DAMAGED CHILDREN AND BROKEN SPIRITS:
AN EXAMINATION OF ATTITUDES
OF
ANISINÂBÈK ELDERS
TO
ACTS OF VIOLENCE AMONG ANISINÂBÈK YOUTH
IN
SASKATCHEWAN

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Abstract

This thesis arises out of a participant-observational study of narrative histories of people's experiences in Catholic residential schools in Saskatchewan. All the Elders interviewed are First Nations Anisínabë people, most of whom live on five reserves north-west of Yorkton. All are recognized Elders. The Elders have the common experience of having had at least one youth (or a young relative between the ages of ten to twenty-five years old) in their immediate families commit one of these acts of violence: murder, manslaughter, infanticide, or suicide. The Elders also had the shared personal experiences of being in residential schools.

One research objective was to evaluate the influence of historical residential school experience upon subsequent attitudes to violence by youth in their family units. I formulated the study as an empirical test for a number of reasons: i) to examine a principal conclusion of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) that documented the

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1 Anisínabë means a beautiful people who are Saulteaux speaking people living in Saskatchewan whose ancestors signed Treaty Four.

2 All are recognized Elders in my mind. In my culture if you as a person, in this case myself, consider some person as an expert or as an Elder, who is to argue with me and say my opinion does not count. For example I chose a woman from my tribe and my clan to give me the correct spellings to the Saulteaux words I use in my thesis. In my culture you do not name yourself as an Elder, other people do that. Some Elders get widely known by many people, others are known as Elders in their immediate clans and tribes. Therefore in my thesis, they are Elders in my eyes because they have experiential wisdom.
high rate of suicide among Aboriginal youth is a consequence of psycho-social dysfunction arising out of the residential school experience; ii) to review government policies of colonization that led to personal abuse of Aboriginal youth in parochial residential schools, abuses that have contributed to lasting social problems for Aboriginal peoples; and iii) to study the healing movement. A Government policy lead to personal abuse that lead to a social problem.

The common theme that emerges out of the collective experiences of Elders is the common history of abuse suffered by Aboriginal students at parochial residential schools, the wholesale destruction of the Aboriginal family unit, and "social dysfunction" within the Aboriginal community caused by church and state for ideological and political objectives. My argument focuses on genocide and not justice issues, and it is framed by my own experiences as an Aboriginal woman who survived residential school.
Acknowledgments

I honor my deceased grandparents and parents. It is your love that has made possible my survival, and taught me to remember my roots and to be proud of who am I.

I would like to honor my supervisor Dr. Bernard Schissel for agreeing to be my supervisor. He encouraged me to do a presentation about my lawsuit against the government and the church. This was the first time I had ever spoken of my physical and sexual abuses experienced in residential school. Many honors to Leona Tootoosis who helped me during my presentation.

I would like to honor Patricia Monture-Agnus for her invaluable assistance in my paper, Dr. Terry Wotherspoon for his comments, my tutor Punum Pahwa from the College of Agricultural Medicine, and Dr. Wendy Schissel for her editorial expertise.

I would like to honor the Anisinābē Elders in my study, the Yellow Quill First Nations for their financial support throughout my education, and for my trip to do a presentation to the Indigenous Peoples at the Queensland University Medical Center, Australia. I would like to honor the History Department for a $1500 grant.

And mostly I honor my children who spent time in foster and adoptive homes: Orville, Danielle, Holly and Desmond, with a special honor to Fredrick for showing me how to love
again, and also my grandchildren, Wendy and Greg, for sitting through countless classes with me. Legend has it, it is you, the seventh generation, who are the ones who will break our bondage.
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It is about time the dominant society, the educational institutions, the law makers and the provincial and federal governments hear the stories of "genocide" which First Nations people experienced as children. The time is now because Canada's Aboriginal people are working on a massive healing movement. I ask only that the dominant society have open, kind and non-judgmental minds as we open up our wounds of past injustices committed against us by church and state.

I invite the reader to step into the world of First Nations children as they were forced to live in a war zone. First Nations children were forced to step into these war zones called residential schools. We know these schools were operated by the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, and the Presbyterian Church. These churches were supported and their operations and financed by the Federal Government of Canada. It was under government orders and assimilationist policies that First Nations children were forced to attend these schools. I invite you to walk in these children's moccasins for a little while, even if only through the pages of my thesis and through the words of these children. It is our story; respect it and believe it.

