 1991). Also, the researchers found that the activities at school were more appropriate to a correctional institution than a school, which would not be considered conducive to learning and growth. Other findings were fathers who attended residential schools were seen by children as having more personal problems, favouring more severe punishment, and being less affectionate than those fathers who attended residential schools, and physical abuse of mothers by fathers who attended residential school was more common. One interesting finding is the fact that there were few significant differences found between former residential and non-residential school students on a number of social and economic life-outcome variables. These variables included level of education, employment success, and money worries. Non-residential students were not found to

have a significantly higher level of education or have better jobs and were found to worry just as much as former residential school students about money. The significant differences found were former residential school students had a greater number of marriages/common-law relationships and were more likely to change their religion. It appears that the long-term effects of residential school were more psychological in nature than social or economic. However, when the type of school attended (residential or non-residential) was correlated with the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Briere & Runtz, 1989) to determine the affect on psychological well-being, the type of school attended was not found to have a significant impact on present psychological health. (The wording of several items of the Trauma Symptom Checklist were modified slightly to make them more readily understandable to participants and 10 items were added that researchers felt would sample more comprehensively psychological symptoms associated with childhood sexual abuse.)

To understand the effects of residential schools, it would seem appropriate to utilize the existing psychological literature on topics such as physical and sexual abuse, effects of living in an institution, and effects of parent-child separation to develop a rationale for how various experiences at residential schools affected those young students who attended them. There are research studies available that address these issues and the effects these experiences can have on a child's long-term development. However, most of these studies do not use Aboriginal participants in their research and some of the studies may not directly apply to the unique situation of residential schooling. Using non-Aboriginal populations may have implications in that other populations may not respond to certain circumstances or situations in ways similar to the Native population due to cultural factors, differences in living environments, etc. The experience of these residential schools beginning with being

forcibly removed from one's home at an early age is not a phenomenon typically practiced in any culture. Therefore, an abundance of research does not exist on these specific experiences. As a result, it is necessary to use research that resembles as closely as possible the experiences of former residential school students, though it may fall short in certain areas. The existing literature can provide insight to what effect an experience such as sexual abuse would have on an individual's psychological functioning.

In order to provide a standard on which to base the experiences that occurred at the residential schools, a child welfare eligibility assessment instrument is utilized. The Ontario Child Welfare Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne, Morrison, & Goodman, 2000) was chosen as a matter of convenience for the standard of comparison. The Eligibility Spectrum is a tool designed to assist Children's Aid Society staff in making consistent and accurate decisions about a child's eligibility for service. This instrument is used to determine if a child is in need of child welfare intervention depending on his/her situation and the level of severity. Scales are provided within the Spectrum which establish a guideline for the worker as to whether a child protection response is warranted and the level of urgency required (determining if the child needs a worker to intervene for safety reasons and assessing the seriousness of the situation). The Eligibility Spectrum is comprised of ten sections, three of which are relevant to this study. The first three sections are 1)Physical/Sexual Harm by Commission, 2)Harm by Omission, and 3)Emotional Harm. These sections provide interpretations for physical abuse, sexual abuse, and emotional harm which will be used later in the study. These interpretations will provide a basis on which to compare the experiences of survivors to give a more clear picture of the extent of abuse suffered.

The purpose of this phenomenological study is an exploration of the experiences of Aboriginal people who attended residential schools and the perceived effects of those experiences on later psychological functioning. The main research question and sub-questions developed at the proposal stage are the following:

According to residential school survivors, how are the experiences of residential school impacting their psychological well-being and what kind of long-term effects can it have on him/her as well as those around him/her (spouse, children, extended family, community, etc.)?

1. What kind of long-term impact does childhood physical abuse have on a person's psychological well-being?
2. How does childhood sexual abuse affect one's psychological well-being and those around him or her?
3. What kind of long-term impact can living in an institution have on a person?
4. What effect does an early parent-child separation have on later psychological functioning?

After analysis of the interviews, the findings of the data resulted in variations of the research questions. Questions 1 and 2 remained basically the same and constituted the first two major sections of the study (Physical abuse and Sexual abuse), but questions 3 and 4 were addressed in the third major section of the study; Emotional Harm, which evolved after analysis of the data. This third major section is lengthier than Physical and Sexual abuse sections, mainly because there are many types of emotional harm addressed and the perceived effects section contains five subsections. Each subsection also contains many quotations from survivors themselves, as in the previous sections for Physical and Sexual Abuse.

The methodology of the current study will be reviewed (subjects, data, setting, data analysis) followed by the findings section (comprised of the results of the study linked with the appropriate literature), and ending with the discussion section.

### Methodology

#### *Data*

Special acknowledgement and thanks should be given to those responsible for important aspects of this study. The current project was made possible through the efforts of Dr. Brad McKenzie (Faculty of Social Work) and his students from the University of Manitoba. The interview data for this study was collected by Dr. McKenzie and his students in Manitoba (1994) with 41 former residential school students on behalf of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs under an Ad Hoc Committee on residential schools. These former students were invited to voluntarily participate in these interviews in order that their stories be documented and used in a positive way to represent the effects of residential schools and contribute to the healing of former residential school students. The generous contribution of all parties involved in the data collection is very much appreciated, and it is hoped that this paper can bring to light the residential school experience as remembered by survivors.

#### *Participants*

The data for this study were obtained from 41 archival interviews that were conducted in 1993-1994 with a non-random sample of former students of residential schools in Manitoba. The age range of the participants was 35-66 years. The majority of the participants were interviewed at the Aboriginal Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba, which was the site of a major conference on Residential Schools. The remaining participants were identified in their home community through contacts that were established in the various communities. While the sample was not random, it is the



belief of the researchers that due to the general consistency in the experiences across different schools and years, the results should be viewed as a reasonable representation of events that occurred in the schools in Manitoba in the years between 1936 and 1975.

*Setting (Interviewing methodology)*

The participants first completed an Informed Consent form (Appendix A). This form stated the purpose of the interview, which each participant was required to sign. The interviews were then conducted using a protocol that outlined the Pre-Interview, Interview, and the Post-Interview phases (see Appendix B). The general background information form and the interview guide were then used in a semi-structured interview format with the interviewer guiding the discussion in order to cover all the topics (See Appendix C).

*Analysis Techniques (study design and format)*

Due to the nature of the interviews, the data will be analyzed qualitatively. The decision to use a qualitative research method in analyzing the data was based on the fact that the residential school experience is not one that can be described in its entirety by quantitative measures. The individual experiences encountered by the participants cannot be expressed by counting or measuring, as each person is unique and has his or her own perceptions of certain experiences, even though those experiences may be somewhat similar due to the attempted standardization of the schools. Also, a qualitative design respects the oral tradition of Aboriginal people in allowing them to tell their story in their own way.

Analyzing the data involved a method of thematic content analysis (Burnard, 1991). According to Burnard, his method has been adapted from Glaser and Strauss' 'grounded theory' approach and from various works on content analysis. This method

involved the use of fourteen stages of analysis. The first two stages involved reading each interview and making notes on general themes within the transcripts, such as sexual abuse, physical abuse, etc. Stages Three, Four, and Five involved generating headings and subheadings and combining similar headings into broader categories and producing a final list. These heading and subheadings consisted of any themes, major or minor, that surfaced from reading the transcripts. For example, subheading such as physical abuse from staff and physical abuse from peers were grouped together under the main theme of Physical Abuse. In this way, the major themes were determined along with the appropriate subheadings. The main headings that emerged from the data were: Physical Abuse, Sexual Abuse, Emotional Harm. Each of these main headings are comprised of the following subheadings:

*Physical Abuse:* Most common punishments, Less common punishments, Abuse from fellow students, Students' beliefs, Perceived effects, Literature;

*Sexual Abuse:* Students' beliefs, Intimidation from staff, Abuse by staff and witnessing abuse, Bribes, Abuse among students, Perceived effects, Literature;

*Emotional Harm:* Isolation and loneliness, Verbal abuse, Punishment, Perceived effects (Repression of feelings and emotions, Loss of identity, Loss of family, Relationship difficulties, Positive effects), Literature.

In Stage Six, two colleagues generated category systems independently without seeing the original list to guard against researcher bias. The final list was determined using the original list and the colleagues' lists to ensure consistency. In order to ensure the categories covered all aspects of the interviews, the transcripts were re-read alongside the final list of categories and subheadings in Stage Seven. Any discrepancies were then dealt with before moving on to the next stage.

Using a second copy of the interviews, the transcripts were coded using

coloured highlighters according to the list of category headings in Stage Eight, with a different colour for each of the three main headings. In Stages Nine and Ten, the highlighted sections were cut out and pasted onto poster-board according to the headings. Stage Eleven involves checking the validity of the category system. In this study, this was completed by having a colleague who was not involved in any other aspect of the study to read three transcripts and identify a category system. This was then checked against the original category system and adjustments made. Stages Twelve, Thirteen, and Fourteen involved the writing up process. The poster-board sections were organized into the four main headings and copies of the interviews were kept for reference during the write-up (Stage Twelve). Examples of the data for each main heading were selected and linked with appropriate commentary (Stage Thirteen). These data examples and commentary were then linked to the literature for each section (Stage Fourteen).

### Findings

The current study was conducted using the interviews of 41 former students in Manitoba, who attended residential school between the years of 1936 and 1975. There were 19 female participants and 22 male participants. The age ranged from 35 to 66 years. The following sections consist of participants' recollections of sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional harm, and the perceived effects of these experiences. Several of the quotes (or sections of some quotes) may be used in one or more of the sections, mainly due to the fact that some experiences contain elements of more than one topic. Some of the quotes used have numerous grammatical errors and contain some sentences that are unclear. Rather than distract the reader by identifying and correcting all the errors in each quote, most are left as the participants spoke them. The name used at the beginning of each quote is fictitious and assigned to each

participant only for the purpose of differentiating each experience. The number of schools attended and the years attended were also included with each participant's entry, but the names of the schools were not included to protect the privacy of the participants.

As stated earlier, the Ontario Child Welfare Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) will be used as a standard on which to base the experiences of residential school survivors. The following is an outline of the relevant sections of the Spectrum. For each particular section of this study, the appropriate section and scale of the Spectrum will be reviewed in greater detail.

The Ontario Child Welfare Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) provides four scales in Section 1- Physical/Sexual Harm by Commission (has suffered harm or is likely to suffer harm as a result of an act by a caregiver):

*Scale 1- Physical Force and/or Maltreatment*

*Scale 2- Cruel Inappropriate Treatment*

*Scale 3- Abusive Sexual Activity*

*Scale 4- Threat of Harm*

Section 2 of the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000)- Harm by Omission (harm is likely as a result of caregiver's failure to adequately care for the child) provides five scales, only one of which will be addressed in this study:

*Scale 1- Inadequate Supervision*

Section 3 of the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000)- Emotional Harm (child has been emotionally harmed or at risk of harm due to specific behaviours or pattern of neglect of the caregiver towards the child or resulting from the caregiver failing to

adequately address the emotional condition) contains two scales, one of which will be addressed in this study. The second scale deals with adult conflict and is not relevant to this study.

*Scale 1- Caregiver Causes and/or Caregiver Response to Child's Emotional Harm or Risk of Emotional Harm.*

*Physical abuse*

According to Scale 1- Physical Force and/or Maltreatment, abusive physical force includes the following:

- Use of generally acceptable model(s) of physical punishment, but is overdone, prolonged unduly, or excessive force is used;
- Use of generally unacceptable or inappropriate model(s) of physical force.

Examples: continual or lengthy beating, shaking, slapping, or whipping; hitting with fist; kicking, biting, twisting, dropping, bludgeoning, burning, scalding, poisoning, suffocating, using weapon, etc.

The Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), provides definitions for physical harm and corporal punishment. Physical harm is defined as a child who “has suffered physical harm inflicted by the person having charge of the child, or caused by that person’s failure to care for, provide for, supervise or protect the child, or a pattern of neglect in caring for, providing for, supervising or protecting the child.” Corporal punishment is characterized by external control and can at times involve force or coercion. It combines control, force, and physical pain to get children to behave in acceptable ways and is based on parental power. Discipline is defined as covering all methods used to train and teach children in self-control and socially acceptable behaviour without physical or psychological harm to the child (Ballantyne et al., 2000).

Scale 2 in the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), Cruel/Inappropriate Treatment, identifies three forms of actions/punishments perpetrated against a child by a caregiver: deprivation of food/water and/or deliberate “locking-out” and/or physical confinement or restriction. This section refers to caregivers actions that are deliberate and performed as a punishment and/or abusive action.

Scale 3- Abusive Sexual Activity is defined in the section: Sexual Abuse.

Scale 4- Threat of Harm, refers to a caregiver threatening to harm or endanger a child. This can reflect the psychological dimensions of maltreatment in both its direct (child may be terrorized by threats) and indirect (child may develop ulcers in response to threats) forms.

All survivors in this study experienced or witnessed some type of physical punishment while in residential school. Out of 41 interviewees, 39 actually *experienced* some form of physical abuse (as opposed to witnessing). Punishment often involved some type of physical pain. Examples of the disciplinary methods included beatings with straps, sticks, rulers, books, and conveyor belts, on hands, face, head, and backside, kneeling on a box of gravel with hands extended for long periods, isolation, physical abuse by older students, witnessing public spankings, denial of food, beatings by hired people, to name a few. The most common form of punishment recalled by the participants was a strapping; sometimes on the hand, sometimes on the backside. It was mentioned by more than half (53%) of the participants. At times they were hit with whatever happened to be handy; books, rulers, hockey sticks, cordwood, milk jugs, etc. Other times, survivors recall the staff would just use their hand to slap a student, sometimes on the face. Former students recalled being punished physically for getting answers wrong in class, wetting the

bed, speaking to siblings, and for speaking their language (for many it was the only language they knew). These examples and reasons for punishment will be examined in the following sections to determine if they fall under “abusive physical force” and “physical harm” according to the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000).

This section is comprised of the following subsections: more common punishments, less common punishments, abuse from fellow students, student’s beliefs, and perceived effects. The following are descriptions of the physical abuse endured by the survivors.

*Common punishments*

*(Jenny-1 school; 1959-1968)*

I was practically finished my oatmeal already so she took whatever and she just poured it in there, and she wanted me to eat it and I wouldn’t eat. Of course I got a slap across the head for it and I wouldn’t eat it, I just sat there with my hands on my lap, and I had my head down and I was crying, like tears were coming down...The nun came back to me and she just slapped me right across the face and sent me flying against the wall and onto the bench and then she grabbed me by the hair and yanked me out of the room and she told me to go upstairs without supper.

*(Sarah- 2 schools; 1964-1971)*

I remember one time we were strapped in \*\*\*\* for speaking our language. I don’t know how many times my hands were strapped because I was very rebellious, I wouldn’t stop speaking my language. My hands use to be just purple.

*(Trevor- 1 school; 1957-1969)*

They didn't want you to speak the language and they strapped you with a big rubber, about three or four inches thick, on the hand or bottom. And in the classroom where they taught you how to read and write and if you made a mistake, they had these rulers where they had the steel and they hit your knuckles or behind the leg or the head.

*(John- 3 schools; 1955-1959)*

They would get one of the largest books that they can get their hands on, or yard sticks, they didn't care where they hit, they just hit you on the neck, ear, across the eyes. They just lashed out at you, or you just suddenly find yourself halfway on the floor. They hit you right on the head with a big dictionary and you see stars as it happened.

*(Phillip- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

No, the teachers had their own form of discipline. It was either a slap on the hands or humiliation for the classroom group or she would use the yard stick. The supervisors, I knew one who twisted ears and even though he knew, he was aware that I had medical problems with my ears.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

She must have been waiting for me because she was standing not too far away. As soon as she saw me step out there and stand out in that door frame she came and grabbed my arm, yanked me inside, hauled me all the way to the dormitory. She took off my panties and my socks, my t-shirt and my dress, and she beat me up with a strap. This was on a Thursday, I remember because the next day I went home and I couldn't sit down because my back was all bruised up, my legs. My dad said, "what's wrong with you?" because he noticed I was



walking funny or I couldn't sit properly. I said, "nothing, I'm just sore," he said "Let me see," and he pulled up my shirt and there was big welts on my back. My dad left, I don't know, I guess he went to the school. I don't know what he went and did over there, but that nun, after that, picked on me. I remember that, that wasn't the only time she strapped me, she strapped me later on too, but it wasn't as severe as she did that day.

*(Laura- 1 school; 1953-1963)*

There was a lot of group control, such as standing in line, fear control, control by threats, control by verbal abuse, and if and if people did things wrong, a young girl did something wrong; a supervisor slapped her, her head hitting a iron bar, she was hit a few times. Girls being stripped and slapped, heads being shaved. A girl having bruises on her face because she was hit by the principal. Denial of privileges; attending group activities, physical punishment (lots of it).

*Less common punishments*

Other punishments were less common. One particular one involved kneeling on a box of gravel for an extended period of time. Still others were put in a dark room for 10 days to two weeks at a time with only bread and water as a punishment for running away. The following are survivors' recollections of these punishments:

*(Dorothy- 3 schools; 1959-1969)*

I remember a really difficult period to where they use to make us kneel for hours with our hands extended fully and we had to kneel there and pray with them. I thought they were just crazy for making us do that because my arms would get sore, but if anybody was caught with their hands down and then we'd have to stay longer and pray, I couldn't understand that. I thought they

were all crazy. I've spent a lot of time in that gravel box, but after a while you don't feel the rocks any more, because one of the kids told us that if we made our mind wander while we were in there in the gravel then we wouldn't feel it anymore. And we used to think of all kinds of different things. I use to think about home a lot and then I couldn't feel the gravel any more. As a result of all of that kneeling that I've did, I kind of have bad knees to this day and it's really hard sometimes for me to kneel down.

*(Sally- 1 school; 1938-1944)*

When they were brought back they were strapped in front of all of us, both boys and girls. They really strapped them down, they gave them a good strap and then they were sent to their rooms and cut their hair shorter. But if the boys ran away, the senior boys, were brought back, they were put into this dark room, ten days to two weeks with just bread and water. They would be in that room, all that time they were in there, they were missing school, missing whatever they had to do. That's the boys punishment and if they didn't get that, they got the strap right in front of everybody.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

But the most cruel one that I can remember is saying the Hail Mary's with books in your hand, outstretched and having to say ten Hail Mary's. Why? That's torture.

According to the Eligibility Spectrum (2000), discipline covers all methods used to train and teach children *without* physical or psychological harm to the child. Each of the previous examples for the more common punishments illustrate some type of abusive physical force through the use of generally unacceptable or inappropriate models of physical force (slapping, strapping, and using a dictionary

and yardstick). The less common punishments described (kneeling on gravel, isolation, and reciting Hail Mary's with hands outstretched) could be seen as causing physical and/or psychological harm to the child due to the prolonged nature of the punishment.

*Abuse from fellow students*

Physical abuse didn't always come from the supervisors or teachers. Students (male and female) often had to endure abuse from fellow students, mostly those older. Participants remember the older girls taking items the younger girls had, such as things received in the mail, or purchased while at residential school. Younger students were often threatened to keep them from informing the staff. Two survivors recall their experiences:

*(Valerie- 3 schools; 1964-1967)*

And then you would have the big bully girls, that whenever you did buy something they take it from you. The thing I hated most there was the violence from the older girls. You just had to tolerate it and you didn't dare to tell either.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

They all took me into this room and they all circled me and they were slapping me around and telling me that I wasn't allowed to look at the boys, and if they had boyfriends I wasn't allowed to look at them.

Also, scare tactics were used by the older students to scare the younger ones.

One student recalls witnessing a particular tactic used by the older students:

*(Adam- 2 schools; 1946-1955)*

If they get them in any of the classrooms or in the dormitories in the evenings, they would put them in the blanket and they would pretend to throw them up in the air with the blanket and scare them, and the really bad ones, they would let the blanket go and they would drop right to the floor.” Students observing these incidents recall feeling helpless to stop the abuse and leaving the room because they didn’t want to be a part of that.

Students sometimes experienced physical abuse from other students because of their skin colour. Students recall those with more fair skin and hair were beaten up more often because they were considered “white.” One student described his experience and how this resulted in receiving punishment because he was always tardy for activities and his clothes were always torn:

*(John- 3 schools; 1955-1959)*

The physical abuse I suffered daily from the students themselves because my skin was white. I’m a status blind Ojibway person and because my skin was white I got physically beaten everyday, sometimes 5 to 6 times a day. My clothes was always ripped, I was always in trouble with the nuns and they never at any one time bothered to investigate why I took so long.

According to the Eligibility Spectrum (2000), the previous examples of physical abuse by fellow students could fall under the category of physical harm, due to the staff’s failure to supervise or protect the child. Adequate supervision from school staff could possibly have prevented the previous examples from occurring.

*Students’ beliefs*

According to some survivors, isolation from the public was important. Depending on where the school was located, punishment may not have been as

severe, especially if parents visited unexpectedly. One student recalls making the move from a more isolated school in the country to one that was more accessible to the public, and remembers a parent unexpectedly visiting to find his son with bruises and black eyes:

*(Tim- 3 schools; 1936-1954)*

We did what we were told because no public was allowed in. But here it was more accessible, parents started to come to visit unexpected. At one time, a very influential parent from my reserve came to visit his boy and the principal wouldn't let him see him, they told him he couldn't see him for a while. What had happened was that, that boy had bruises, black eyes. He got a beating, but the parent insisted "I am going to see him where ever he is." When he saw him, that kid was out of school right away. From then on, people kept a close eye on the school because their starting to talk now.

One common theme that seems to emerge from students' experiences of punishment is the belief, "don't let them see you cry, don't let them see that they have hurt you." Some believed that the staff would not stop the punishment unless he/she knew they had hurt the student. The other students would sometimes beg the student being punished to cry so the staff would stop. Several students shared their experience and perceptions:

*(Tim- 3 schools; 1936-1954)*

We don't cry no matter how much it hurts and then they wouldn't stop whipping until you did cry, or at least make a sound. The longer you allowed yourself to be whipped the better.

*(Connie- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

My cousin, she wouldn't cry and my sister (the one that is a year younger than me was there watching) and she said my cousin wouldn't cry and the priest would just keep whipping her and I don't know what he used, a belt, I guess. Finally, the girls were all, my sister was saying, "would you please cry," you know so he would stop. I guess she broke down and he finally quit. But that is the kind of punishments they had.

*(Colin- 3 schools; 1968-1974)*

They really make you cry, you know, and I remember getting strapped. I cried the first time, but they wanted to hear that, you know, but I remember getting a really good strapping one time when I was in grade six and I didn't cry. I didn't break out and I remember after every hit, it was so bloody painful, you know, that I got angrier and I wouldn't- I would not satisfy the supervisor by crying, and he gave up, and the looks I gave him...

In general, it appears that physical punishment did not continue through a student's entire school experience. As the students got older, physical punishment was not as common an occurrence as previously. Some believed that the reason for this was that the older students were harder to control. Perhaps this was in part due to physical size and the students' realization that they no longer had to endure such punishment. There were some exceptions to this, however. One student believed that the school hired men to beat up some of the older, bigger, boys because they were too big to be handled by the staff:

*(John- 3 schools; 1955-1959)*

They would hire people to hit you if they couldn't do it because when the boys got big, when the boys got around 18 or 19 years old, the young boys have a

lot of power and strength in them, especially if he's afraid and they can start hitting back...So, they hired these strong muscle people, I remember them, Christ, they looked like they were three and a half feet wide and about five feet tall, built close to the ground like a brick shit house. So when they hit you, you knew it.

Although the previous examples of students' beliefs about their residential school experience seem somewhat extreme (importance of isolation, being physically beaten until they cry, and the hiring of men to beat up the older students), survivors' stories illustrate their beliefs of the kind of abusive physical force used on the children. These methods of "discipline" go far beyond training and teaching children in self-control and socially acceptable behaviour as defined in the Eligibility Spectrum (2000).

#### *Perceived effects*

Survivors' recollections of the impact of physical abuse on their lives varied somewhat. Some participants looked back at their experiences and appeared to downplay the seriousness of punishments received. Others acknowledged the physical abuse and recognized that their behaviour stemmed from their experiences in residential school. The following are examples of survivors' perceptions of the physical abuse and its impact on their lives. Also, these effects and perceptions refer to physical abuse directly; emotional abuse resulting from participants' experiences is dealt with in the Emotional Abuse section.

#### *(Albert- 2 schools; 1962-1966)*

I went without food for four days once because of the situation I was in, but things like that, you know, telling them it's just bread and water, I mean, you are not really out of food because the other kids, as soon as the supervisor is

gone, they come and give you , eh, so we did, I guess, it wasn't that bad as I know. After I looked at it, it wasn't - I had a learning experience out of it.

*(Bessie- 1 school; 1954-1960)*

All these years I have been trying to convince myself that no, it wasn't that bad. I wasn't actually beaten all the time, so it wasn't bad, I was thinking, because after I got out of boarding school, it's just that they took me off the reserve. They came and got me.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

Well, I got hit a few times, but I guess that was nothing compared to what other guys got, like getting hit with rulers and stuff like that....[When asked about other kids and physical punishment he replied:] Not that bad, not like some of the stories where they are black and blue and all of that. But they used a lot of rulers and stuff like that to hit...that was their favourite weapons. I got hit a few times... But they never took your pants down, they just whacked. It didn't hurt that much because you had your pants on, it was more the fear of it coming, you're waiting, you're next, you're going to get a lickin.

One particular survivor does not recall any physical or emotional abuse, but his recollection of his experiences tells a different story:

*(Agnes- 1 school; years unavailable)*

I remember doing my math on the board. I was hit by the teacher, pulled on the ears. I remember so clearly, like we use to, we had to go up on the board and do our math and she'd stand right behind you. If you were to write, if your answer was a five and if you started making the wrong mark or something, she hit you with a ruler, and she did that a lot. I remember one kid fainting because he was afraid that he would get hit by the ruler. She'd pull your ears.



Despite the fact that these survivors downplayed the harshness of their punishments, the experiences they described constitute physical harm as outlined in the Eligibility Spectrum (2000). It is likely that these survivors do not fully recognize the possible negative effects of their residential school experience due to the fact that they did not acknowledge their experience as abusive.

Former students spoke of beating their own kids the way they had been beaten. Some believe the reason was because they had been brought up to believe that was how you raised children. Many spoke of later regretting the harshness of their behaviour towards their family:

*(Sally- 1 school; 1938-1944)*

You know, those straps made me a hard person. I can see it now, that as a parent when I was bringing up my children, I did the same thing, like strapping them. When I was bringing my kids up that's what I did, but not as much as I was getting it at school and not as hard. But again, I never seen that until I started listening to Hazel, especially Hazel. That's where I seen myself the way I was; I realize I was too hard on my kids too, I guess. Although my kids grew up decent, I guess.

*(Tim- 3 schools; 1936-1954)*

I lived according to the way I was brought up, my kids got severe beatings. Their first experience in discipline and then my wife use to complain a bit and finally she did come right out and said, "it's too much." I said, "But I'm doing the right thing for them because that was the way I was brought up, that's the way I was punished." I actually remember holding my hand like this with my belt at my kid, I froze there and then it hit me.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

When your drunk, sometimes you tend to abuse physically your spouse and I did that. I hit my wife many times, my kids saw that and I hurt her pretty bad many times. Because I felt so nautical [*sic*] as the parent, I didn't know how to be a parent. I didn't know what my role was as a father, of course nobody taught me that. So, maybe the frustration that I had trying to be a parent when I didn't know how, maybe that was my way of abusing my wife and my kids. I never sexually abused my kids, but maybe physically I might have, like strapping and things like that, because that was the way I was brought up to behave or getting the strap on the hip, I did that to my kids, too.

#### *Literature*

Childhood physical abuse has also been found to predict inflicting and receiving dating violence in college students (Malinosky-Rummell, & Hansen, 1993). Also, people who abuse their spouse report higher rates of physical abuse than do non-abusive spouses, and physically abused persons abuse their spouse more often than do non-abused persons (Malinosky-Rummell, & Hansen, 1993). The preceding recollections and perceptions, as stated earlier, are quotes from participants dealing directly with physical abuse. Obviously, survivors were not able to neatly categorize or separate the impacts of their abuse and determine which effect came from which experience. However, participants did recognize that their physical abuse did have an impact on their discipline practices with their children and in their treatment of their spouses. Also, as the research shows, those who are abused are more likely to abuse their spouses.

One particular study suggested that physically abused male inpatients demonstrated more specific substance abusing behaviours than non-abused subjects, such as alcohol use disorder, alcohol and drug abuse, and suicidal drinking

(Malinosky-Rummell, and Hansen, 1993). Although survivors did not discuss any substance abusing behaviours they believed were linked to physical abuse, 27% of the survivors in this study described themselves as having a problem with alcohol.

### *Sexual Abuse*

According to the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), Scale 3- Abusive Sexual Activity includes, but is not limited to, any sexual contact between a child and a caregiver (such as a family member or community care-giver) regardless if the sexual contact is accomplished by force, coercion, duress, deception, or the child understands the nature of the activity. These sexual activities may include sexual penetration, touching, or non-contact sexual acts such as exposure, sexual suggestiveness, sexual harassment, or voyeurism. A child is considered in need of protection when he/she has been sexually molested, or sexually exploited, by the person having charge of the child or by another person where the person having charge of the child knows or should know of the possibility of sexual molestation or sexual exploitation and fails to protect the child. A child is also considered to be in need of protection services if there is a *risk* that the child is likely to be sexually molested or exploited (Ballantyne et al., 2000).

Among the negative effects reported by participants were experiencing or witnessing sexual abuse. A total of 49% of the participants recalled experiencing or witnessing sexual abuse between students, and between students and officials. Both male and female survivors recall abuse happening within their dormitories. Survivors recall being abused by priests, male and female supervisors, brothers, nuns, and fellow students. Some students also spoke of being the perpetrator at times, and not always the victim when it came to sexual abuse. Some students were abused at a young age and became abusers themselves as they got older. Others realized it was

not appropriate, but felt forced to keep silent. Some survivors entered residential school quite early, some as young as age three. For many, the abuse began when they were very young and continued through their residential school years. Often, they knew of fellow students being abused also, and felt it was a normal part of growing up; they did not recognize the sexual abuse as wrong.

This section is comprised of the following subsections: student's beliefs, intimidation, abuse by school staff and witnessing others' abuse, bribes, abuse among students, perceived effects, and literature.

#### *Students' beliefs*

The following are survivors' perceptions and beliefs they held of their experience, including how the sexual abuse seemed to be a natural part of the residential school experience.

*(Travis- 2 schools; 1949-1959)*

So I am not hiding that part of it. I know it's confidential but it was something that seemed to be natural, I guess for me, I thought that boys were going out with boys and probably sleeping with each other. I got involved in that process too. It went on until the time when I left residential school; it was still happening, but at that point people in charge had caught on already and asking questions about the relationships going on between the boys...It seemed that it was the most logical thing that the boys would do because we didn't know; we didn't have any sexual education. Whatever we were picking up, we were picking it up from the older boys, and the younger boys seemed to have picked it up and just carried it on to a number of years.

*(Glenn- 1 school; 1963-1975)*

There was a lot of boys, I guess, that used to come to my bed because I wasn't

always the victim, too. A lot of times I was the perpetrator too. I guess it's given me a lot of sex problems in that area and I always had to, I guess it became a way of receiving affection because that's the only way I knew how, because I wasn't getting my needs met on an emotional basis or single basis.

*(Victor- 2 schools; 1955-1969)*

The kids started abusing each other. Personally, that happened to me from older boys. I think I didn't see that happening, but it happened to me- and I didn't really think nothing of it. I don't know if it happened to other kids or not, but what we use to do, I remember now...we use to joke about stuff like that, but it never struck us that it was happening. I think we kind of accepted it as being part of going to school.

Some survivors in our study were unsure of whether they experienced sexual abuse or not, but experienced flashbacks that suggested some sort of abuse had taken place. For some, the experience is partially blocked out of their memory. One student recalls his realization that he had blocked out part of his abuse:

*(Travis- 2 schools; 1949-1959)*

I didn't know until later on, until recently, maybe within the last 15 years of my adult life. It was brought to my attention from a group of people I went to school with, from the ones that I consider myself the first (we were the first ones from our area to attend residential school and I was with that group), so it's the first admission and I was the youngest. They told me at that time that I had been sexually abused by a group of boys. For me, it's a question mark, I don't remember. . . . It was just later on I was wondering why I got flashbacks about these incidences. The reason why it kept up like that because there was always something sexual. I hope you don't mind me talking about this.

Some survivors believe that the school authorities knew that abuse was taking place among the students and between the students and staff and did nothing to stop it. According to the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), this is considered abusive sexual activity if staff had knowledge of the abusive activity and allowed it to continue. However, at least one student recalls an effort was made by some school authorities to investigate the problem and find a solution:

*(Travis- 2 schools; 1949-1959)*

Later on they started talking about it with the priest. I told my share of it to whoever was doing the report. That's at that point in the 50's, that's when they started bringing the boys in groups much closer in cafeterias and sharing the same classroom units... They knew there was a problem going on, the sexuality. I can't really say anything for the girls because they never told me anything. Later on, I found out that they were having the same kind of problem.

*Intimidation*

Some survivors recall incidents where a school authority figure made advances toward him/her. Even though they felt uncomfortable with the situation, they felt intimidated by the person's authority and felt forced to allow things to continue:

*(Darryl- 1 school; 1958-1960)*

My first incident with this man was, I was very naive, very vulnerable. It was on a Saturday. Myself and another individual went to the Rectory... But it was at this point in time, where this Father asked me to come into one of the offices where there was clothing, a washboard and a basin. Like I said, I was quite naive and vulnerable. I didn't know what this priest wanted of me but he

spoke about God quite a bit and he told me to wash myself in the basin with soap and water and he wanted me to wash my genital area, to wash my penis. I asked him why and he said, "God will know that you are clean." So, being naive I went ahead and washed myself in front of him. He just sat on one side, he just sat there and looked at me. Today, with hindsight, I can see that he was getting something out of this, He reached some kind of catharsis, he reached a high point, he seemed to be enjoying himself. I didn't understand what this man was doing until later in the years, like, to watch me wash myself, especially the penis part. He really got something out of it, and he did this to me on two occasions while I was there for two and a half years, but I didn't understand what he was doing. Later, when I informed the other boys about that, they told me never to go there alone again. The older boys told me, don't go there alone because he's going to try something on you. So, I was warned and I never did go back there alone again. I did go back twice and he did this to me twice but there was no third time, I did not go back. It was then that I began to hear about this particular priest who was also doing this to some other boys.

*(Glenn- 1 school; 1963-1975)*

I know he used to come on to me. Like, sexually, he thought I was after him and I never gave in to him and he use to try to do things...but I'm glad I never, it was always like he was testing me because I remember he did that to one boy. He did that to \*\*\*\* and \*\*\*\* and he made them kiss in front of everybody. Things like that. I remember he made me take my clothes off one time in front of everybody. He made you do these really humiliating things that made you feel, made you feel like a piece of shit, a piece of dirt...living in

his dorm was just like living in a f\*\$@ prison, like it was just like hell. There was a lot of fear.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

This one priest- we were allowed to go visit him and I remember he used to wrestle with the girls and I remember he'd let us fool around in his office and I remember one time, he was wrestling with me, but I felt so uncomfortable about the wrestling, so after I felt uncomfortable with the wrestling, I didn't go back to visit him anymore.

*Abuse by school staff and witnessing others' abuse*

Students recall being abused by school authorities and also witnessing other students being abused also:

*(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

At that time, I didn't know it was sexual abuse. If we- I remember- the priest coming into- the Father himself- the principal- walked in with the mail. Not until later on, that I realized that he did this every week, he would walk in with the mail...and he held the mail up in his hands- we were all excited if we had any mail. And while the girls were jumping around he would twirl around with the mail in the air...The other father that came in with him...he ran around after the girls tickling them and I was with them running around until I was finally caught by him and he put his finger up my vagina- and I didn't know- I was a young girl. I didn't like it so I sat and watched him doing it to the rest. These were the young- really young girls.

Mary also recalls another incident involving the same priest:

So we had to go back into his room to clean up and I remember the priest putting the steps back upstairs so this girl couldn't put his bags up on the top



shelf of his closet. He climbed up there and I stood and watched while he fingered her. He had his finger up on her- under her skirt where her jumper was. Then it was my turn because he had a task for me- to put these pyjamas up and he did the same with me.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

I was about nine years old and the nun- our supervisor- asked me to take this book up to the principal's office (the Father's office). When I got there, the door was ajar...I heard this girl say "don't, don't do that." I tip-toed over to the door because it was open and I seen this priest with his hand up that girl's skirt and she was bent over the bed...I ran out of there and I slammed the door as I went out. I could still remember him saying to her, "It will be okay, don't tell anybody." Because I slammed the door when I left, not long after that I went and hid in the corner of the play room and he came into the play room and he must have asked the supervisor which girl brought- because she pointed at me. After that I stayed away from him, I was scared of him.

*(Connie- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

There was this one old Brother...he use to chase us all the time...we use to laugh and run away from him. At the same time, we knew that it was wrong- that he was trying to chase us and feel us. I never heard of him catching anyone when they were alone and doing anything to them. But that is how he was. Whether he went further than that I don't know.

*(Margaret- 2 schools; 1951-1962)*

I was always with the baby crowd, so we had this dorm on this one floor. We knew, we use to watch through the window, there was a little crack between the blind and the wall. One of the girls discovered one time that there was this

teacher and a student kissing together. We learned about lesbianism at that time although we didn't know what that word for it was. We knew that it was wrong and we knew that they were doing no-no's; this was a student and a teacher. Indirectly we learned about improper sexual behaviours and we didn't know that at that time.

### *Bribes*

Students were often bribed into allowing the abuse to continue. Bribes usually consisted of items not readily available to the students, such as candy and fruit.