Former St. Philip's residential school students are in the process of a law suit against the Roman Catholic Church

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Dominant society means the people who have made their ideologies, their regulations, and their policies into the laws of this country.

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and the Federal Government of Canada, yet former students do not hope to get as much as David Milgard's settlement of ten million dollars. David Milgard's settlement was made with the Government of Saskatchewan. I believe he deserves the settlement. He states the government wrongfully imprisoned him for twenty-three years for a murder and rape he did not commit. While in prison, Milgard was raped by other prisoners. Once he tried to escape his abuse and torture. The federal government imprisoned me, also, for ten years, terrorized, raped and beat me as a child. I became mentally ill at ten years old. I, too, tried to escape my abuse and torture. Once dogs were used to apprehend me and I was beaten upon my capture by the school authorities.

You may say that is not the same thing. You are right. David Milgard was an adult and fully developed physically. I was a child, not yet fully developed. David Milgard's pride and his time in prison may have damaged a man, but we as children had not even begun to develop our pride and our bodies. We were not a threat to anyone. In that residential school we lived in fear. When we left that residential school, some of us promptly killed ourselves, or drowned our sorrows in drugs and alcohol. We went away to hide from our people, being too ashamed to look at them. Some of us died with our shame, therefore leaving our shame to be lived on in our children and grandchildren. The cycle continues because we have no money to improve our lives. They have
taken our land, our powers and have killed our wills to live.

Where is the equality of it all? As a youth, I was thrown in prison for holding a bottle of wine. As an adult, I have been in prison for stealing food and money to eat and feed my family. There is no nice way of stealing food and money to eat. It is done with violence. The irony is when I was in jail I found it nicer and more comfortable than the residential school in which I had been. The prisons were more humane than residential school. Nevertheless, I think they should abolish prisons and make people redress their violent acts against people. They should also make the priests and nuns pay for their crimes against children. The International Declaration of Human Rights and the International Rights of Children declare such protections for children. Why does the Canadian government not abide by these humane tenets? As a child I needed my parents. My child's body was not made for violent sexual attacks. Shouldn't I and other residential school survivors get as much as David Milgard? Shouldn't the Federal Government of Canada and the churches redress their wrongs against residential school victims just as the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan has redressed its wrong against a falsely accused man? An apology is a start but what is the next step?

Chapter One begins with the story of my people, the Anisínabe of Saskatchewan and how they originated from the
Objiway people of the East. My study involves five Anisínábē communities in Saskatchewan. The names "Objiway" and "Elder" are European terms; Anisínábē and Ki-ci-Anisínábē are terms in our own language. I explain what a historical and modern day Elder is and how this term came to be adopted in Anisínábē usages. The term Elder demeans and does not give full credit to the importance of the Ki-ci-Anisínábē. When I hear this term Elder, I am confused about my roles as an Anisínábē person. When I hear the term Ki-ci-Anisínábē I know my role, the importance of this person and I know how to conduct myself. These new English words and interpretations only confuse me.

This thesis discloses what residential school did to me and what its legacies are in the lives of the Anisínábē people. I have read what historical writers have written about my people's lives and how they have viewed the experience. I see why they use the term cultural genocide and not genocide. May I be so bold as to say the terminology serves to protect the history and does not really explain the true nature of actual genocide practiced against the Anishnabe people. I begin to understand how the term "cultural genocide" is used to hide a more ugly, more complete attempt to kill off my people.

When historical writers say cultural genocide, they imply only my culture has been oppressed, not me as a person. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996)
acknowledges that genocide but talks about the resiliency of Aboriginal People to such oppression. When they use the terminology on me or my people they say I am resilient, I have bounced back. Am I resilient or is everybody assuming I bounced back in order to ease their own minds? They tell me I have resiliency; they serve to make me feel invincible so that I will not question my past. Historians and other writers say my people are resilient so my people, the Anisínabé,⁴ will look in a different direction as we seek to understand what has happened to our people. They expect me to puff up my chest and say, "Yes, I am resilient." No, I am not resilient. I have feelings and I was damaged and I am going to question my existence and I am going to name the genocide. From here on in I will use the term "genocide" not "cultural genocide."