Students describe their experiences:

*(George- 1 school; 1959-1967)*

I recall one Brother there who would always molest little kids. You don't touch a child in private parts and this Brother was Catholic...it was very uncomfortable at times. You know what little children are like, we were at the time accepting of what the Brother was doing, after he did that he would give us some candy or oranges that would calm you in accepting it.

*(Raymond- 1 school; 1958-1964)*

All he did to me was fondling and masturbating and our reward was, I was given a pat on the back and a candy and apple. And he played games on us like mentally, emotional blackmail, and he used to con us emotionally; like he knew the way we thought. And it was terrible, like, I had to keep that to myself because other boys would tease me about it. And I wasn't the only one molested; there was boys that was molested by this guy; he was a real pervert...I've seen boys come from his room a lot of times and sometimes when I was in bed at night, I would hear him walking around visiting other boys in bed and in the morning sometimes- when we go to bed, we all check

our pillows to see if there was an apple there, it means he will be visiting you.

I use to have some apples from him.

*Abuse among students*

Female survivors describe how abuse occurred between the students and between the students and female supervisors:

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

Myself, in boarding school, I never experienced any sexual abuse that I know.

There was sexual abuse amongst the girls because I used to see these girls kissing and used to wonder why they were kissing. And they would be touching each other and then I used to wonder why the nun would look at them but she never said anything.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

The only time I remember was one of the girls. You know how we use to sit down by our number on our boxes, she must have been about 10 or 11 years old, she was older than I was. She was small so she was sitting before me, she was next to me in the number, 48 I think she was, because I was 49. I remember how that started, she would sit close to me, I didn't know what she was doing. At first I thought, it's just nothing, and then one time she caught me in the washroom and she started playing with me; touching me in my genital area. I didn't know what to say to her, she use to say, "it's okay you know." She did that to me for that whole year, but I was scared of her because she use to tell me if I didn't allow her she was going to tell her older sister that I was beating up on her and she was sort of mean- her sister was sort of mean- she was a bully in the school.

Each of the experiences above can be classified as abusive sexual activity

according to the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), including the instances where a student witnessed sexual abuse toward others. Survivors that were aware of the abusive nature of their experience were able to identify effects they feel were a result of the sexual abuse. However, some students may not be aware of the extent of the abuse endured and did not classify their experiences as abusive or perhaps did not feel comfortable discussing the issue in the interview. Due to that fact, the following is not an exhaustive listing of effects survivors feel they suffered or endured as a result of the abuse at residential school.

#### *Perceived effects*

The following participants shared some of their feelings and stories about the impact sexual abuse has had on their lives.

*(Raymond- 1 school; 1958-1964)*

I love my kids deep down at that time but I didn't know how to show it...and I couldn't hug my kids the way I was supposed to because of this mess thing I had. I always thought, "Oh, God!-What if I become a molester?" And I couldn't hug my kids until about four years ago when I started healing and they are all grown-up girls.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

It [sexual abuse] ruined my marriage, that's what it did when you come right down to it; it tore my marriage apart. That's what she told me anyways, I kind of chased her away because of that, but I didn't really realize that. But by going to therapy and working on myself and all of that, that's one of the things that I found out and then of course, I blamed other things.

*(Travis-2 schools; 1949-1959)*

Anyways, that's my part of it, the shame that I got from the early years of, I guess I must of been sexually molested to begin with and I think that's part where my anger comes from today. Even now I have a hard time facing up to it. I've only just recently started talking about it within the last year because I was getting some treatment. At this time in my life, all of a sudden I started feeling panic attacks, anxiety, and stress. They told me that it finally caught up to me; all these things that I have been holding back for years. It was just kept inside of me and all of a sudden, I wondered why I have all these situations through my adulthood where I couldn't cope with society. I was wondering why I was drinking so much. I was drinking and why I was smoking so much or being abusive to my relations. I have one divorce and I think it broke up because of that abusive situation, and it was through alcoholism. I don't drink anymore, I quit about over 10 years ago, 12 years ago...The same thing with smoking, I gave it up for about 2 years before that. But, at that time I realized I was having problems already and I thought that if I stopped doing that, that I would be okay. That wasn't the case, it was still something else I had to handle in my life, and that was to overcome that anxiety of feeling guilty and ashamed, all those feelings that were inside me. They were still there and I was still getting sick, sometimes pretty violently ill for no reason at all...Even today, today I still feel ill, somewhat. But now that I've let it out I feel a little bit of a release and I'm able to talk to people about my situation...For me, it's to continue to survive because I feel like I survived something awful. That's how I assess it in my mind; I feel as if it was a part of my life which have brought problems to me in my lifetime.

*(Connie- 2 schools; years unavailable.)*

Well, when it came to, say, your sexual feeling about your husband. Now that is another thing to, and I don't know if my other sisters feel... Like I was always feeling ashamed or guilty for what we were doing. That is one thing from the school for sure. They taught us that sex was wrong and the body was dirty and stuff like that, eh. And, then, I don't know. Then when I came out of school and if I had a relationship, it would seem that with the feelings I had, why was I still doing that, you know, sort of thing. It took me a long time after I got married to realize that it wasn't wrong.

*(Glenn- 1 school; 1963-1975)*

There was a lot of boys, I guess, that use to come to my bed, because I wasn't always the victim too. A lot of times I was the perpetrator too. I guess it's given me a lot of sex problems in that area and I always had to, I guess it became a way of receiving affection because that's the only way I knew how because I wasn't getting my needs met on a emotional basis or single basis. That's how, I guess, I would have.

*(George- 1 school; 1959-1967)*

On account of that [sexual abuse], today I wouldn't let my wife touch me anywhere. I get a very uncomfortable feeling.

*(Josephine- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

I was afraid of anybody touching my hand because I didn't know what sex was, only that it was a sin from residential school. That it was filthy- sex was filthy- sex was dirty- it was a sin that God didn't forgive, so here I was, pregnant, and I was sure I was going to burn in that hell. So when I got home to tell my dad about it, he threw me out. I had my baby and mom and dad

never saw my baby because it was, like I said, a sin. This baby was all full of sin. I couldn't love this baby...I thought how ugly he was because he was a sin- he was full of sins...My other kids were taken away from me...These kids hate me...I told her [daughter] every time I had a baby, I hated the babies because it was a sin. I hated myself for having what you call, I couldn't have sex with, and I hated sex and I still hate it, although my husband loves me enough now.

### *Literature*

In a study involving First Nations individuals (those who attended residential schools and non-residential schools) the researchers derived seven composite scores from their data on the psychological symptomology resulting from sexual abuse (Cariboo Tribal Council, 1991). These seven areas were sleep disturbances, sexual problems, anger, anxiety, depressive behaviours, suicidal ideation, and depression. Significant relationships were found between sexual abuse and the following: anger, sexual problems, psychological depression and depressive behaviours. According to their research, these findings paralleled the findings of a previous study (Wyatt & Powell, 1988) of the long-term psychological impact of sexual abuse. They concluded that while the extent of sexual abuse in this particular First Nations population is not as extreme as some might have believed, it nonetheless had a serious psychological impact on abuse survivors in a manner similar to that in non-First Nations populations. The significant relationships found between sexual abuse and the composite scores were similar to at least two effects participants noted as resulting from their sexual abuse; anger and sexual problems. It is interesting to note that while participants may have made reference to symptoms characteristic of depression, none actually referred to it as depression.

Family functioning was also assessed in the previous study in relation to whether or not an individual was sexually abused or not (Cariboo Tribal Council, 1991). There were several differences found between the two groups. Those that were abused were less inclined to describe both of their parents as happy, outgoing, and relaxed, more likely to report that their mothers had been beaten by their fathers more, and those not abused reported that they felt closer to both their fathers and mothers while growing up. Also, those individuals abused reported that they had been given less emotional support from both their fathers and mothers and that their mothers in particular had given them less supervision and less affectionate attention. In terms of the parents' approach to discipline; those who were abused reported both their parents using physical punishment and that their mothers' favoured punishing them verbally and also reported that both of their parents were inconsistent in making rules and applying them. In this study of survivors and non-survivors (Caribou Tribal Council, 1991), it is interesting to consider that those who were sexually abused did not rate their family functioning in a very positive light. Although most survivors in the present study were not specifically assessed on family functioning, many spoke of the loss of family contact while growing up and the difficulty this caused when they did return home.

Many studies have been conducted to assess long-term effects of child sexual abuse (Berliner, 1991; Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Kaplan & Pinner, 1996; Stein, Golding, Siegel, Burnam, Sorenson, 1988; Sedney & Brooks, 1984; and Bagley & Ramsay, 1985). Many of the effects found in these studies mirror the effects of residential school survivors. Some of the effects found in the previous studies include depression and self-destructive behaviour, anxiety or tension, anger, guilt, feelings of isolation, stigma, negative self-concept, poor self-esteem, learned helplessness,



difficulty in trusting others (fear, hostility, sense of betrayal) continuing problems with parents, difficulty in parenting and responding to one's own children, problems relating to women and men, a tendency toward re-victimization, substance abuse, sexual maladjustment, an increased risk for suicide, and being more likely than those not abused to visit a physician or be hospitalized. Depression was the symptom most commonly reported among adults molested as children (Bagley & Ramsey, 1985). Being sexually abused also generates feelings of helplessness (Summit, 1983) that, in time can create a greater vulnerability to psychological problems in later life by diminishing the person's self-esteem and sense of mastery (Peters, 1988). Participants in the present study have spoken of a low self-esteem, although most did not directly link it to sexual abuse, which does not rule out the possibility of a link between the two.

Reviews involving childhood sexual abuse have findings that are similar to those studies involving both types of abuse (physical and sexual abuse). For example, victims of child sexual abuse in clinical and non-clinical samples have been found to be more self-destructive than non-abused persons (Bagley & Ramsay, 1985; and Sedney & Brooks, 1984).

Even though each survivor's experience of sexual abuse is different in the present study, some of the effects noted are similar to other participants' and also to the effects noted in the studies cited above (Berliner, 1991; Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Kaplan & Pinner, 1996; Stein, Golding, Siegel, Burnam, Sorenson, 1988; Sedney & Brooks, 1984; and Bagley & Ramsay, 1985). For example, participants spoke of carrying feelings of guilt and shame even after residential school. Others had difficulty dealing with marriage and relationship issues, such as intimacy, expressing emotions, and sexual difficulties. Some attempted to deal with their feelings by

pushing them away, only to discover that they resurfaced in other forms, such as illness, panic attacks, anxiety, anger, stress, excessive drinking, and smoking, “inability to cope with society,” and abusive behaviours towards family. Survivors spoke of difficulties in rearing their children, including negative feelings towards children because of belief that sexual contact was a sin, fears of becoming a molester, difficulty in showing love to children and hugging them.

Also, substance use disorders, major depression, phobia, panic disorder and antisocial personality were found at a higher rate among those sexually abused as children (Stein, et al., 1988). It has even been suggested that childhood sexual abuse may actually trigger the onset of the following: major depressive disorder, alcohol abuse or dependence, drug abuse or dependence, and phobia and panic disorder (Stein, et al., 1988; Bagley and Ramsey, 1985). As stated in the previous paragraph, some survivors identified substance use disorders and panic disorders as a result of the sexual abuse experienced in residential school.

In one particular study, the strongest predictor of the risk of sexual abuse was lack of maternal warmth while growing up (Peters, 1988). Women who have been sexually victimized as children have reported continuing problems with their parents and difficulty in parenting and responding to their own children. It would seem safe to reason that since most residential school survivors experienced separation from their mothers, they also experienced a lack of maternal warmth. It is interesting to note that in this particular study, this factor was the strongest predictor of sexual abuse. In the case of residential schools, lack of maternal warmth may also mean lack of protection provided by parents, which puts children at greater risk for any type of abuse. Also,

some survivors noted difficulty in parenting and responding to their own children. Beliefs instilled in childhood carried on to adulthood, influencing their relationship with their children and creating the possibility of intergenerational effects.

### *Emotional Harm*

Although emotional harm was not stated specifically as one of the main research questions, it is nonetheless an important element of the residential school experience. It can result from all four of the experiences outlined in the research questions; physical abuse, sexual abuse, living in an institution, and early mother-child separation. The Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) provides an interpretation of emotional harm while recognizing that it can be one of the most difficult types of harm to define. The authors are careful to point out that emotional harm is not an isolated incident and that some degree of emotional harm underlies all types of maltreatment. They describe emotional maltreatment as a pattern of negative caregiver behaviours or repeated destructive interpersonal interactions by the caregiver to the child. They define emotional harm as a repeated pattern or extreme incident of the following conditions:

*Spurning*: includes verbal, nonverbal, caregiver acts that reject or degrade a child, such as:

- belittling, degrading, and other non-physical forms of overly hostile or rejecting treatment;
- shaming and/or ridiculing the child for showing normal emotions;
- consistently singling out one child to criticize and punish, to perform most of the chores or receive fewer rewards;
- public humiliation.

*Terrorizing*: includes caregiver behaviour that threatens or is likely to physically hurt, kill, abandon or place the child or child's loved ones or objects in recognizably dangerous situations, such as:

- placing a child in unpredictable circumstances;
- setting rigid or unrealistic expectations with the threat of loss, harm, or danger if they are not met;
- threatening or perpetrating violence against the child.

*Isolating*: includes caregiver acts that consistently deny the child opportunities to meet needs for interacting or communicating with peers or adults inside or outside the home, including:

- confining the child or placing unreasonable limitations on the child's freedom of movement within his or her environment;
- placing unreasonable limitations or restrictions on social interactions with peers or adults in the community.

*Denying emotional responsiveness (ignoring)*: includes caregiver acts that ignore the child's attempts and needs to interact (failing to express affection, caring, and love for the child) and show no emotion in interactions with the child, including:

- being detached and uninvolved through either incapacity or lack of motivation;
- interacting only when absolutely necessary;
- failing to express affection, caring, and love for the child.

It is also important to recognize that this section in no way represents all the emotional abuse that was experienced by survivors. The following are common themes that surfaced from survivors' stories which are grouped into several main areas; repression of feelings and emotions, isolation and loneliness, (including loss of

family and separation of siblings), verbal abuse (criticizing students and Native culture), physical abuse (including punishments), institutionalization, and parent-child separation. The following are survivor's own recounts of their experiences and perceptions of what happened during residential school.

*Isolation and loneliness*

Students recall experiencing loneliness and isolation at residential school. Loss of family contact was mentioned by many survivors, including the loss of parental influence, separation of siblings, and loss of extended family. In addition, students felt they were encouraged to forget their Native way of life; some survivors felt they were deliberately turned against their parents and family by the staff at residential school. One participant even recalls being told that a family member had passed away, and he had missed the funeral. The following are experiences as told by survivors:

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

...that you can't live like your parents no more. You're dirty and they don't have anything, they're poor. I remember that maybe that's why I kept going because I didn't want to be that. They make you hate your parents and in some ways that, they don't tell you right out to hate your parents, they have ways of showing those things and maybe by what they are doing....So when our parents came and visited us on Christmas and Easter, they were made to live down the hill from school. That's an old house, an old grey house, it looks like a concentration barracks. That was how it was made up. There was bunks like the concentration...and that's where they were put when they visited us. When a white person came to our school, the nuns was just tripping over each other just to give them the best from the school. They ate in a special room, gave

them a special place to sleep, and gave them the best food. They never fed our parents, never, but a white man came in there, boy, they were given the best facilities and that's one way they showed us that our parents meant nothing.

*(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

I thought that our parents turned against us because we had to be totally different from our people. Living with these white people- with the nuns and the priests - we thought that, I thought that we had to change our and accept that way of life, and that is why our parents didn't love us anymore, because we had to stay away from them. I thought that they, they took us away from the school because we could not be with them anymore. I couldn't understand why they still couldn't hold me. My mother never hugged me all my life. Two years before she passed away, she put an arm around my shoulder and I shivered. I couldn't stand her...My brother, I love my brother very much and I wish I never saw much in school, he was physically, mentally harmed. He fought back, he resisted. He blanked himself up into a state where he never felt pain when they beat him up.

*(Clayton- 1 school; 1960-1963)*

Well, that's one part that I'm still struggling with, the emotional abuse that I've went through, like I didn't know even my grandmother died because I was not notified....Until about - my mother wrote me a letter. At that time, we couldn't get through to \*\*\* until, I guess, a week after she died. So I never found out what happened; why I couldn't go to her funeral. That's about it, like as if it didn't really matter to them whether I was there or not.

The practice of removing a child from his/her home and restricting contact with family would best be characterized as *Isolating*, according to the Eligibility

Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000). Restricting a child's contact with family could be considered *placing unreasonable limitations or restrictions on social interactions with peers or adults in the community* in the most extreme sense. This highly extreme sense of isolation may be more psychologically damaging in that it is also removal from the most basic sense of security and safety, which could be extremely psychologically damaging for the child (and parents).

Survivors recall being told certain things from school staff about their families that were untrue. One participant (Bessie) even recalls being told that her parents were dead and then finding out that they weren't dead after all. Participants recall staff attempting to turn them against their families and culture by lying:

*(Dorothy- 3 schools; 1959-1969)*

They use to say things about my father too, but I loved my father very much and knew it wasn't true. They told me that he never worked, but he always worked. He worked for the CN, and they told me that he was drinking a lot, but he wasn't....I remember, because I had gone to boarding school, I looked different because of the way my hair was cut and the clothes I had on. I was treated differently by the kids in \*\*\* and by the grown-ups in \*\*\* and I was told that I was a little white girl because I was always speaking English a lot. I remember my grandmother; I never knew my grandmother because she didn't want me, because she told me that I was a little white girl. That still brings a lot of pain....the kids on the reserve were really mean to me when I went to live with my auntie. My grandmother did all she could so that I wouldn't love her or anything, and I tried so hard to get her to love me, but she always pushed me away and she would say that I was a little white girl. I remember the kids use to always beat me up.

*(Bessie- 1 school; 1954-1960)*

I remember the day they let us go, too. They didn't prepare us or nothing, they just came and got us one day, they told us we were going home...I was only nine and my brother was only 13...We got lost on the way...All the time I was in the boarding school I mourned my mother and my father...They told me "the reason you're here, your mother and father are dead, you got no parents." The day they sent us home, they never told us, at least to go back on their word and tell us "no, your mother and father are alive after all." They didn't do that, they just put us on the bus and gave us a little brown bag and sent us on our way. By that time we were, they had us so programmed that you had to be scared of our own people because they're savages....we got lost and the RCMP put back on the bus and that's the first time they told us, "your dad is going to be at the bus depot in Winnipeg to pick you up." After all these years I was mourning for my dad, all of a sudden they are telling me that your dad is there in \*\*\*. I didn't know what to think, I was scared of him. I was thinking, "that's my dad, whose taking me now, where am I going now." I was scared.

Bessie goes on to describe her feelings after leaving residential school:

I hated myself more and more. A lot of times I thought of suicide and I know that, I could imagine how a lot of them feel after being in boarding school, they couldn't cope and they took you off the reserve, made you hate your people, made them hate their own family. And yet they threw you back there without no counsellor and with no explanation, no healing, your not



even worth to spend money on for treatment. I feel so, sometimes, things, I'm so resentful that I just hate, "How can you think you're any better, any better than I am."

The previous experiences could fall under the category of *Isolating (denying the child the opportunity to meet needs for interacting with adults or peers)*.

However, in the case of residential schools, the magnitude of such emotional harm is further increased due to the fact that the students were denied access to immediate family. Since students were not allowed to interact with parents, siblings and extended family, they also were not able to check out the information provided by staff, such as deaths of family members and had no choice but to believe staff.

For some, not only was the Native culture criticized at school, but also at home by families. Some parents believed that it was in the best interests of their children to forgo cultural traditions and adopt Christian values and beliefs.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

They [cultural traditions] were already being criticized at home too, by my mother, my parents. Because my dad told me that he couldn't speak English, but he told me not to speak Cree. Maybe he felt sorry for me because I wouldn't do well in school or get punished in school. He encourage me to speak English at home even though he himself could hardly speak English.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

Oh, I just remember Christmas like they [siblings] only came home for holidays like Christmas and my mom...But then I remember them leaving, like they would be there and then they would be gone and everybody used to get confused when they come and go like that. I missed them when they weren't

there. I use to cry for them when they weren't there....my mom did take us to go visit them in \*\*\*, but I didn't understand why they were there. I still wanted to stay with them because I miss them, eh? I think that is why I tried to go to boarding school too.

*(Mary-1 school; 1931-1943)*

Two years and every summer all the kids were gone home for the holidays. I was left alone in that big school. Those were the loneliest years of my life. I never had anyone to hold me...I didn't know what it meant when mothers kiss you. I was so lonely, I managed to get over this...home after two years. I asked my grandmother, "Grannie, take me out of there, please."....She said, "I can't. I can't take you out of there." .... In my mind I thought "Ah, you go to hell, too. You don't love me." In my mind I used to think no one loves me. Why am I living? I felt so rejected, so lost, so lost, unwanted, no good, and the sisters told us we were no good. We were slobs, dumb Indians, savages, lazy... I had to go back to school hating my grandmother, hating my mother, hating everybody.

As evident from the proceeding quotes, many survivors had unanswered questions about why they were sent to residential school. For some, it was years later that they began to understand why their parents acted as they did. As young children, they were lead to believe that their parents did not love them or were unable to care for them. The devastating effects of these beliefs coloured survivors' perceptions of their worlds, resulting in distorted beliefs about family. Even for those who understood why their parents acted as they did, forgiveness did not come easily, if at all. Many continue to carry anger toward those responsible for the disruption of their families and way of life.

*Verbal abuse*

Verbal abuse was cited by many survivors. This included name-calling and being criticized for being Native (including staff's refusal to allow the students to speak their language). Many students recall school staff criticizing the students and aspects of the Native culture. In addition, they would instil fear into the students to encourage them to conform to Christian values by making them believe that the Native way of life was evil and bad. One participant, Rita, sums up her perception, "they make you think everything about us was evil, so you know, we were going to hell anyway." The following are participants' stories and perceptions of staff's views of the Native culture.

*(Tim- 3 schools; 1936-1954)*

But he would preach as I said, way back then, that anything native, or culturally native, was evil and bad and that we had to get rid of anything like that if you want to succeed, to be successful in life. That's what I still remember, his saying when we talked we sounded like a bunch of Chinese. When we walked around we walked around like a sack of potatoes. You have to get rid of that, learn English and Catechism.

*(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

They knew that we had culture before, our traditional cultures, up there and before we arrived. We were not to speak of it at all or we would get strapped. We were to forget all that because they called us pagans. We were pagans if we did. Heathens and pagans, and how do you call it- savages.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

The nun that used to teach us religion use to say "those black savages"...For some reason now that's stuck in my mind, this nun saying that, black savages,

and she was French, and she was sort of saying that we Indians were savages, black. That's stuck really in my mind in all those years. I think at that time it didn't bother me much, but years later, when I think about it, it's their way of saying that you guys are no good, you guys come from a savage race, and all of that.

*(Darryl- 1 school; 1958-1960)*

The priest, the nuns, the teachers, all put down any kind of native, aboriginal teachings. We were called pagans, no good for nothing Indians, wouldn't go far in life. As I recollect, I don't remember any of the other students ever speaking about the native culture, the pipe ceremonies, teaching lodges, nothing. I don't ever remember, it wasn't until years later that I started hearing about these native teachings. But never was it ever allowed to talk about teachings or native spirituality or even your language, you couldn't speak your language.

In addition to demeaning the Native culture as a whole, survivors recall emotional abuse on a more personal level. Students were called names and told that they would never amount to anything.

*(Sarah- 2 schools; 1964-1971)*

I guess emotional would be part of verbal abuse because I remember the guy that was running the school, he use to really degrade us when we did something wrong, like "lazy" or stuff like that, "can't you ever do anything right," and all of that.

*(Dorothy- 3 schools; 1959-1969)*

I remember really feeling hurt after going through many, many years of being told that you were no good, and you wouldn't amount to anything. Always

being called down, by the time I got to Fort \*\*\*\* I was never really happy, we had a low opinion of ourselves...I remember being told many, many times by the white cloth that my mother was a whore. It was the nuns and they said that she was nothing but a drunk, and I didn't know back then what a whore was. A lot of kids repeated what they've said or they heard.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

So many times we were called little savages. I mean, the nuns would speak French, they speak French together but for some reason I could always tell what they were talking about...savages, they would say in French "petite savages," they say "those little savages..." Not only put us down, but they put our parents down too when we were kids. You know, "they say you're parents don't even know how to keep you clean, they can't keep your house clean." A lot of our parents drank, they say "your drunken father", things like that. These nuns would be so, some of the vile things that came out of their mouths, you'd be surprised that they were even nuns.

*(Margaret- 2 schools; 1951-1962)*

When they get mad with us they would call us savages and stuff, eh...and they would call us dirty and stuff. I don't remember really being put down, you know, because you were native.

*(Phillip- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

Everyone was aware that I had a hearing problem. I was never issued a hearing aide....I would be called stupid, ignorant, and stubborn on account that I just couldn't hear what was being said in that classroom.

The previous two sections (criticizing students and aspects of the Native culture) could be described as *Spurning*, as evidenced in the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000). Students were made to feel ashamed of their culture and way of life, and they were also criticized on a more personal level by being called names, such as slobs and lazy. Despite the intentions of the government and church authorities, some survivors managed to retain their culture and language. Sadly, some survivors lost the traditional aspects of their lives. However, greater awareness of the residential school syndrome has given many Native people the courage and determination to seek out their traditional ways and reacquaint themselves with those lost aspects of their lives.

#### *Punishment*

Physical punishment was a common method of discipline in residential school as outlined in the Physical Abuse section. However, some survivors spoke of the humiliating way some punishments were administered, mainly as a deterrent to the other students. One survivor, Bessie (1 school; 6 yrs.), sums up her experience (and probably many others' as well) in the following quote:

It seemed that every time they wanted to punish us they did it in front of everybody. You had to take down your pants for a strap, and they do it in front of everybody. They seemed to encourage the other kids to laugh and it was something to laugh about. It was meant to ridicule you.

Many survivors remember public strappings and spankings, especially for those that ran away. They were used as examples for the others. Some even had their hair cut short as a punishment; those that ran away sometimes also had their heads shaved (boys and girls). Survivors tell of the shame and humiliation they felt due to the nature of the punishment and its effects:

*(Trevor- 1 school; 1957-1969)*

I remember one incident in the classroom, this nun went mad at one of the girls and he got her in front of the classroom like that and the desk, and put her over the desk like that and pulled her dress up like that and he got this great big dictionary and started whacking her in the bottom.

*(Glenn- 1 school; 1963-1975)*

[Physical punishment] Yes, give it to you on the bum with your pants down. I remember that very clear. I remember some boys were caught looking under one of the ladies dresses. She was going up the stairs and they were disciplined when they told them to take their pants down. I remember one incident, one girl, her name was \*\*\*, they made her take her pants off in front of the classroom.

*(Connie- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

There was a really mean priest, God, I can't remember his name. I just can see his face. He used to hit the girls, the older girls especially. Just hit them with a strap or whatever, you know. Pulling up their skirt in front of everybody. Stuff like this eh, you know, just to strap them and embarrass them in front of everybody.

*(Margaret- 2 schools; 1951-1962)*

I remember some girls' heads being shaved...That was all I remember about me was the strapping. There was other things that happened to the other girls, they were runners, they used to run away. One of the things that they did to them was shave their heads to discipline them; the shame in front of the other students.

*(George- 1 school; 1959-1967)*

If you ran away or ran away from school trying to get home (you get lonesome or you get abused), they would shave your head bald. Apparently that has happened to me a number of times, they would let my hair grow back in the last few months so when I go home at least I'll have hair on my head.

*(Rita- 2 school; years unavailable)*

A bunch of girls ran away from boarding school and they were picked up the next day and they were brought back to the school and they were shaved- their heads were shaved bald. One of my sisters was caught and she was shaved. I felt sorry for her.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

What I remember is that, they had three girls who had either ran away or they were caught outside the fence with a boy...they got caught so their hair got shaved off, not shaved off, but cut off. They were made to sit right in front of the picture show and everybody was laughing at them...and they just sat there with their hands in their face, crying and hiding their face...I felt bad for them because I really knew better, that I shouldn't laugh...but the little boys were standing on their chairs pointing and laughing because they were already conditioned to do that.

*(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

I know five boys that ran away....they had the RCMP track them down with the dogs and brought them back....They were shaved....the one boy...they left his a little long, about a quarter of an inch high and they made a pathway from the forehead down to the back to the skin so that people would laugh at him



and make fun of him and after their heads were shaved...they had the two doorways - doors open- and hearing the beatings that were going on so that we could - we would not run away.

*(Terri- 2 schools; 1955-1963)*

I remember the other sad incident...there was these twins that ran away and they had beautiful long hair...when they got brought back, we were asked to watch what they were going to do for punishment for these girls. And they sat them on some chairs or some stools and they chopped off their hair above their ears and when I - I could still see that hair falling down and those girls didn't do anything. They just sat there and just let them do that to them and the feeling that came over me at that time I thought, "My God, how can they even think of doing that, these women to these girls."

Many survivors spoke of the punishments or humiliation inflicted due to bed-wetting. In addition to having this private issue made public due to the nature of living in a dormitory, students were further humiliated by staff to ensure that he/she did not wet the bed again. Participants recall their experiences:

*(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

If we had a hole in our socks, it was pinned to our backs, we wore that all day. If anyone wet the beds, they had the sheets tied around their necks and used as a cape on their back all day. Us other kids were made to taunt them, to laugh at them, to shame them so they wouldn't pee the bed again.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

This nun spoke, "It's time to get up." She switched on the lights in the dormitory, there must have been 60 girls; we all had our individual beds, all in rows. She said, "I want all of you to sit up on your beds facing the front," so

we all sat up and there was this girl standing there in a red suit, dressed as the devil. She said that this girl was the devil's helper, this girl had weak kidneys, she use to pee her bed every night. I guess this nun had made this suit as a devil's outfit - red - she even made her little horns, a hat, and she had her standing there and had a fork that looked like the devil's fork. That girl had to stand there all that time we were there, dressed up and that. I will always remember that because this girl, she was about my age.

*(Travis- 2 schools; 1949-1959)*

They made me do embarrassing things when I was at a young age, at the age of 5 and 6. I was always wetting my bed and I think I took a lot of punishment because of that...I'd get strapped or slapped on the bum or I was made to take my sheets down to the laundry room and wash my own sheet in the sink...I remember being embarrassed, at the worst of times being made to parade with my sheet to a group of school children.

*(Keith- 1 school; 1936-1945)*

And when you wet the bed, they make you take your sheet, take it - walk you right through the girls on the girl's side with your sheet, you know, march right through on the girls - so that all the girls can look at you and into the laundry room and make you wash your sheet and after you finish washing your sheet, you come up to the chapel - march in the chapel on the stage and then you lean over on the stage, your pants down, and the old principal gives you a strap on the arse.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

I was sitting in benediction, I was sitting up front and the nun was kneeling down beside me. I poked her in the arm and I said, "I got to go to the

bathroom.” She said “No,” I said, “But I got to go real bad.” She said, “No, you stay right here, it’s just about over, you can wait.” Well, I couldn’t wait so I just let it, we were kneeling down and I just peed myself because I couldn’t hold it because it would just hurt. All of a sudden she realized I was peeing and she jumped up, she grabbed my arm and dragged me out of there. She told me to get the mop and I had to go and mop it up and everybody was in benediction and here I was mopping up the floor during benediction. That was embarrassing, things like that. Today I laugh, but at that time it wasn’t funny for me. My self-esteem about myself at such a young age was very low. I didn’t think too much about who I was. I was just sort of going through the motions a lot of the times and I couldn’t wait to get out of there.

The following three stories do not involve physical punishment, but are disturbing nonetheless. The experiences appear to have been made as humiliating as possible. All three punishments were administered for rather trivial acts (losing a pair of bloomers, not attending catechism, and not standing properly, respectively) and seemed extreme for the circumstances.

*(Dorothy- 3 schools; 1959-1969)*

I’d lost my bloomers. . . . I knew I had to be dressed before the bell rang. . . . So, I put my pyjamas on and I put my pants over it and then we all went down. . . . I knew that, once they called my name that somebody had told them that I had my pyjamas on. . . . We went down the stairs to the sewing room and she made me stand there and she pulled my pants down and all the kids were getting ready to go to school. And I remember the boys had to pass where I was standing, and she made me stand there with my bloomers up with my pants down. I was really terrified because all the boys were going stupid,

they were just as scared as I was but they were told to look and they had to look because if they didn't, then they get the strap for not looking. I remember feeling sorry for them because they had to look and I could see the terror in their eyes because I could really feel for them. But I could also feel the shame that was going on inside, because standing there with my pants down, and letting all these boys see me; it's really horrible, it's such a horrible feeling. The boy's supervisor, who was a young priest, he really got upset and he pulled my pants up and then he took my bloomers away and he told me to go and get dressed in the bathroom and I could hear him yelling at the nuns and he told them, how dare they do that to me.

*(Dorothy- 3 schools; 1959-1969)*

I remember I had to go into this room where they were teaching us catechism. I didn't want to be there, I ran away and I ran to the playground, I thought with all the girls there they might not be able to find me, but they did. What they did to me back then was that they put my hair (my hair was cut short) and they made me wear these two horns, and that's how they had tighten up hair like that. Like I was the devil and I had to walk around all day thinking I was the devil. And people would ask me how come my hair was like that and I remember the girls felt sorry for me and when the supervisor left, they had put my hair down. And when she came back into the room she put my hair back up. I remember hiding in the stairwells and I hid there in the dark and I could hear her coming and she was saying "Where's the devil?" I couldn't let her see me, but because it was at the bottom of the stairwell that she knew I was there, so she dragged me out and then she shook me up and she asked me what I was and I told her I was the devil. What I remember, something inside of me

just falling apart and I told myself that I wouldn't allow them to do this to me anymore. I guess my fighting spirit came back and I remember having a lot of memory about my grandfather that I was something before I came there. I remember after that, that I wouldn't do anything actually to try and take care of myself. I use to not comb my hair and no matter what I did, I always ended up getting the belt. But I didn't care anymore because I didn't feel anymore, but I knew that they couldn't break my spirit because I felt then that I wanted to fight back and that no matter what they told me that someday I was going to grow up and I was going to get out of there. All I had to do from that time on was to survive and that's what I did. I was rebellious, but I also did what they told me to do, kind of mechanical. I knew that if I did it mechanically, then I would be able to survive.

*(Carolyn- 2 schools; late 50's- late 60's)*

I remember when I stepped out of line. . . . I was either playing. . . . I wasn't standing properly. . . . I knew there was going to be something, but not knowing what. When everybody went to the dining room, she asked me to untie my shoelaces...to untie them and then tie the laces together again and walk like that into the dining room. So, I did, I did that. When I got to the doorway I felt so naked. . . . There was boys and girls already eating...I didn't want to go inside the dining room; I felt humiliated. I guess that's the word you can use now and at that time I didn't know what the word might be.

Because you know how you felt and the feeling is very much real because you experienced it. I felt like I was naked, so I walked in there and when I put my foot inside that door, I just felt embarrassed. . . . So I walked like that. I got to the place where I usually sat so there she asked me to untie my laces, untie

them now. So I did that and stand on a chair. I had to eat like that, she gave me my plate. I don't know if I even finished what I had because when you're feeling so hurt, you cry and you can't eat. I don't know if I was expected to eat everything that was on my plate. I don't even recall what was on my plate. I just stood like that.

Participants spoke of witnessing siblings' punishments and being unable to help:

*[Linda's (1 school; no years available) husband was present in the interview and spoke the following words about Linda and her brother.]*

Her brother [Linda's] also was there and he was disciplined in front of people. There were disciplined with the pants down, bending over in front of everyone. And also they put a dress on him[as punishment], a girl's dress because he went over to the girl's dormitory to visit his sister. He never saw her, they weren't allowed to see each other, that was her brother.

*(Jenny- 1 school; 1959-1968)*

It's watching my sister getting beaten. When lights were shut out you had to be in bed, you couldn't get out of bed. Next to her bed she had a face clothe, the lights went out so she draped her face cloth over the foot of her bed. In the morning the nun came up and saw that, she went back to her room. I don't remember the exact words, I blocked the words out. She came back with the strap and she beat \*\*\* for having that face clothe at the foot of her bed. Of course, I'm standing there and you can't do anything. I think I was about 7 or 8 at the time. I saw \*\*\* get beaten and I remember watching her kicking, we tried to get her to stop, but she wouldn't stop.

(Mary- 1 school; 1931-1943)

There is an area where we call our laundry room...when I looked down, I saw the nuns taking, you know, they have this big heavy plank or board or something hauling the stained bloody pads - the menstrual period pads - that the girls - and putting them into the washtubs and I saw my brother scrubbing the blood off the bloody pads. These were made in our sewing room by us girls - so I knew what they were. I wonder why? I was young at the time and I hadn't had my time yet - the monthly's. I saw my brother and the washtub. Now I realize now why my brother beat up his wife. He called her dirty, he called her filthy. She told me it happens all the time - worth beating when he was drunk because she was on her time.

Some of the punishments endured by survivors were not typical punishments. Some may be better described as cruel and inhumane (wearing a devil costume, having your head shaved; both boys and girls, wearing a wet bed sheet as a cape). Humiliation seemed to be a key factor in many of the punishments. Under the *Spurning* section of the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), public humiliation is included as a caregiver act that rejects or degrades a child. Each of the participants' punishments in this section involved public humiliation to varying degrees. Staff almost seemed to go out of their way to devise and carry out humiliating punishments; for example, styling hair to resemble the devil's horns. Private issues such as bedwetting were further made more humiliating and devastating for students by having to parade around in front of others with wet bed sheets. According to survivors, effects resulting from these punishments included feelings of shame, humiliation, helplessness, anger, and low self-esteem. This is only a short list of effects taken directly from survivors' own recollections in this study

regarding physical abuse. Other effects spoken of by participants in other sections may have resulted from physical abuse also, but were not directly linked to physical abuse by the participants.