Chapter Two is then a literature review, one which is more macro-sociological than micro-sociological. Using existing literature, I examine the rationalities of historical writers, the consequences of institutionalized racism and internal colonization and how these have contributed to genocide and to the ongoing trauma in the daily lives of the Anisínabé people.

Chapter Three is my story before I went to residential school and my beautiful life as an Anisínabé girl, my life

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⁴ Anisínabé means a Nation of Saulteaux people, or more than one, plural for Anisínabé
in residential school, the effects it has had on my later life. It concludes with my journey back to my Anisinābē roots.

Chapter Four presents the results of the interviews with the Elders. The first section discusses my ethnographic methodology. Section two is an overview of the oppression of my people due to colonization and racism. Section three is about the attitudes of the Elders in areas of placing Anisinābē children into schools and fosters homes. The fourth section is about the internalization of violence learned in residential schools. Legacies of residential school abuse followed survivors to their communities and have led to the social problems there today. Some residential school survivors recognized the legacies of sexual, physical abuses, beatings and death and therefore were able to stop themselves from acting like the brutal staff at residential school. Some residential school survivors did not internalized the abuse. They refused to think about it. Thus, without realizing it, they began acting like the brutal staff at their residential school, thereby, bringing violence home to their families.
Fifth I discuss how internalization has led to the normalization of violent death at a young age. Sixth, I examine the healing journeys of the Anisiniabē Elders as they seek to understand themselves as Anisiniabē people.

Chapter Five is the summary of the Elders explanations of the internalization and then the normalization of residential school legacies, the analysis and theory of the consequences of residential school, and a discussion of the genocide against Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Finally, the chapter goes on to discuss some possibilities in the area of a new understanding of Anisiniabē consciousness.

Chapter Six, and the Afterword, involves two sections. First, it explains what this study means to sociology and to Aboriginal peoples. Second, it discusses the place of Anisiniabē tradition in the modern world.

Of the several recognized spellings of the word Anisiniabē, the spelling used in this thesis is the most widely used amongst the Saulteaux in Saskatchewan. The correct spellings and meanings were given by Madeline Whitehawk of the Cote First Nations. The Anisiniabē who migrated to Saskatchewan from the territory that lies to the east of the present day Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, are now known as the Anisiniabē Saulteaux.
1.1. Who Are the Anisina'be Saulteaux People?

This is the story of my people, the Anisina'be people in Saskatchewan. It is the story of our lives and the lives of some of our most oppressed children, known as the young offenders of this country. The youths discussed in my study have not gone to residential school. They are the offspring of residential school survivors.

The youths in this study have committed some of the worst crimes and acts of violence in this country. It is with an open mind and a heavy but hopeful heart I present this study. It is written with the thought that soon the affected Anisina'be will understand how the effects of residential school have taken on physical form in the spirit of violence. Acts of violence committed by the offspring of the residential school survivors have been passed on. These children and youth are caught up in something unknown and larger than themselves. The Elders and I are trying to explain these behaviors of our youth, and to explain why they

Of the several recognized spellings of the word Anisina'be, the spelling used in this thesis is the most widely used amongst the Saulteaux in Saskatchewan. The correct spellings and meanings were given by Madeline Whitehawk of the Cote First Nations. The Anisina'be who migrated to Saskatchewan from the territory that lies to the east of the present day Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, are now known as the Anisina'be Saulteaux.
are the way that they are.

I hope my research will contribute to the services future youths need in order to live productive lives.\(^6\) I sincerely wish that society would not continue to send socially dysfunctional youth and children to jail. I hope that society will understand and the government will put money aside to do more research on the so called young offender. The children in this study are not criminal offenders.

This thesis is about understanding colonialism, the residential school system and letting the residential school survivors tell their own stories. This research will lead to an understanding of the legacies left by residential school. Further, it connects Aboriginal youth's acts of violence today directly to the genocide intended in Canadian colonialism, and more specifically in the residential school system.

This thesis is not just about documenting colonialism and residential school legacies. It is about the strengths of the Elders and how they have survived residential school abuses. Further, it is about the strengths of the Anisínábë people as a whole. My thesis documents the assumed resiliency

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\(^6\) A productive life is one in which the Anisínábë person has knowledge and wisdom of both worlds. This person has knowledge and wisdom of the Anisínábë way of life and values, and simultaneously this person has the knowledge and wisdom of dominant society that may include a university degree, but does not include the economic means to a happy life.
of the Aboriginal people. How did I and the Elders survive the residential school system? Did we develop a second layer of protective mentality? What is it that allows us to forgive the perverts/oppressors who held us captives for many years?