### *Perceived Effects*

The effects discussed in this section encompass the four main research questions. Participants were asked about the effects of residential schools in several ways including how residential school impacted his/her life, and whether or not residential school helped prepare for life after school. Several of the quotes have information in brackets for clarity to specify the type of question asked. This section is comprised of participants' views about their residential school experience as a whole and their views about specific experiences, such as abuse. These effects are grouped into the following main themes; repression of and inability to express feelings and emotions, loss of identity, loss of family connections (siblings, parents, extended family), relationship difficulties, and positive effects.

*Repression of feelings and emotions.* Many survivors recall not being allowed to express their emotions or share their feelings with anyone while at residential school. They remember learning to suppress their emotions in order to survive in the system and continuing to suppress their emotions in the years following. They also recall experiences and beliefs derived from residential school that they believe contributed to, or are a direct cause, of their inability to express emotions. The following are survivors own recounts of their experiences and the painful effects of their loss:

*(Glenn- 1 school; 1963-1975)*

*[asked whether or not residential school helped prepare for life after school] I think it did in a lot of ways and in some ways it didn't. A lot of ways*



it didn't help me because it never helped me with family life because I never had a family. I still don't, I never- was single. I have never been able to form a need for deep relationships with anybody. I always kept everybody at a distance. . . . and I think the sexual abuse and the abuse I got that I was shutting myself off at that time. We were use to doing it. It became automatic.... You didn't really share your feelings. Everyone was always laughed at when you said something, they always laughed at you. I remember I skinned my knee and they just laughed at me. They thought it was a big thing, you know, you had to be a man and that boys don't cry, grown men don't cry, you learned to stand on your own feet.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

I think one of the things that really hurt about the boarding school is that there was no love, there was no such thing as love. The only thing that they told you was "love God or love Jesus." That was the only thing, how do you do those things when you can't show it to your parents, or your sister, or your friend, you can't do that...you can't show your emotions. That really pissed me off many times. So, I grew up hard, I had to, that was the only way I could survive, to be hard. If something bothered you, you know, bite your tongue. There are a lot of repressed feelings that I have to this day and it comes out in many ways...I never grew up with those things, so it was very hard for me to show those things and you weren't ever shown those things...I was never taught those and now I have to deal with them and we don't know how to deal with those things because nobody taught us how to do those things....One legacy that I've always carried is that I cannot, I could not show the love that, because I didn't have any. That was repressed, that's one part of my

boarding school experience. It bugs me that I don't know how to love. I was very authority carrying, very disciplinary because that was the way I was brought up, and I wanted my kids to maybe do the same thing like I did. Nobody told me anything that was the way to bring up kids. I hurt them a lot of times. That's the thing about my boarding school, maybe that's one thing I lost, is how to love. I know a lot of boarding school friends that I have and they all have the same problem.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

Even now I have a hard time expressing myself emotionally, especially when I'm tense, I don't like having people being emotional around me. I don't like people crying, even when you're getting hurt, you're not supposed to cry when you get hurt because you're told "don't cry"...I developed that, I was suppressing my feelings, but I learned after how to hug and show my affection to my family...at the same time, the lack of trust, you didn't trust people, you didn't trust authority. I had a hard time trusting people. I had a hard time getting married because I didn't trust anybody.

*(Colin- 3 schools; 1968-1974)*

I had to show no emotion to a point where I didn't know what emotion was, you know, later years when I was trying to get it back. I remember having it when I was young, but what is it? It took me a long time to try and relate to, you know, my feelings, because I had gotten myself into such a cocoon, you know. I got my shell so hard that I'm gradually penetrating it now. I am slowly coming out of it, but at times, I'm having a hard time to relate. Like what is

this new feeling, you know, although I'm human, you know, I hurt inside, you know, but I don't know how to deal with it and the worst thing is that I don't know how to share - to bond with my kids, you know.

*(Bessie- 1 school; 1954-1960)*

I went through a really bad time, even now I'm 44 years old, I still have a lot of feelings that I can't, that I don't know how to deal with. I have a hard time to show my feelings. I don't ever cry, I don't know why I am crying now... There was a lot of times, I couldn't cry when people died, I couldn't. It was just like I couldn't care less about anything.

*(Travis- 2 schools; 1949-1959)*

I never did tell, given a chance to tell my mom that I loved her and that's because I had already suppressed myself, in not being able to express myself and not being able to express my real feelings about anybody or anything. It was inside, bottled up, and I didn't know why. That's what I mean, you can bottle up things for only so long and then they explode. That's why I feel a lot of people who have gone through the system; they went and had the same things bottled up and came out the wrong way, most of the time probably violently. That's what I feel anyways.

*(Phillip- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

*[If you think back about your experience in residential school, what do you think it has done to your life?]*

For the most part, it [residential school] traumatized me to the point, it affected my mentality to this day in certain areas. . . . I can't speak for my family but what can I say for myself. I never came home for the summer holidays. I had to go to different foster homes each summer. Just as I was

getting to like those people, the summer holidays would be over and I would be hurt. The next summer, it would be all over again, the same thing over again with different people this time. I conditioned myself to built sort of a self-defence mechanism for myself. I knew it was going to hurt if you liked somebody too much or just back away from really caring for anyone. And with this I do not want to become too close with my family to this day on account of what was stolen.

*(George- 1 school; 1959-1967)*

*[What did you do after you left residential school?]*

When I was in school everything was being done for me. When I went out into the world, I got into the work force. I had a hell of a time adjusting to the world with this society. On account of that- I found the problems- I was a very shy person. I had a very low self-esteem because of the way I was being treated in school. I turned to- at the age of 18- I turned to alcohol. I used this to bring out my inner feelings. I needed alcohol either to meet women, to dance. I used it for every occasion, birthdays and everything. I didn't know how to talk about my problems because we never had counselling when we were in school. So going out into the world was very hard. Since I was 19 to the age of 36, I depended on alcohol on every occasion, whenever I think I needed it, I hid behind it. The school, the education was okay, I used that and I still use it today. I didn't learn too much when I was in school, I learned it out in the world. All the things that were being done to me when I was in school, I just started dealing with it three years ago. The damage that was done to me. . . I get counselling, that's where I started to find out, to find my identity and how to resolve it. For the past three years I have worked on it, but just like

yesterday, it still comes back. After I started working on myself, working on my feelings, and talking about my feelings, how I feel. I find that I can't blame the Catholic Church now for being the way I was. I can't blame the school. If I find that everything I did to myself after I got out of school was my own doing.

*(Carolyn- 2 schools; late 1950's-late 1960's)*

*[Asked about emotional abuse]*

You have no one to turn to for comfort so all you knew was to bury your loneliness somewhere in your heart that has gone so deep because all you knew was to remain quiet and cover yourself. . . . I use to hear a lot of children crying in the dormitory and that made it more hard and you sort of feel I ask myself now, what, I don't remember learning too much in \*\*\* because I just remember being lonely all the time. I ask myself today, could that caused some psychological problems with some of our students, some of the kids that went in terms of learning problems. Because you never expressed the way you felt on what it was like to be lonely. . . . For one thing, we've never talked about what it was like for us in the schools. Even our children have no idea of what it was like because we never really talked about it, it was something that wasn't evaluated once they closed them [residential schools].

Several participants spoke of repressed anger they are still dealing with. For some, the anger is directed at their parents, for others it is directed at the church. For many it is an ongoing struggle to come to terms with the residential school experience and its effects. The following are several participants' views of their feelings.

*(Mary-1 school; 1931-1943)*

Every summer all the kids were gone home for holidays. I was left alone in that big school. Those were the loneliest years of my life. I never had anyone to hold me. . . . In my mind, I use to think no one loves me. Why am I living? I felt so rejected. So lost, unwanted, no good and the sisters told us that we were no good. . . . I always thought that God didn't love me. All the things that happened to me- I couldn't hold my children. I didn't love them because I was never taught how to love anyone - how to respect anyone. . . . I still don't know how to love anybody. I feel why should I love someone when I was never loved? When I was rejected I think those oblate fathers and sisters owe me an awful lot. They ruined my life. All the money in the world would never pay back the way I feel; the pain that I have in me. It will always be there. I would like them to hear this so they will know what they did to my life. . . . I am just so full of hate. I hate them. I don't like what they did to me. I going to try to forgive them. I don't go to church because I feel I'm a hypocrite when I look at a priest. I know it's not the ones that taught us in school, but he's an oblate father. I come out of there feeling very mad.

*(Valerie- 3 schools; 1964-1967)*

*[affects of residential school]*

There's a lot of hurt and there's a lot of anger. Sometimes I think, I can't put my finger on what's hurting me and I don't want to talk about this. Like I'm sitting here thinking right now, "why in the hell did I come to this interview for, it's getting me all upset and it's something I don't want to talk about, and I look at my family and they're so religious and yet I think they don't know

how they hurt me.” I made up my mind to do what I want to do in life and they’re still trying to tell what to do and yet I haven’t got the courage to sit down and tell them, “the hell with you.”

*(Adam- 2 schools; 1946-1955)*

*[Where is your anger directed?]*

I would say the people who were trying to educate us. Trying to educate us to be independent but also taking us away from our homes. They didn’t teach us any of our languages, they didn’t teach us any culture. They only took that away from us.

*(Sarah- 2 schools; 1964-1971)*

I was in counselling, that’s when I discovered that all my anger- I was still carrying anger. I still had a chip on my shoulder because of- I was still angry because my grandfather, they [school staff] wouldn’t allow me to go out to my grandfather’s funeral; to go see him for the last time. He was the most important person in my life. I got my doctor to make me an appointment with a psychotherapist. That’s when I realized that was where all the anger was coming from. I was angry at my mom for leaving me alone all the time and through the summer months when we were there and for sending me away to the school....I told her, “Why did you send me away?” She said, “because we had to,” and she said, “if we didn’t send you then the government want to see, that the government wouldn’t give us our rations.”

*(John- 3 schools; 1955-1959)*

I called those people who ran the boarding school, “stone people.” What did I learn from those stone people? I learned how to suppress my natural feelings, my feelings of love, compassion, natural sharing and gentleness. I learned to

replace my feelings with a heart of stone. I became a non-human, non-person, with no language, no love, no home, no people, and a person without an identity. In this heart of stone grew anger, hate, black rages against the cruel and unfeeling world. I was lost in a veil reaching up to the black robes and priest and nuns trying to make sense of all of this anger and cruelty around me. Why were these people so cold? Did they not have parents somewhere who loved them. Why did they despise us so much? In the beginning, I was constantly confused and always, always lost to their ways. I even went so far as to find a woman to marry that had no family connections, literally an orphan, my wife was an orphan, she has no family so that way I didn't have these people touch me. I didn't love this woman and I told her I didn't love her because I didn't know how. It was a cold calculated act, like buying a car. She had to meet certain requirements and function properly, but I didn't love her. In the spring of this year, I separated from my wife after 31 years and I knew that something wasn't right for all those years, I lived away from home for most of it, constantly on the move. I moved close to 275 times around Canada, never letting people or things touch me, self-denial, and it works. I now live alone in a big old van with only the highway as my constant companion, sometimes waking up in places not knowing where I am, lost like a bad dream. I've managed to effectively stop the world from getting into mine. My brothers and sisters were victims of the boarding school, today my brother is trying to recover from the physical and emotional abuse that was done to him in boarding school. . . . My dad went through the residential school in \*\*\* and it's pretty obvious from his legacy. Behind him is a trail of terror, violence, family assault, alcoholism, and now in the winter of his years;



his trail of tears and remorse. . . . But I can't recall one instance in my whole life when he held me in his arms and said "I love you, my son." Never, only when he was drunk. I'm not angry at him, I'm angry at the ones who stole his love from me, my mom, my brothers, sisters and the community. I rage at those that built stone walls around his heart, and I'd like to get even but I don't know how. My mind does powerful things to me and for me, but the one thing I can't get my mind to do to my heart is to forgive those that committed this terrible thing to my dad, my brothers and sisters and the community.

The above experiences would appear to fall under the *Denying Emotional Responsiveness (Ignoring)* section of the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000). Many participants noted a lack of affection and caring from staff and feeling a need to suppress their own emotions as time went on, as illustrated in the definition for *Denying Emotional Responsiveness* section. Some survivors, as evidenced in the above quotes, felt they have managed to learn to express their feelings and emotions after they left residential school. Sadly, some have not moved beyond their experiences in learning to express their emotions even after many years as illustrated in the quotes about anger. Several spoke of the issue of forgiveness, but admit that it does not come easily. For many, it is an on-going struggle to deal with the effects of emotional abuse suffered at residential school.

*Loss of identity.* Survivors spoke of their perceptions of some of the effects they have experienced while at residential school. Losing their sense of identity was a loss experienced by many survivors, which they felt was accomplished partly through the staff's treatment of the students and the Native culture, including their refusal to allow the students to speak their language. The following are survivors' own stories:

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

When you play Cowboys and Indians, You always wanted to be the cowboy, you never wanted to be Indians. There's something in there made us do that, I don't know what it is, but we all wanted to be cowboys and shoot the Indians. I don't know how that came about, but in those years we never gave it any thought that we were Indians, but yet we were allowed to be Indians, and they sort of let it happen, that we shouldn't be Indians. I don't know, it's hard to pinpoint any particular incident, but it worked because when you're playing Cowboys and Indians you always wanted to be the Cowboy and not the Indian. . . . So I guess it goes into your head and when you were young and impressionable that's what you take, what you see and what you've been told. But I don't remember being told to many of our people but it ended up many times that we were always ashamed of being Indians.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

I think mostly maybe it was cultural abuse, not putting us down as Native people, that we were no good, our parents were no good, you have to leave that life because there's nothing in it any more. I think it succeeded in a sense, it succeeded on the wildest expectations to making me like them. Again, I had to suffer because I ended up saying "Who the hell am I?" People say that I'm an Indian, what the hell is an Indian....Maybe that's why I cried because I don't think they made me a person really, they made me something else and I think that's the legacy that I always carried about boarding school. I am not a person that they took when I was six, and when I came out I was a totally different person. Maybe that's what hurts me the most is that a lot of times when I question myself on who I am, it's very hard to explain...I would like to

wear a braid and feathers but I don't understand those things because they took that from me, but the only thing that they never took was my language. That's one thing I always kept is to talk my language, which is lot better than a lot of people that have forgotten their culture or rejected their language.

*(Tim- 3 schools; 1936-1954)*

I tried to live according to what I've learned and what I've learned, well, was to be somebody other than myself, I didn't know myself, I just tried to be what I was supposed to be . I don't know why, because they said that we were no good, we were born failures....what I have found when I look back, actually, I've lost my identity, my own personal identity. I was very confused. I thought I knew myself, I thought, "I survived," but all through those years the process must of changed, must of made you something that you weren't. I don't know whether we should learn to forgive, but we should learn to forgive ourselves because it wasn't us, it wasn't me that caused all this problem, all these difficulties, all these hurts on my family.

*(Raymond- 1 school; 1958-1964)*

Sometimes I hated being Indian and I wanted to be white and I turned with the white and they refused me. They said I was an Indian. You can't - you are an Indian. So, I was stuck in between. I knew I was Indian, but how to be an Indian, I don't know. I know there was a history. I know I wasn't a loser all my life.

*(Jenny- 1 school; 1959-1968)*

I had a loss of identity, I didn't know who I was. I was contemplating suicide that's what happened to me in \*\*\*, because this one day, I just felt empty, I

just felt like a shell and who the hell are you. All you have is a name, but your not a person, you don't have a life of your own.

*(Linda- 1 school; years unavailable)*

If anybody asked me to speak Cree, like my husband tells me teach me, I get very, it's something in my mind tells me that it's not right, that it's bad.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

I think our identity as Aboriginal people was stolen from us and that has affected a lot of people because if we don't know ourselves as Aboriginal people, we don't know our identity, our cultures, then we don't know ourselves as human beings. And a lot of people feel lost or don't have no self-esteem because we believe, like a lot of us grew up believing in stereotypes that other people have about Aboriginal people. So to me, like the stereotype that they portray about Native people- and today like as an Aboriginal woman, I feel very comfortable about myself as an Aboriginal.

*(Jenny- 1 school; 1959-1968)*

When I think back, I didn't start growing emotionally, I think, until I was 34 and that's only five years ago. When I started with New Careers that's when I started to get to know who I was. I took it more as a self awareness program, rather, as a teaching, to become a community development worker. That's where I dealt with a lot of the things that I went through in my life, like the lost identity. That's what it was, I had a loss of identity, I didn't know who I was. I was contemplating suicide, that's what happened to me in Rogersville in New Brunswick, because this one day, I just felt empty. I just felt like a shell and who the hell are you, all you have is a name, but you're not a person.

You don't have a life of your own. I know a lot of people that I know that have gone through residential school. A lot of them still hold a lot of anger. I've learned how to let it go, to deal with it, like it happened.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

When I started walking this way and started finding myself, to be proud of who I was, to be Aboriginal, Indian woman. All those years before when I was told that I was no good, didn't mean anything to me, that I could change that. I tried really hard and I brought up my daughter that way ever since she was three years old and my son was two . . . Telling them that's it's okay, you're Aboriginal, you be proud of who you are, you're Anishinabe men and women. You be proud of that. Don't ever let anybody walk all over you and say that you're a dirty Indian and call you a dirty Indian, or call you a drunken Indian and that you're no good and lazy. . . . For me, this has been a struggle. . . . I guess I'm one of the very few lucky people that have come from boarding school and didn't become an alcoholic. . . . To me, I know a lot of people out there, you see them; residential school products, and they're down and out in the dumps, sort of thing, and they're drinking, they're alcoholic, they're abusive, they committed crimes they can never take back. I feel in my heart for those people because I know where they are coming from. Maybe they didn't have the strength that I had, you know, to fight for me, to fight for themselves.

*(Clayton- 1 school; 1960-1963)*

I think the impact of residential schools, people like me and others, has to do with a lot of our - like we - most of those people I went to school with are alcoholic. I was an alcoholic too because I couldn't cope with what they

expect of me. I was torn between my culture and white man's culture and most of the time I was led to believe that I was not - that I would never be a good person until I became a white man. I kept on striving for better things in my life like getting an education - but still I have an education, it's still not accepted by them as their equal even though I'm better educated than some of them, like I work for government and that is the feeling; they still think we are subordinate to them. . . . There is a lot of confusion, I guess, in my mind. Why did this have to happen to people like us - treaties- that our education was available to us. Why couldn't we have that education at home? Instead of breaking us up - families like that. That is the only negative thing I could feel, like, I'm still confused sometimes. If you ask me what Indian culture was, I couldn't tell you this because I had interviews where they asked me for Indian culture, that is where I'm lost because I don't know Indian culture. . . . I've been a consultant with Indian Medicine man because he feels that my problems are eroded from my days in residential school and I believe him. I'm beginning to believe him. I see him more often now; sort of a "calm me down." I'm not as resentful as I used to be. I've learned to accept. They have their own cultures and, I guess, you can follow it if you want to, but I don't have to follow theirs. . . . Because I could never find inner peace with myself until very recently even though I have all the tools in the world to survive in a white man's world. . . . I will always look down upon as a useless, broken Indian, you know, that is how I felt even though, like I went out and put a lot of effort to get educated - to be accepted- it never occurred to me so that is what I think right now. Like talking to elders; he told me that each person has it's own values, each one has a purpose in life and we don't have to depend on

how others- because we understand from the white man's perspective, we have our own religion with- we use tobacco and I'm beginning to feel like more I'm not worried about whether I'm going to fit in a white man's world anymore. I couldn't care less anymore. . . . Although they had some good positive effects from the residential school, I think, psychologically, which is the main basis of our existence was disturbed. For me, it was disturbed. That's why I became this macho man guy, you know, that is the only way I thought I could survive in a dominant society. Even when I was going to school, I had to beat those guys because I had to beat them whatever. In school, I had to beat them. That's the way I was conditioned. I studied hard so I could be one of the top students in which I did but they say I wouldn't be like that if I grew up in my home. I wouldn't be that aggressive.

*(Darryl- 1 school; 1958-1960)*

*[did residential school helped prepare you for life after school]*

I don't think so, I think it lead me into more confusion than anything else. The reason I say that, I don't think I was well prepared for the outside life at the time. . . . I didn't really give it much thought after I left; it was just lately that I began to think about what had happened to me when I was in school. Like certain factors play a big- certain things happened in my life that I can look back- which may have a bearing of what happened to me in recent years, especially the emotional and spiritual aspect of what I've lost. I was forced to lose my language, but the religious part of it. I think it was a few years after I left residential school that I quit going to church, because to me, the church was very cohesive, forced upon me, my people, my parents. I don't believe in this punishing God. It wasn't until later years that I've found Native

spirituality. There's not such thing as a punishing God, it's the people that taught about God that I began to, I don't know what I should say- despised or- but in hindsight I looked at it, I didn't like the way religion was forced upon me because it lead to more confusion, confusion about whom my higher power was. . . . Well, definitely, I have to admit, the bad effects with the attempt for these people to take away my language, but they didn't quite succeed in that. The other thing they is, they did hold me back from learning about my native culture, my native spirituality. It remains stagnant for years, many years, until I came back to it, but they prevented me from finding out who I am as a native person. . . . When I say, they sort of dehumanize an individual, they take away self worth, your self-esteem, make them feel as a nobody, and that's a lot you can take from an individual. Making this individual like myself know their proper place in society, that resulted in self doubt. You're always doubting yourself of who you are, even at times you feel ashamed, like I felt ashamed of being an Indian or even a Metis at that. They did completely take everything away from me, but I can see in other individuals, where they would of been taught by parents, grandparents, how to parent, how to look after the little ones. They took that away from a lot of individuals when they went to boarding school. I was quite fortunate that I didn't stay very long in this particular boarding school, I was able to survive. But they took so much away, I suppose it's part of the genocide that they- the Roman Catholic- has brought upon the Native people, but I can say today that no longer here. People are starting to heal and come back to the native ways,



culture, spirituality. It's quite unfortunate that the people from the Roman Catholic are not here to answer a lot of questions of what had happened in the past.

Many survivors recognize their lost identity as Aboriginal people as a very important effect of the residential school experience. Many are struggling to regain that sense of identity and learning to be proud of their Native heritage. Many obstacles are present in this struggle, including but not limited to, stereotypes about the Native culture and Native people, feelings of worthlessness and low self-esteem, and the issue of forgiveness. Overcoming the legacy of residential school will not happen overnight, but with determination and greater awareness, Native people can reclaim their identity and Aboriginal heritage.

*Loss of family.* Participants spoke of the loss of family and connections as a result of attending residential school. Although some survivors initially arrived at residential school with siblings, they were often separated, even with same-sex siblings. Contact was discouraged, especially male and female interaction. The following are participants stories of the effects they feel they have suffered as a result of family separation.

*(Margaret- 2 schools; 1951-1962)*

I really missed that when I went to school, that closeness with my grandfather was shattered forever. I was really close to my grandfather, I was his shadow, I followed him all over the place and then after I left for school that relationship just changed. I had grown a little bit older, I've grown a bit and that closeness was gone and I missed that. I really miss that. . . .Like I say, that closeness with my grandfather was affected. He's not alive today, but I really missed that. I felt alienated from my family for the longest time and it's taking a long

time to work up another relationship with them. Like it seems like it's a different relationship. It took a while to get that good relationship with them again. Like that relationship seem to have severed and then your starting another life, almost like. That's the way I felt anyway.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

The other thing is the separation of boys from girls. I think they did more harm than I can think of by separating us. I had a sister in there, we were never that close because I went to boarding school and she started about four years after I did. So, as a result of that, even in boarding school we could never talk to each other , we could never communicate. Even to this day, my sister and I get along very good because we went through the same experience, but in those years they just separated us. They just tore us apart, like we couldn't look at girls, we couldn't talk to girls and if we did they ridicule us.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

On the 15th of August the big boat would come and everybody was crying on and on . . . . For the first week and a half, everybody is crying and then the thing about it is that we didn't get that understanding, that these nuns and these priest, they would say, "Shut up, why are you crying for?" I think that's when I started losing my human feelings, emotional feelings. I think from then on we suppress our feelings, we repressed our feelings, we couldn't let those out. We didn't have anybody to talk to, like if I had a problem, I had no one to talk to, the only thing they'll say, "You have to think of God," or "Tell it to God."

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

The one thing that really hurt me most was that break they made with my parents. They broke us down, I didn't have anything, any bonding with my mom or dad. That bonding was just so important to us and now it's gone. They just broke it. I didn't feel I had parents anymore, they were Mr. and Mrs. \*\*\*. That was what they did when they took me away from there. I still consider them my mom and dad, but in fact I got to be ashamed of them. Can you imagine that? I got to be ashamed of my mom and dad because they didn't talk English, because they weren't educated and here I am, I just finished high school. I got to be ashamed of my own parents and that's one of the things that boarding school did to me, made me ashamed of my parents and that hurt. Maybe that's one reason why I cry because of that bond is broken. I want to tell my mom I love her and I can't, I couldn't do it, and she died about five years ago.

*(Gary- 3 schools; 1944-1958)*

My family life, we already had mentioned that it screwed up. My family life was screwed up, and I didn't know how to survive in a family because I never grew up in a family. . . . I was six when I left and I was 20 when I left the boarding school. For 14 years, those were my formative years and whatever that I carried this was forming me in those years. When I did get married, the first one, I really screwed up. I couldn't deal with it especially when I had five children. I didn't know how to what to do maybe that's why I became so abusive because I didn't know how to handle the situation.

*(Sarah- 2 schools; 1964-1971)*

*[asked how residential school affected her life]*

For one thing, it deprived me of spending time with my grandfather because if I had spend those time, I probably could of learned about his herbal remedies. It robbed me out of my family life because, I don't think, I knew how to love because I always had relationships and I never got anywhere. I don't remember ever telling any one of my boyfriends, telling them though I loved them. I didn't know how to say, "I love you." My daughter was born and that's when she started teaching me how to love, she's nine years old now. They never took my language away, they've never succeeded in that. I speak fluently in Cree and the only thing I can't do, I can't speak syllabic *[sic]*.

*(Sarah- 2 schools; 1964-1971)*

I don't know what it's like to be in a regular family. Another thing to, how they discipline me in \*\*\* was harsh; a lot of hard work and strappings. That's how I passed it on to, that's how I treated my nephews, I tried to discipline them by force by spanking them, putting them to hard work. . . . I think they missed the parenting skills, like that's what I've lost there on how to be a parent.

*(Jenny- 1 school; 1959-1968)*

I think the most damaging for me was the separation from my family. That's what I feel, my mom and dad; being separated from them.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

I can identify the lack of parenting skills, growing up in a fear-based system that affected me my whole life, you know, values and beliefs that were instilled in me. . . . My whole childhood was stolen from me. My- the

bonding- seven years of my life with my- The bonding between my parents, the bonding within my family. . . .I've dealt with issues that - it affected my relationships like I am a single parent because I guess my relationships would- and it has, like my boarding school experiences have affected my parenting because I don't know - like my family was all the children that were there. And my mom's models as parents were nuns and priests so I don't know how to parent. I had to go learn how to parent from reading books. I'd just have a hard time hugging my children or displaying love, so I had to force myself to learn how to do that.

*(Valerie- 3 schools; 1964-1967)*

Although my experience at residential school after I got there was something that I still wonder about because I have some good things that I remember about residential school. There was always someone there, I wasn't taken good care of there and I was never alone. I felt more secure there, I have never experienced any violence in the residential school. . . . They [staff] were strict in their own way but for some reason it seemed to be an alright place for me. I don't know if it was just getting away from being afraid of being alone at home. It was different, like I hear different people talking about residential school, and for me my experience was kind of different. . . . I think a lot of things I still have buried and I don't really want to bring up because I know I wasn't happy there. Although I said I felt secure, it's such a confusing feeling. . . . Maybe angry too, like saying, "Okay, I'm okay, I'm better off here in boarding school because they can't take care of me at home anyways, they're all too busy. . . . I went home at Christmas time and I said for sure when I get home at Christmas time, my mom and brothers and sisters are going to be

missing me because I never had any contact since September and they are not going to want me to go away again. I was so sure about that and I thought that I could maybe, what would you call it, when I came home I told them, reverse psychology I guess is what it's called. Although I didn't know at the time, I thought. I said, "I can't hardly wait to go back." and what I wanted them [family] to tell me was, "No, you're not going back." and then they said, "That's good." I went back again and I guess I resented them for that to.

*(Colin- 3 schools; 1968-1974)*

I guess one of my biggest losses is the bonding, you know, with my mother and my dad and the siblings, because I - my brother and I - we were in different dorms, like he was in an older dorm and I was in the young group. And within my area I had to survive and my brother had to do that in his own because at times we were segregated and kept within your own dorm for gym activities and to do your own chores. So the only times we would get together is when we were allowed to go and play out in the field during Saturdays. . . . I guess the physical and the emotional is what I experienced. Emotional so much that the physical separation with my family and having to make myself solid so that - to survive the system - I had to show no emotion to a point where I didn't know what emotion was, you know, later years when I was trying to get it back. I remember having it when I was young, but what is it? It took me a long time to try and relate to, you know, my feelings, because I had gotten myself into such a cocoon, you know. I got my shell so hard that I'm gradually penetrating it now. I'm slowly coming out of it, but at times, I'm having a hard time to relate, like, what is this new feeling, you know. Although I'm human, you know, I hurt inside, you know, but I don't know

how to deal with it. And the worst thing is that I don't know how to share - to bond with my kids, you know. . . . It [residential school experience] taught me how to be a survivor in residential schools, but then the biggest loss, I guess, I had was not knowing how to release the hurt, the anger, the physical and emotional abuse that I experienced.

*(Victor- 2 schools; 1955-1969)*

It was like the routine was very controlled. You knew what you were going to do that day. If you didn't you were told what you were going to do. You were constantly reminded of rules. You were constantly being told of what to do. You do that for ten years and you go out into the real world and you stand there waiting for people to tell you what to do. You don't have any initiative, you can't make choices, you don't know how to make decisions. You kind of follow people around. . . . The one thing that I can remember, it [residential school] divided the community because we had treaty kids from the community, from the reserve or we had Metis kids from the Metis side. The Metis kids didn't go to school and we lost all our friends there because we go to school for ten months, come back speaking English and couldn't communicate with our friends. We were taught different values. . . . we couldn't communicate and that happened to our parents as well because they were there and we were there. We would come back a year older with different ideas and different outlooks in life, different language and different values. . . the values we learn in school and we went back to and the values weren't the same and they start clashing right away. . . . I guess the bottom line for me is two things need to happen. One is - we need to rediscover who we are as native people. I think we have to learn about our values because a

lot of the values we learn in school are all clashing with our inherit values and that caused a lot of confusion in me. I don't really know who I am still. So, I'm learning about my value systems and my culture so I could have a sense of identity. . . . To find that sense of identity to deal with that pain and anger and fear and I could learn to love myself as a person so I could pass that on to my kids.

*(Josephine- 1 school; 1931-1943)*

I didn't like my mom and dad much. I blamed them for putting me in - not able to tell them what was going on. My mother and dad starting - alcohol- I was seven years old before we went to residential school. Then alcohol set in afterwards. We went home to parents we didn't know. There was fighting. There were beating one another all the time. We hid - us kids stayed under the beds. We were not their children, I thought, because they never showed us any love. . . . I thought that our parents turned against us because we had to be totally different for our people. Living with these white people - with the nuns and the priests- we thought that, I thought that we had to change our and accept that way of life and that is why our parents didn't love us anymore because we had to stay away from them. I thought that they - they took us away from the school because we could not be with them anymore. I couldn't understand why they still couldn't hold me. . . . It [residential school experience] didn't help me in any way. I'm very bitter. My parents didn't love me. I didn't love anybody. I hated everybody. . . . My happiness was alcohol because it made me brave- I was brave. I know that deep inside me, I've got feelings. I love people, but I can't show it to them. I feel sorry for people, especially my native people when I see them. . . I'm proud to be a native



today. I never was proud when I was young. I was ashamed of being an Indian before. . . . I want an apology. I want some kind of recognition from this organization - this religious organization. I know these people who harmed us are maybe not alive today. I'm not resenting anybody. I'm trying to forgive so they should understand us. We need something back from them. Something positive given to us - kind of an apology to let the world know- to let the world know what they have done to us. I don't know, real peace.

*(Victoria- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

*[Experience in parenting]*

To me, I felt abandoned, like I brought up myself in the residential school with no parents. I was a survivor, sort of bringing up my own self. So when I had my own children I told myself, they are not going to end up like me. I'm going to be there for them. I sacrificed a lot for them. I never had a, they were always with me. I had two kids. Everyone else was drinking and sometimes I wanted to go out and I told myself I will wait until they grow up and are on their own. Then I can have my own parties, but now that they have grown up I have changed. . . . I did not even know my grandparent's name, things like that, I lost touch. I wanted to ask, I lost touch with my mother and my father died and there was nobody I could ask these questions. My grandparents from my mother's side died.

*(Jane- 1 school; 1955-1966)*

I guess in my own way I've done my own healing with what had happened. I was really afraid of myself when I was in later teens when I became a mother. I was really afraid of being a mother and I had to really look at what kind of mother do I want to be; do I want to be the kind of mother like my mom. My

mother never hugged and kissed me and say I love you. Like after I went to school, I never felt that from my mother because I was away from her.

*(Darryl- 1 school; 1958-1960)*

I suppose when I stop and think the years that I've been away, it must have affected my mom somehow. I didn't know how she felt, whether it was the best for me that I go to residential school or if she had any remorse in sending me to this place. Because she too was raised in boarding school and I don't know if she had any feelings about what she may have done. I owe no malice towards my mom, but I'm sure they must have missed me around. I tell myself that anyways, but they may have missed me. I'm sure she cares and loves me.

Participants spoke of many losses they experienced, including loss of parental and sibling bonding, loss of parental role models, loss of extended family and community contact, loss of family values, loss of culture and traditional teachings, loss of language, loss of identity, loss of childhood and childhood friendships. These losses resulted in further losses, such as participants' inability to bond with their own children due to lack of parental role models, loss of family contact in later years due to lack of bonding in childhood, and inability to pass on traditional values to children. These are only a few losses recognized by the participants of this study and do not include losses of which survivors may not be aware.

*Relationship difficulties.* Survivors spoke of difficulties they experienced after they left residential school in regard to relationships with men and women. The following quotes illustrate their struggles to understand the opposite sex despite limited interaction while growing up in residential school.

*(Trevor- 1 school; 1957-1969)*

*[asked how residential school affected him]*

It [residential school] screwed up my life, I guess, that I have, like, I always think back. That is where they came from, like how to lie or how to cheat, I mean that's- they never taught you relationships and they never taught you anything. So how do you, like, when you get married, how do you treat women? Like, we never, like, you know, that was the craziest thing, you know, brothers and fathers, that wouldn't get married, and here they are, how can we teach you these kinds of- when we never even associated with women. It's hard, like, it has affected me. I'm still mixed up.

*(Jenny- 1 school; 1959-1968)*

We were separated, the boys from the girls. We couldn't even say "hi," to our own brothers. We couldn't talk to males like it was a sin to talk to a male. At times I do feel intimidated with males because I feel like I can't talk to them; I shouldn't get to know them. . . . I remember I was punished one time for that,

for waving to my brother. We use to walk around the play ground and he was on the other side with his best friend \*\*\*, and I waved when we walked by and I was grabbed by the arm. I can't remember what the punishment was. Oh, yeah, I had to do the stairs.

*(James- 1 school; years unavailable)*

At the same time, the lack of trust, you didn't trust people, you didn't trust authority; I had a hard time trusting people. I had a hard time getting married because I wouldn't trust anybody. I couldn't love anybody, I got married from my head. I picked out a girl for myself from my head; she'll do. . . . For a long time, my whole marriage life, I had a hard time communicating or talk to my wife; I didn't understand her. No matter what I did for her, she wasn't happy. I couldn't understand that and she'd tell me things and she couldn't get through to me. . . . I went right back through therapy, I went to therapy, I went right back to residential school because they can only answer you, right back to school, not trusting people, trusting people in authority; can really abuse it. I never thought molesting was bad for me, it never bothered me, I said. I even said to myself, I really enjoyed it, why else would I get a hard-on. But that's the feeling and that's not the emotional. . . . [effects of sexual abuse] It ruined my marriage, that what it did when you come right down to it, it tore my marriage apart. That's what she told me anyways, I kind of chased her away because of that, but I didn't really realize that. but by going to therapy and working on myself and all of that, that's one of the things that I found out. And then of course I blamed other things, the immediate things but when you come right down to it that's what it did for me even with

a good job and everything. It's almost like a perfect father and perfect husband and all of that. But still some things are missing, but nobody sees that in the outside. Just by getting help and people made me see it, professional people. In another way, it really affected me, maybe I didn't want to admit it because I would say, "I'm okay," and all of that. I look okay on the outside because I don't have a problem with addictions or anything.

*(Connie- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

Well, when it came to, say, your sexual feeling about your husband. Now that is another thing too, and I don't know if my other sisters feel. Like I was always feeling ashamed or guilty for what we were doing. That is one thing from the school for sure. They taught us that sex was wrong and the body was dirty and stuff like that, eh. . . . Then when I came out of school and if I had a relationship it would seem that with the feelings I had why was I still doing that, you know, sort of thing. It took me a long time after I got married to realize that it wasn't wrong. . . . When the residential school thing started, then I realized I was affected myself. I thought I wasn't affected by residential school and stuff like this. When I heard other people talking about it and just thinking about it too. "Hey, I'm feeling like that too," I was thinking when I was in one of those circles at the conference and this woman was speaking and I thought, "Geez, I always thought I was the only one who thought like that." Then when you hear others saying it only then do you realize that it is inside of you and you didn't realize it.