To know and to understand who the Anisínàbē people are and were, we must first ask, where do the Anisínàbē people come from? What is unique about the Saulteaux people? To these questions we must go back into historical writings.

The westernmost band of Ojibway on the Red River became part of the Assiniboine-Cree alliance because they shared a powerful enemy, the Sioux. As these people moved westward to become known as the Plains Ojibway during the early years of the nineteenth century, they mingled with the Cree and Assiniboine. Some warriors of these three tribes also accompanied the large, well-organized buffalo hunting excursions of the Red River Metis southward into Sioux country during the first half of the nineteenth century. (Nichols, 1988:139)

History gave the name Saulteaux to the Ojibway people living along the St. Mary's River between Lake Superior and Lake Huron (the area around present day Sault Ste. Marie). In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, these Ojibway people began to move westward along the shores of Lake Superior. By the late eighteenth century, they had dispatched the Blood and Piegan Indians from the present day Winnipeg area. The Saulteaux people were involved in the signing of Peace Treaty Number Four with the Europeans.
1.2. The Status of an Anisinābē Elder in the Historical Era

The Anisinābē Elders were once known as Kici-anisināwē. This means they were viewed as the "big and huge" old Anisinābē people. They were the medicine men and women, the healers, the fortune tellers, the spirit travelers, and the helpers of the sacred old people. Kici-anisināwē were old people with many gifts from the spirit world. The Kici-anisināwē of the past were not influenced by newcomers. Their social, cultural, political and spiritual ways of life were all spiritually based. They had one of the most powerful nations and one of the largest tribes in Canada. The Anisinābē people under the guidance of the Kici-anisināwē had sovereignty and self determination.

The Anisinābē people and the Anisinābē Nation were and are a highly civilized nation who know how to treat, care and include the women and children. Above all the hardships the Anisinābē was able to see, practice and include the values, powers and roles of the women and the children. The Anisinābē

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An old Saulteaux Anisinābē man or woman who has lived many moons and has attained wisdom through his/her life experiences. This person has come to understand the laws of nature, the sacred balance between man/woman, the environment and has come to have peace of mind with what he/she has been given in life whether those experiences are perceived as negative or not. This person may or may not have spiritual powers, he/she has gained status as a story teller, medicine man/woman in his/her immediate family, extended family, clan, tribal group, community and sometimes other tribes.
men stepped back in certain functions of the society.

1.3. The Status of a Anisinābē Elder in the Modern Era

The term Elder\(^8\) is a relatively new term, originating in the Presbyterian Church. I need to clarify the term Elder and its modern day usages. For the purposes of this thesis, when I refer to an "Elder," I do not make reference to the age of the person, but to the experiential wisdom he or she holds, on some social, political or cultural issue. Elder, in this thesis, will always refer to the status a person holds in his/her own community. For example, he/she may have survived some traumatic event. The male Elders are known as Kigi tō nini kwāk\(^9\) and Kigitō nini kwēk\(^10\) are the female Elders.

Contemporary Elders are attempting to return to their ancient Aboriginal ways of existence while endeavoring to live in the modern world. Berger (1988) states:

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\(^8\) An elder in the Presbyterian church is older or higher in rank than the average church goer.

\(\text{\&}^9\text{\&}^10\) Kigi tō nini kwāk and Kigi tō nini kwēk are one form of the modern Elders. Today these Elders mostly work towards counseling and healing their people. These Elders talk to their people or are hired to talk to people to encourage them to stop the negative practices (such as liquor, drugs, education, politics, religion) that came with modern life and to live and remember the old way. In most cases this mean, leaving alcohol and drugs alone, and stopping the sexual or physical abuse in families. People are encouraged not to use money for healing but to use the old practices of tobacco and gifts. Some of these Elders have spiritual powers, but as time goes by most of these Elders are counselors and healers who deal with the legacies of the residential school system.
The role of the elders and the respect they receive are important in the native people's attempts to deal with the problems that face them today. Elders are not people who have no further productive reality in the existence of the community, but [are] the crucial element. The elders will be present to give moral support to the adults in alcohol rehabilitation and in their daily social, political and cultural way of life. (Berger, 1988:141-142)