In the preceding quotes, participants spoke of several reasons they believed were at least partly the cause of their relationship difficulties. Sexual abuse,

separation of boys and girls, the discouragement of male-female interaction by the staff, and the belief that it was a sin to speak to the opposite sex were cited as reasons for later relationship difficulties. Some talked about difficulties they encountered in their relationships such as lack of trust, lack of communication, and lack of understanding the opposite sex. These are only some of the reasons participants cited and is not a complete listing of participants' reasons for the cause of their relationship difficulties.

*Positive Effects.* Even though the majority of participants spoke of negative impacts of the residential school, some cited positive effects they felt were the result of their residential school experience. In the interview guide, a supplementary question asked about good effects resulting from residential school. This question may not have been asked of all the participants since it was only a supplementary question. This may be one reason for the lack of responses concerning the good effects of residential school. Also, since the majority of participants were recruited at a conference on residential schools as outlined in the Methodology section, it is likely that negative aspects rather than positive aspects were emphasized. The following are quotes from participants who shared the positive aspects of their experience.

*(Rita- 2 schools; years unavailable)*

All the good effects is that it kept our family together like all my brothers and sisters, like because my mother was a single parent, you know, they could have taken us all at first in foster homes or adopted us out. That was a good experience for me that we were all together in that way. . . . Taught me how to do things like sewing and cooking and house cleaning. But I see cleaning as

good and bad because I was obsessed with having a perfect - like a perfectionist- and raising children, nowadays- I had two of them- allow my children to mess, you know, mess up the house and that. It's okay without being an authority figure and saying, you know, sometimes I used to feel like a drill sergeant, "You put that back in place." I had to let go of that.

*(Victor- 2 schools; 1955-1969)*

*[positive aspects of residential school]*

Probably to be able to learn a new language because that language helped me to make a living later on and that was positive. Meeting other boys or other students and becoming a sort of family, our own support system. Later on you keep meeting these kids. . . .They were like family. I see them today and they are like family and that is positive. And I think I know at least one person from every reserve from Manitoba.

*(Darryl- 1 school; 1958-1960)*

I have to admit that not everything was negative. I have to look in the sport area where I was very comfortable playing hockey, baseball, track, and field. That was the good part, the events related to sports. I did learn some discipline, even though it was coerced upon me, but there has to be discipline in everyone's life, I feel, and they taught me that.

#### *Literature*

*Institutionalization.* According to research on the institutionalization of children, it has been found that institutionalization is linked to aggressive, anti-social, negative behaviour, poor control of emotional responses, lack of drive towards intellectual achievement, social conformity, and delinquent, anti-social or psychopathic behaviour (Goldberg, 1982). Institutionalization has also been found to

be related to marital problems, and a breakdown in parenting, leading to offspring being taken into foster care (Rutter, Quinton, & Hill, 1990). Rutter, et al. found that women institutionalized as children were found more likely to be teenage parents.

It is important to look at the cultural difference in environments between the Native home and residential school and the psychological implications this can have on an individual. Morrissette (1991) discusses how the incongruities of cultural values between Native and mainstream culture can create confusion and overwhelming turmoil for the youth, resulting in inner conflict. The youth may find a conflict of values systems, unsure of which is "correct." According to Morrissette (1991) this results in stress for the individual who is struggling to remain loyal to his/her own value system, and also feeling pressure to conform to mainstream values. This struggle may result in ego-splitting and the person may display problem behaviours.

It is likely that survivors experienced effects related just to the fact that they lived in an institution, not taking into account abuse factors. Some of the factors noted by survivors were found in the literature to be linked to institutionalization, such as poor control of emotional responses (Goldberg, 1982), marital problems, and a breakdown in parenting (Rutter, Quinton, & Hill, 1990). Also, problem behaviours and inner conflict were found when there was pressure to conform to a certain set of values (Morrissette, 1991). This was an issue for residential school survivors; there was the need to conform to the "Christian" set of values in order to survive in the residential school system, and the struggle to maintain a sense of identity and culture. Survivors have noted inner conflict they experienced while in residential school and continued to experience in the years following. These effects are likely only part of



the effects experienced by survivors as a result of living in an institution. When the full picture is taken into account (including abuse factors) effects are likely multiplied.

*Parent-child Separation.* The Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) provides an interpretation of abandonment and separation in relation to a child and his/her parents. They define a deserted or abandoned child as a form of parental neglect, which includes a lack of continuity and future planning by the parent for the child. Examples include the caregiver deserting the child, inappropriate substitute care (such as unfamiliar caregivers, # of different caregivers) and caregiver refusing to resume care for the child upon discharge from a residential setting. Scale 2 in the Abandonment/Separation portion of the Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) refers to caregiver-child conflict/child behaviour in which the child is in need of protection where there is a risk that the child is likely to suffer physical harm inflicted by the person having charge of the child or resulting from that person's failure to supervise or protect the child or a pattern of neglect in protecting the child. Also, there is a need for intervention if the child has suffered emotional harm and there are reasonable grounds to believe it resulted from a pattern of neglect or failure to act on the part of the child's parent or the person having charge of the child.

In the residential school setting, the situation is different in that the parents did not willingly abandon or desert the child. However, since many of the children were very young when they were taken, some did not understand what was happening and wondered if their parents had abandoned them. So perhaps the actual situation is not as important as how the child viewed it; as abandonment by the parents. Also, in this interpretation it is viewed as moderately severe (and requiring intervention) if the caregiver has left the child abruptly without first preparing him for the separation.

Although, in the residential school situation, parents were forced to abruptly leave their children, or their children were forcibly taken from them, so perhaps the effects on the child may be viewed as somewhat similar.

In the Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000), they refer to abandonment and separation as occurring while the child is still in the parent's or caregiver's home. In the residential school setting, the children were taken to the school and school staff were expected to take over the parenting role. There were a number of different and unfamiliar caregivers due to high staff turnover. The children suffered effects due to forced separation from home and family, and in some cases they suffered due to the failure on the part of staff to adequately supervise or protect the child (as in the case of sexual and physical abuse). According to some survivors, it was well known among the staff which persons were sexually abusing children and it was allowed to continue. In this section (Abandonment/Separation) according to the child's point of view, the neglect could be seen as coming from the parents (abandonment) and the residential school staff (failure to adequately protect the child).

Research studies that have been conducted to determine if there are long-term effects for a child when separated from his or her parents seem to centre around separation just from a parent and not of the home itself. The children sent to residential school were separated from their parents in addition to their home and other family members. These children were not willingly given up by their parents because they felt they could not handle them or properly care for them, as is the case in many families when the children are placed out of the home. In many of these families, the threat of having financial support taken away was present if the children did not attend residential school. This type of separation presents a unique situation with regard to the literature in that the experience of children forcibly taken from the

home for reasons other than preventing harm to the child has not been extensively researched. Conclusions drawn from these studies may not have direct application to the unique situation presented here. A large volume of research does not exist on the problems presented when children are forcibly removed from their home when no apparent problem is present to warrant such action. Nevertheless, the research that is available on parent-child separation will be reviewed.

The literature tends to focus on parent-child separations that are due to divorce or death. However, there have been a series of studies with Aboriginal populations that have looked at mental health problems (Clayer & Divakaran, 1991; Mckendrick, Cutter, Mackenzie & Chiu, 1992). These studies indicate that separation from parents is likely to be a risk factor for mental health problems and disorders. According to these studies, the separation of children from their families has affected the mental and physical health of the Aboriginal population. The effects include impacts on parenting and family relations, self-esteem, and social functioning. Most research with populations other than Aboriginals have focused on removal from the home due to reasons other than forced removal (Kennard & Birtchnell, 1982; Rutter, 1971). In these studies, separation has resulted for a number of different reasons, such as divorce, disharmony in the home, or other reasons that are not directly related to the residential school situation. These studies have found that an early mother-child separation in itself is not directly related to adult psychopathology or mental disorder. The extent of damage to a child due to separation depends on the home or "substitute mother" that takes over parental obligations. In most cases in the present study, the children's primary caregivers (parents) were not replaced with a suitable caregiver to

whom the child could form an affectionate and loving attachment. The caregivers were responsible for many children and forming loving attachments to the children was not a top priority for most.

During the residential school years, the age of the children at the time they were taken from their homes varied considerably. In the present study, the age ranged from three to seventeen years. It has been said that prolonged separation of a child from his mother during the first five years of life is a cause of delinquent character development and behaviour problems (Bowlby, 1946). Other studies have recognized that parent-child separation disrupts the established affectional bond that results in distress for the child and this may have effects on the parent-child relationship, with the long and short-term effects merging into one another (Wray & McLaren, 1976). One particular study (Frommer & O'Shea, 1973 a,b) demonstrated among women separated from their own parents before the age of 11, the likelihood of experiencing difficulties in child-rearing. However, it has also been shown that a deprived childhood may not necessarily be the cause of negative life experiences, but perhaps the limited experiences open to them because of that childhood may be a greater factor (Wolkind & Kruk, 1985). In other words, a deprived childhood does not necessarily lead to negative life experiences.

Separation in and of itself is not the only factor to look at in children separated from their mothers, other factors may modify the outcome, such as age, sex, previous mother-child separation, and frequency of separation experience (Wray & McLaren, 1976). It has been shown that separation alone is unrelated to adult psychopathology or mental disorder (Kennard & Birtchnell, 1982). In this particular study the factors that were seen to contribute to psychiatric morbidity and psychopathology were poor pre-separation maternal relationships (both alone and in combination with two or

more changes of care) and unsatisfactory replacement care. Antisocial behaviour has been found to have some association with separation experiences, not due to the separation itself, but to the family discord which precedes and accompanies the separation (Rutter, 1971).

The effects due to parent-child separation mentioned in the above literature such as impacts on parenting, family relations, self-esteem, and behaviour problems are similar to effects noted by survivors in the *Perceived Impacts* section. This was a topic that was touched on only briefly in the study, but its effects were devastating for survivors. The lack of parental protection for the children resulted in exposure to abusive activity by staff and peers. However, regardless of whether abuse occurred or not, the separation of children from parents resulted in negative impacts for both parents and children.

#### Discussion

Residential schools were developed primarily as a means of assimilating Native people to the lifestyles of the Europeans through education (Miller 1987). This was done through the efforts of the government and the churches, with the government providing funds, approving curricula, and inspecting operations, and the Christian denominations providing the staff, supplementing the budget, and attempting to “Christianize” as well as teach the children (Miller, 1987). However, since most schools required that the students spend half the day in class and the other half doing manual labour on the school property, the result was an inadequate education (Kirkness, 1992). Even though the main goal was never realized to the extent intended and the schools did not bring about the results hoped for, residential schools still impacted the lives of Aboriginal people in devastating ways. As evidenced by former students’ stories, attending residential school was a traumatic

experience for most survivors. There were multiple losses that occurred within the scope of the residential school experience. Many survivors lost part of their childhood as a result of attending residential school, including the loss of family, community, and culture; not to mention the emotional effects, such as loss of identity, inability to express feelings and emotions, and relationship difficulties.

In addition to the losses due to the nature of the residential school and having to leave their communities, many survivors experienced abuse while away at school. In recent years, many survivors have come forth with stories about their experiences at residential school. Through this increased awareness of the residential school experience, and its effects (including intergenerational effects), has come the need for healing for Aboriginal people and their descendants. The present study looked at the experiences of 41 residential school survivors to determine their perceived effects and perceptions of their experiences. There were three main themes that emerged from the data; physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional harm. These themes were gathered from participants' own stories about their residential school experience. These main themes were then divided into subsections consisting of participants' experiences of each abuse and their views of the perceived effects, and relevant literature. It is important to keep in mind that the main themes and subsections that emerged from the data may not be a complete listing of the experiences and impacts of the residential school experience in general. These experiences were then compared against the Ontario Child Welfare Eligibility Spectrum (Ballantyne et al., 2000) to give a more complete picture of the extent of abuse suffered.

Although the Spectrum was not in use during the residential school era, and childcare methods and standards have evolved, it nevertheless provides a look at what child welfare is like today. During the residential school era, some laws for

mainstream society had already been developed in Ontario (Orphan's Act, 1779 -first child welfare law; Apprentice and Minor's Act, 1851; Charity Aid Act, 1874; Children's Protection Act, 1888; Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to and Better Protection of Children, 1893; Child Welfare Act, 1908, Children of Unmarried Parents Act, 1921; and the Adoption Act, 1921), but laws regarding the welfare of Native children were not in place during the majority of the residential school years. Also, Children's Aid Societies (mainstream) dealt with physical and sexual abuse in their early days, but the focus changed to issues of neglect by the early part of the 20th century and lasted over half a century (Corby, 1993; Lindsey, 1994). This fact may have been an additional factor that hindered the exposure of abuses occurring in the residential schools. One interesting point to keep in mind is that laws for mainstream society in the United States (the movement for agencies to protect and rescue children from families originated in New York, (Costin, Karger, & Stoesz, 1996)) to prevent child abuse in families were initially less successful than preventing cruelty to animals. This fact may provide an understanding of the initial view of society in regard to the welfare of children.

The original Child and Family Services Act in 1984 strengthened the provision of services to Aboriginal families that were already in place by recognizing cultural, religious and regional differences (1999). Although, mainstream Canadian laws had already begun to have an impact in Native Communities, most residential schools in Canada had closed their doors by this time. It is important to keep in mind that the delivery of childcare protection services by Native Children's Aid Societies is different from that of mainstream services even in the present day. This is due in part to the extreme poverty and social conditions that are present in many Native communities. Considering the difference between Native and mainstream

delivery of services even now, it is safe to assume that Native childcare in the residential schools was not very well regulated, thus enabling abuse to continue unchecked.

Physical abuse experiences ranged from witnessing abuse (2 participants) to actually experiencing abuse (39 participants). Much of the physical abuse came in the form of punishment, with strapping being the most common. Other physically abusive forms of punishment included isolation, and kneeling on a box of gravel for extended periods of time. (Other forms of humiliating punishment are included in the Emotional Harm section.) Students were punished for getting answers wrong in class, for wetting the bed, speaking to siblings and speaking their language. Among the effects reported by participants included harsh physical discipline of their own children and abusive behaviour towards spouses. Although the possible effects from such physical abuse mentioned by participants may be much greater than the few mentioned here (as evident in the literature section regarding physical abuse), these effects are from participants' own perspectives specifically regarding physical abuse. Since participants were not asked specifically about the effects of physical abuse, most participants did not make a special effort to detail the possible effects.

Sexual Abuse experiences for survivors ranged from witnessing others' being abused to actually experiencing sexual abuse in residential school. A total of 49% of the participants (male and female) reported sexual abuse from fellow students and school staff. For the other half of the participants the question was either not asked or not answered, or the sexual abuse occurred outside of residential school (at home). This section outlines the various abuses that occurred, student's beliefs about the abuse, perceived effects and literature on the subject. Many of the effects reported by participants are similar to effects reported in the literature. As with the physical abuse



section, the perceived effects section for sexual abuse is not a comprehensive listing of all the effects that resulted from the sexual abuse experiences, only what participants thought to mention at the time of the interview.

The Emotional Harm section is the lengthiest and perhaps the hardest subject to define in this study. This section details experiences of survivors; isolation and loneliness, verbal abuse, and punishments received (humiliating and embarrassing). This section also contains five main categories derived from participants' perceptions of effects resulting from the residential school experience; repression of feelings and emotions, loss of identity, loss of family, relationship difficulties, and positive effects. The effects noted are mainly negative (identified by 86% of the survivors) including alienation from family, loss of language, culture, identity, spirituality, feelings of shame towards Native way of life and self, lack of parenting skills, and parenting models, inability to deal with emotions, feelings of abandonment, and feelings of resentment towards parents for not preventing the separations. These effects are similar to effects identified by elders at a conference on residential school survivors noted earlier (Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, 1993). In addition to the five main categories of effects, there were other common themes for participants after they left residential school that are worth noting. These included experiencing problems with alcohol, low self-esteem, and encountering difficulties parenting children. These effects are closely tied into the above effects but do not necessarily fall into one neat category.

Although the concept of assimilation has been referred to as "cultural genocide" by some survivors, it is important to keep in mind that controversy exists about the use of the term "genocide." The debate concerns whether residential schools would qualify as "genocide" since the end goal was not "the deliberate

extermination of a people or nation” (Thompson, 1998) . Others may argue that taking away the cultural aspect from Aboriginal people’s lives would qualify as “cultural genocide.” Gaita (2002) discusses this issue in “Bringing them home” (1997), a national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families. This forcible removal of Australian Aboriginal children from their families was done for the purpose of merging the Indigenous population with non-Indigenous people. This report provides a very shocking illustration of the forced removal of children from their families and has many parallels to the residential school concept. Gaita (2002) argues that perhaps a better term for the destruction of a culture with the intent to destroy a people’s identity would be ‘ethnocide,’ and should be distinguished from genocide in that it involves a different and lesser crime. This would seem to be more appropriate since the end goal was not the extermination of Aboriginal people. This concept would be more accurate in describing the residential school experience; although the seriousness of the assimilation concept should not be undermined, it does not equal the magnitude of genocide for the Aboriginal people. Cultural abuse was a factor for many survivors and even though there were questions regarding this issue in the study, and participants responded to these questions, it was not always referred to as “abuse”. Perhaps this is because of participants’ unfamiliarity of the term and its meaning. In addition to other types of abuse referred to in this study, cultural abuse may have been downplayed somewhat in relation to physical abuse, sexual abuse, and emotional abuse.

In regard to the accurateness of participants’ reports, it is important to keep in mind that residential schools are primarily viewed in a negative light by those who attended and in the media. The possibility exists that some participants’ recollections

may have been influenced by things heard in the media or from other survivors. Also, some participants spoke of repressed memories of sexual abuse that surfaced after residential school. Controversy exists surrounding the issue of repressed memories in general and whether they are based in reality or somehow imagined by the participant to varying degrees. Due to this issue, it is possible that some participants may not be accurately remembering certain events or may have unknowingly exaggerated certain details.

Several limitations of the study should be noted. It is important to keep in mind that although an attempt was made to interview a sample that was representative of the schools in Manitoba and the years of attendance, each school was not equally portrayed in this study. As a result, the sample may not be completely representative of the residential schools in Manitoba. This may have an impact when generalizing the results to other provinces. Also, the fact that survivors were voluntarily recruited may also influence the results due to the fact that those who chose to participate may feel differently about their experiences than those who didn't. Reasons one would choose not to participate could include: not wanting to dig up the past, not choosing to lay blame on the church, not coming to terms with their experience, or believing their experience (positive or negative) is not worth mentioning.

The participants who volunteered for the original study were asked about their overall experience. The current study's research questions focused on abuse that may have taken place while in residential school. Even though the question of abuse that may have occurred was asked of the participants, those particular questions were not emphasized. This could have resulted in participants not wanting to go into great detail about the abuse since it was not seen as the main focus of the interview.