Being traditional does not mean being caught in the past but rather being experienced and wise in both societies. Wisdom for Elders was not only an expression of knowledge of one's culture, but also of knowing and understanding the world views of the newcomers. That is why Aboriginal people are unique; they understand and respect other cultures and other peoples. That is why it was possible for them to live side by side in a country of many Aboriginal Nations. The degree of civilization known and practiced by the Aboriginal people is superior to the civilization they were shown by other nations and other people. To me the civilization practiced by my people is worthy of consideration and is central to this thesis.
1.4. What is Residential School?

Between the 1880s and the 1970s the Government of Canada and a variety of churches maintained a Canada-wide system of boarding schools for Indian children. The residential school policies of the Indian Act which created these schools are now referred to by Natives as genocidal.¹¹ Aboriginal people knew that there was a movement to eliminate them;

Which utilized two forms of genocide: intentional and unintentional. The intentional forms included residential schools, land grabbing and downright murder. Unintentional forms include the introduction of disease that reduced the Native populations. (Haig-Brown, 1988:15)

When the United States began dealing with its "Indian problem," Canada followed suit; it sent Egerton Ryerson to study how the United States was dealing with its Indians (Brown:1988:29-30). The detailed report that grew out of the Ryerson's observations discussed how to eliminate the Indians and the problems they were causing.

In 1847 Canada published a report based on the ideas of Egerton Ryerson that formed the basis for future directions in policy for Indian education. Confederation influenced the development of schooling for Native people. Expressed is the perception of superiority of the European culture, the need "to raise them to the level of the whites," and to take control of the land out of the Indians hands. The recommendations that Indians remain under the control

¹¹ The United Nations Genocide Convention, which Canada signed in 1948 states: genocide is a crime under international law. ARTICLE II: b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Chrisjohn, 1997:150).
of the Crown rather than provincial authority that efforts to Christianize the Indians and settle them in communities be continued, and that manual labor schools are established under the guidance of missionaries. Cultural oppression was becoming written policy after Confederation. (Haig-Brown, 1988:29)

Genocide became official policy, although it was disguised as benevolence. An attack began on the Indian children: they were herded into cattle trucks, held against their wills in the prison-type schools, and it was children and not culture that were made to work like slaves. The first step in this genocidal movement for the children was to take away their Indian identity and their freedom, and to put in place the new assimilationist educational policies for the children, their parents and communities. Freedom was literally wiped away. The government locked children in a school system that operated like a prison.¹² As George Manuel, a former Chief of the Indian Brotherhood and a Secwepemc author, writes,

> All areas of our lives which were not occupied by the Indian agent were governed by the priest. Such was the case with the residential school. While the government espoused assimilation of the Indian through Christianization and civilization, it turned the task over to the religious orders. In his "Instructions on Foreign Missions" de Mazenod had written: "Every means should be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering lifestyle, to build houses, cultivate fields, and practice the elementary crafts of civilized life." (Haig-Brown, 1988:33)

Indian parents and communities were similarly

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¹² We begin this discussion with cultural oppression. Here it sounds like the culture was being attacked yet it was the children who were imprisoned, and the parents who were fenced in.
imprisoned. Reserves were like locked institutions, hidden away from the public view. Indians were forbidden to travel and had to ask for special permission to leave the reserve. Indians who wanted to remain alive were forced to follow the law. Native converts turned into Christian soldiers to fight paganism and their own people. Their education necessarily consisted not merely of the training of the mind, but weaning the habits and feeling of their ancestors, and the acquirements of the language, arts and customs of civilized life. Peter Jones, a Native convert to Christianity [says], "It is a notorious fact, that the parents exercise little or no control over their children, allowing them to do as they please. Being left to follow their own wills, they wander about the woods with their bows and arrows, or accompany their parents in their hunting excursions."(Haig-Brown, 1988:29,30)

State genocide continued with the development of The Indian Act of 1876. It brought into one statute many ideas in existing legislation dating back to the 1820's. The Indian Act went into every aspect of controlling the Indian's freedom. Parental rights were taken away and children were forcibly removed from their homes. Education became compulsory and not a matter of choice.