Future researchers may want to consider additional questions specifically regarding effects of living in an institution (as opposed to living at home) and effects of parent-child separation as seen through the eyes of the survivors. Although information was obtained for these topics through various sections in the interview guide, specific questions may have yielded more insight especially in addressing research questions three and four. Also, as mentioned above, specific questions regarding cultural abuse and racism may be helpful in determining survivors' perceptions of these very important topics.

One research question for future consideration is that of whether or not the residential school experience was worse for those who attended school at an early age (for example: age five as opposed to age 13) as several participants noted in this study. This may have implications for individuals in assessing their own experiences in residential school and its effects on their families. Those that attended at an earlier age may find that issues such as those discussed in this study may have greater implications in their lives.

Future researchers may want to consider questions that address the positive aspects as well as the negative aspects of residential school. As mentioned earlier, residential school is not portrayed in a positive light in the media, with the focus being on the worse stories. Survivors telling their stories may feel pressure to illustrate the more negative aspects of their experience, while downplaying the positive aspects. This suggestion is not meant to diminish the horrific experiences suffered or to suggest that residential experiences were acceptable, but it is important to portray both sides in order to have an accurate understanding of the residential school experience.

As noted above, the sample was not random. In order to generalize across

provinces, it would be necessary to present an accurate picture of each province's schools as seen by the participants. A study much larger in scope would be needed in accomplishing this objective. Even though the schools were overseen by the government and Christian denominations, important differences may exist among the provinces.

Although the residential schools did not accomplish the original goal of assimilating the Aboriginal people into mainstream society, they nevertheless caused undeniable damage to the Aboriginal people as a whole. The way chosen by the government to accomplish the concept of assimilation provided the grounds for child abuse of horrific magnitudes. This abuse continued for years unchecked despite the awareness of officials. Native children forcibly taken from the protection of their homes and families and then placed into the hands of the church caused immense damage to the Aboriginal people. The effects of residential school extend far beyond those that actually attended; future generations have inherited a legacy that will take years to overcome. For many survivors, it is an ongoing struggle to deal with the effects of their residential school experience and its impact on their lives. As evidenced by their stories, many have begun the healing process, while some struggle to come to terms with their past. It is not a legacy they have chosen, but with determination it will be overcome. The following ending quote sums up one survivor's (and probably many others) perspective of residential school.

*(George- 1 school; 1959-1967)*

*In order for me to gain this education, I had to suffer for it. I had to suffer for that education in order for me to get an education. I had to be abused and sexually abused, mentally abused. I had to suffer. Us native people had to suffer for this, the education that we have and the loneliness being away from our families. Every little education we have, we paid for it.*

## References

- Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (1993). *Adult children of residential schools: Releasing the Silent Cry (Conference Report)*. Winnipeg: Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs.
- Bagley, C., & Ramsay, R. (1985). Sexual abuse in childhood: Psychosocial outcomes and implications for social work practice. *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality*, 4, 33-47.
- Berliner, L. (1991). Clinical work with sexually abused children. In C.R. Hollin & K. Howells (Eds.), *Clinical approaches to sex offenders and their victims* (pp.209-228). Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Ballantyne, M., Morrison, M., Goodman, D. (2000). *Eligibility Spectrum: Risk assessment model for child protection in Ontario*. Toronto: Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies.
- Bowlby J. (1946). *Forty-four Juvenile thieves: Their characters and home-life*. London: Balliere, Tindall & Cox.
- Briere, J. & Runtz, M. (1989). The Trauma Symptom Checklist (TSC-33): Early data on a new scale. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 4, 151-163.
- Bringing them home. (1997). Commonwealth of Australia: Sterling Press Pty. Ltd.
- Browne, A. & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Impact of child sexual abuse: A review of the research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99, 66-77.
- Bull, L.R. (1991). Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 18, (Supplement), 3-63.
- Burnard, P. (1991). A method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. *Nurse Education Today*, 11, 461-466.
- Caribou Tribal Council. (1991). *Faith misplaced: Lasting effects of abuse in a First Nations community* Williams Lake, B.C.: Caribou Tribal Council.

- Child and Family Services Act (1999). Revised Statutes of Ontario.
- Clayer, J.R. & Divakaran-Brown, C. (1991) Mental health and behavioural problems in the urban Aboriginal population. Adelaide: South Australian Health Commission.
- Corby, B (1993). *Child Abuse: Towards a knowledge base*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Costin, L. B., Karger, H.J., & Stoesz, D. (1996). *The politics of child abuse in America*. New York: Oxford.
- Crowe, K.J. (1974). *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Frommer, E.A. and O'Shea, G. (1973a). Antenatal identification of women liable to have problems in managing their infants. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 123, 149-156.
- Frommer, E.A. and O'Shea, G. (1973b). The importance of childhood experience in relation to problems of marriage and family-building. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 123, 157-160.
- Gaita, R. (2002). *A common humanity*. Great Britain: T.J. International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall.
- Goldberg, B. (1982). Institutional care versus home care. *Journal of Child Care*, 1(1), 21-33.
- Grant, A. (1996). *No end of grief: Indian residential schools in Canada*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications Inc.
- Harper, A.G. (1945). Canada's Indian Administration: Basic concepts and objectives. *America Indigena*, 5, 119-132.



- Ing, R. (1991). The effects of residential schooling on native child-rearing practises. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 18 (Supplement), 67-116.
- Jaine, L. (Ed.). (1993). *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years*. Saskatoon: University Extension Press, University of Saskatchewan.
- Kaplan, S. & Pinner, E.T. (1996). Physical and sexual abuse and mental disturbances in children. In Pfeffer, C.R. (Ed.), *Severe stress and mental disturbance in children* (393-410). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc.
- Kennard, J. & Birtchnell, J. (1982). The mental health of early mother separated women. *Acta psychiat. scand.* 65, 388-402.
- Kirkness, V. (1992). *First Nations and Schools: Triumphs and Struggles*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Educational Association.
- Knockwood, J. (1992). *Out of the Depths*. Lockeport, N.S.: Roseway Publishing.
- Lindsey, D. (1994). *The welfare of children*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malinosky-Rummell, R. & Hansen, D.J. (1993). Long-term consequences of childhood physical abuse. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114, 1, 68-79.
- Manitoba Joint Committee on Residential School. (1994, August). *Proposal: Manitoba Healing Resource Centre for First Nations affected by residential schools*. Manitoba, Canada: Joint Working Committee.
- McKendrick, J. Cutter, T., Mackenzie, A., Chiu, E. (1992). The pattern of psychiatric morbidity in a Victorian urban Aboriginal general practice population. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 26, 40-47.
- Merivale, H. (1967). *Lectures on colonization and colonies*. Reprints of Economic Classics Edition. New York: Augustus M. Kelly Publishers.
- Miller, J.R. (1987). The irony of residential schooling. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 14(2), 3-14.

- Miller, J.R. (1996). *Shingwauk's Vision: A history of Native residential schooling*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, Inc.
- Morrissette, P.J. (1991). The therapeutic dilemma with Canadian Native youth in residential care. *Child and Adolescent Social Work, 8*(2), 89-99.
- Morrissette, P.J. (1994). The holocaust of First Nation people: Residual effects on parenting and treatment implications. *Contemporary Family Therapy, 16*(5), 381-392.
- Morrissette, P.J. & Naden, M. (1998). An interactive view of traumatic stress among First Nations counsellors. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 9*(3), 43-60.
- Peters, S.D. (1988). Child sexual abuse and later psychological problems. In Wyatt, G.E. & Powell, G.J. (Eds.), *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse* (pp.101-117). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Patterson, E.P. (1972). *The Canadian Indian: A History since 1500*. Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd.
- Rutter, M. (1971). Parent child separation: Psychological effects on the children. *Journal of Child Psychol., Psychiat., 12*, 233-260.
- Rutter, M., Quinton, D., & Hill, J. (1990). Adult outcomes of institution-reared children: Males and females compared. In L. Robias and M. Rutter (Eds.), *Straight and devious pathways from childhood to adulthood* (pp.135-157). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sedney, M.A. & Brooks, B. (1984). Factors associated with a history of childhood sexual experience in a nonclinical female population. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 23*, 215-218.

- Stein, J.A., Golding, J.M., Siegel, J.M., Burnam, M.A., Sorenson, S.B. (1988). Long-term psychological sequelae of child sexual abuse. In Wyatt, G.E. & Powell, G.J. (Eds.) *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse* (pp. 135-154). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Summit, R. (1983). The child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7, 177-193.
- Swan, P., & Fagan, P. (1991). *The New South Wales mental health report. Redfern: Aboriginal Medical Service.*
- Thompson, D. (Ed.). (1998). *The Oxford dictionary of current English*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wray, S.R. & McLaren, E. (1976). Parent-child separation as a determinant of psychopathology in children: A Jamaican study. *West Indian Medical Journal*, 25(4), 251-257.
- Wolkind, S. & Kruk, S. (1985). From child to parent: Early separation and the adaptation to motherhood. *Longitudinal Studies in Child Psychology and Psychiatry*,
- Wyatt, G. E. & Powell, G.J. (1988). Identifying the lasting effects of child sexual abuse. In Wyatt, G.E. Powell, G.J. (Eds.), *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse* (pp. 11-17). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Appendix A****MANITOBA RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS  
RESEARCH AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

The following information is provided to you in order that you may be informed as much as possible about this study. If you have any questions about the study or the information in this consent form, please ask for clarification. The interviewer will go over the form and sign it with you at the time of the interview.

**A. PURPOSE:**

A working group sponsored by the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, which also includes representatives from the federal government and the United, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, is collecting information to better understand the effects of residential schools on individuals who attended, their families and communities. The purpose is to use this information to develop a program to assist in healing for First Nations individuals and communities. You will be asked to share information about your experiences in residential schools and give your opinions about what should be done for those whose lives have been affected by these experiences.

**B. CONSENT:**

1. I, \_\_\_\_\_, consent to being a participant in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from participation at anytime during the interview.
2. I understand that confidentiality is to be respected by all those in the interview, and that information collected is to be recorded only in order to document the opinions of all participants about their experiences and thereby represent these fairly and accurately.
3. I understand that no names or other information which could identify particular people will be used in reporting the general results of these interviews, and any future use of information which could identify me will not occur without my informed consent.
4. I give my permission to have my comments and opinions recorded in the following fashion (check all those that apply)
  - Written Notes
  - Audio Tape
  - Video Tape
5. I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to ask questions about this information and hereby agree to participate voluntarily in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Interviewer or Witness

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

**Appendix B****Protocol For Residential Schools Project Interviews****A. Pre-Interview Phase**

1. Check to see that all required supplies are available in your interview room and that the seating arrangement is appropriate.
  - a) Group interview rooms should have a flip chart that you use to highlight key questions.
  - b) All rooms should have a tape recorder (and/or video recorder), and sufficient tapes, kleenex, water, etc. Check to see that equipment is in working order.
  - c) Make sure you have an adequate supply of pens, note paper, and consent forms.
2. Convene interview.
  - a) If you are conducting an individual interview and the person does not show up, please advise Interview Coordinator.
  - b) Outline purpose of interview. Clarify that this is an interview to gather information and not for counselling/ healing. However, counsellors/healers are available should these be required during or following the interview.
  - c) Go over Consent Form and answer any questions. Note that the purpose of the interview is stated on the Consent Form. All individuals who choose to be interviewed at this stage must sign the Consent Form. You may sign it as a witness at this point or later. Please ensure that the date is noted.
  - d) Give all participants an opportunity to complete the form which identifies the Residential School they attended along with their name and address (if they wish further information on the Residential Schools Project). Please note that those who do not wish to be identified may use a fictitious name; however, this will mean that we will be unable to initiate any further contact with them.
  - e) Clarify confidentiality provisions, particularly in relation to group interviews.

**B. Interview Phase**

1. Begin interview. Use general questions to guide areas of discussion, and use specific questions, as required, to gather additional information or cue responses to certain issues.

2. This is a semi-structured interview format which means you may need to intervene to guide discussion in the direction of topics to be covered. You should use the wording of interview questions only as a guide and be concerned primarily that the topics in the guide are covered. Be sensitive to the need to allow specific stories to be told. If using a modified talking circle format you may encourage respondents to speak to particular topics on each round, and then allow for any additional comments on supplementary questions. As you proceed to a new round of discussion on a topic instruct participants to avoid repeating their earlier comments and provide only any new information which may be relevant.
3. Be very conscious of time and the need to cover key issues in the interview guide. Adjust the order of questions in order to accommodate this and exercise more direction in the interview as required.
4. Allow time at the end for a question which gives people an opportunity to state whether they found the opportunity to discuss their experiences helpful and whether they would like future opportunities to do this.
5. If someone becomes so upset during the interview that they must leave the interview room, they should be accompanied by the interviewer (if an individual interview is being conducted) or the recorder (if a group interview is being conducted). The individual should be asked whether they wish to speak with a counsellor/healer and their wishes should be respected. If a focus group interview is in process the leader is expected to continue the interview with other participants.
6. Be strong and supportive to each participant.
7. In concluding the interview, thank all participants and provide any further information on other resources as required. Invite anyone who may know of others wishing to share their stories to write or telephone Debi Young at the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (telephone 956-0610).
8. Note: If interview is being video or audio-recorded, written notes taken should include identifying information on the schools attended, and the highlights of the interview. Keep to the wording of participants as much as possible if describing specific events or if recording information only in written form. In group interviews the recorder is primarily responsible for note-taking (record actual wording as much as possible) but may intervene to assist the primarily facilitator as required.

C. Post-Interview Phase

1. Ensure all required documents are completed.
2. Label tapes. Be sure to note both Tape number and Side number so that the interview can be transcribed exactly as it occurred (e.g., Tape 1, Side 1; Tape 1, Side 2; Tape 2, Side 1, etc.).

3. Make any observations about session, or content of interview you feel is important.
4. Place all materials in a brown envelope and seal.
5. Note the following information on the brown envelope:
  - a) Location of Interview
  - b) Whether interview was a group or individual interview
  - c) Date of Interview
  - d) Time interview began and ended
  - e) If group interview, specify number of participants
  - f) Interviewer's name, and if applicable, recorder's name
6. Take sealed envelope to Interview Coordinator immediately.
7. At the end of the day attend debriefing session with Interview Coordinator.

## General Background Information

1. Name\*: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Present Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Sex:        Male \_\_\_\_        Female \_\_\_\_
4. Age:        \_\_\_\_\_
5. What was (were) the residential school(s) you attended and your age during attendance?
  - a) School \_\_\_\_\_  
Attended from Age \_\_\_\_ to Age \_\_\_\_  
Please specify year: From \_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_  
Religious Denomination of School \_\_\_\_\_
  - b) School \_\_\_\_\_  
Attended from Age \_\_\_\_ to Age \_\_\_\_  
Please specify year: From \_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_  
Religious Denomination of School \_\_\_\_\_
  - c) School \_\_\_\_\_  
Attended from Age \_\_\_\_ to Age \_\_\_\_  
Please specify year: From \_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_  
Religious Denomination of School \_\_\_\_\_
6. What was your home community (where your family lived) during the time your attended residential school?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your tribal and language affiliation? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Do you wish to be kept informed of further developments in Manitoba concerning residential schools?    \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

\* If you do not wish to be personally identified, you may use a fictitious name.



## INTERVIEW GUIDE

### PART A: INTRODUCTION

1. **Begin with introductions and background information.**
  - a) If you are conducting a group interview, have each participant complete the Background Information Form and briefly identify themselves (along with relevant background information) to other group members.
  - b) Clarify that identifying information is only to ensure that a representative sample of people who attended residential schools is interviewed, and to ensure that any future information on the project is provided to them (if this is desired).
  - c) If you are conducting an individual interview you may complete the Background Information Form with the participant.
  
- \*2. **Please tell us what you remember about your life before you attended residential school (e.g., where you lived, about your family).**

#### SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:

- a) Did you have brothers and sisters at home?
- b) Did your brothers and sisters go to the same residential school as you did? Explain.
- c) What else do you remember about your immediate and extended family?

### PART B: RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

- \*1. **Describe what an ordinary day was like in residential school. What did you do and with whom? (If you attended more than one school, select one to describe.)**

#### SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:

- a) If you attended more than one residential school, how were others different from the first one you attended?
- b) Are there any particular events about your experience in residential schools that remain in your mind today?
- c) What do you remember about the food in the school?

- d) Was there a dress code in the school?
- e) Were you required to participate in religious services? Were you given any choice in religious or spiritual activities?
- f) What medical care was provided?

**2. What do you remember about the education and training you received?**

- a) Do you know if reports on your progress were sent home to your parents or guardians?
- b) Was any counselling available or provided?
- c) What do you remember about the people responsible for teaching and supervising you in the school?

**\*3. Describe the types of discipline which were used in the residential school. When would different types of discipline be used? What types were most frequent?**

**4. Did you experience anything at residential school that you consider to be a form of physical, sexual or emotional abuse? If you experienced any of these forms of abuse please tell us as much about the abuse as you feel comfortable sharing. In your explanation, tell us:**

- how frequently each type of abuse occurred;
- over what period of time each type of abuse occurred (e.g., once, a month, years, etc.);
- In general who committed each type of abuse (no names but whether it was an adult male, adult female, another child, etc.).

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE:**

- a) Provide sufficient opportunity for each type of abuse to be covered, and the general details of these incidents to be described.

- \*5. Please tell us what was said about your culture, traditions or family background when you were in residential school. Who said these things?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:

- a) Were you allowed to speak your own language?
- b) Were you allowed to practice your own traditions?
- c) Were you taught anything about your own culture and traditions?
- d) Was your culture or traditions criticized in any way?

6. What do you remember about contact with your family while you were attending residential school?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:

- a) Did your parents visit you? If not, why not? If yes, how often?
- b) When did you go home to visit your family? How often during the year did this occur?
- c) Who was responsible for sending you or taking you to the residential school? Do you know why this occurred?
- d) Did you ever run away from school? If so, why? What happened to you when you ran away?

**PART C: AFTER RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL**

1. What did you do after leaving residential school? When did you leave and where did you go?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:

- a) Did your experience in residential school help prepare you for life after school? If yes, explain how. If not, explain why not.

- \*2. Thinking back on your residential school experience and your life, how do you think residential school affected your life, the life of your family and the life of your community?**

**SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:**

- a) What do you feel were some of the good effects of your experience in residential school?
- b) What do you feel were some of the bad effects of your experience in residential school?

**PART D: FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

- 1. What healing processes now exist in your community which can deal with the problems which are related to the residential school experience?
- \*2. Do you think additional efforts at healing for you, others or your community are required? If so, what are some of the things that need to happen?**

**SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS:**

- a) What healing approaches, services or programs should be available?
  - b) Who should be involved in making sure these things happen?
- \*3. Is there anything we have not discussed or asked about residential schools that you would like to add?**
4. Please comment on your feelings about this interview. Would you like future opportunities to talk about your experiences?

**\* = Key Questions**