Following the establishment of the Indian Act of 1876, the government commissioned N.F. Davin to report on Industrial schools established for Native people in the United States. Out of this report came the strong recommendations which resulted in the establishment of many residential schools across Canada. Davin made reference to President Grant's policy on the Indian question. Davin's final comment is "if anything is to be done with the Indians, we must catch him very young. (Haig-Brown, 1988:30)

As a result, genocide took the form of policies and aggressive assimilation became the norm for treaty Indians,
policies of Indian Affairs and the Government of Canada, enforced by Indian agents, and ensured by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Government politicians, secure in their almighty powers and international focuses, did not hide their genocidal policies and criminal acts.

By 1920 amendments to the Indian Act included compulsory school attendance. The House of Commons discussion of changes to the Indian Act, stated clearly the idea that Indian cultures were to be eliminated. Scott states our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department, that is the whole object of this bill. (Brown, 1988:31)

As Chrisjohn (1997) has argued the naming of an Indian problem was and is simply a justification for stealing land from the owners. Many non-Native authors have argued that the church had good intentions, but Brown suggests,

despite its good intentions, this desire for control over Native people reveals the invasive nature of the Oblates' work. References to 'my Indians' are frequent and this possessiveness, while showing attachment to the people, also belittles and relegates the people to being possessions of another human being. Because the missionaries did not separate Western Christianity and Western civilization they approached Indian culture as a whole and demanded a total transformation of the Indian proselyte. Their aim was the complete destruction of the Indian way of life. The missionaries demanded even more far-reaching transformation than the settlers and they pushed it more aggressively than any other group of whites. (Brown, 1988:35)

The Oblates, an order of the Roman Catholic Church, used unusually cruel punishment to attain their goals. Cultural oppression and invasion included the forbidding of Indian
languages. The elimination of language has always been a primary stage in cultural genocide. This was the primary function of the residential school system and the Oblates enforced it with force. One B.C. man says,

"My father, attended Residential School for four years, was physically tortured by his teachers for speaking Tseshahth they pushed needles through his tongue, a routine punishment for language offenders." (Haig-Brown, 1988:16)

1.5. Legacies of the National Residential Schools

The most recent and the most accurate data about the plight of Aboriginal peoples in Canada are outlined in the Royal Commission Report, Bridging the Cultural Divide: A Report on Aboriginal Peoples and the Criminal Justice System in Canada (1996).

The RCAP publication is very useful to understanding Native struggles in the justice system. However, the RCAP discusses improving dominant societies's justice system and its institutions by enhancing Aboriginal content in their daily operations. For example, the table of contents and titles enforces this belief. Such titles include "Aboriginal Policing, Indigenization, appointment of Aboriginal Justices of the Peace and Aboriginal Judges, Aboriginal Court workers" (Royal Commission, 1996:v).

Is that what the Aboriginal peoples were really speaking of when they were interviewed by the Report's authors? Or, were the Aboriginal people asking for the fulfillment of
their Treaty Rights in order to live their own cultural ways with their own laws and beliefs? I believe Aboriginal people are saying let us leave the contemporary way and go back to our way of life.

That does not mean living in a teepee, cutting wood and hauling water. It means bringing our laws into place. Aboriginal people are not talking about improving the justice system; they are talking of much more than that. They are talking about an oppressive system that needs to be abandoned because it has never worked for Aboriginal people or the non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people are not saying improve it, they are saying get rid of it. The Royal Commission interprets Aboriginal peoples as saying that

the Canadian criminal justice system has failed Aboriginal peoples. The reason for this failure is, different world views of Aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples with respect to such elemental issues as the substantive content of justice and the process of achieving justice. (Royal Commission, 1996:309)

This is not about issues of justice. Aboriginal people are saying something else. They are trying to say that Canadian justice has fostered not only cultural genocide but overall genocide of Aboriginal peoples. The authors of The Royal Commission Report, Choosing Life: Special Report on Suicide Among Aboriginal People (1995), reflects important factors/problems among Aboriginal youths. After years of oppression the results of overall generational effects of genocide are obvious and include several kinds of documented
1) Psycho-Biological Damage: mental disorders, illness associated with suicide, depression, anxiety disorders, schizophrenia, personality disorders (e.g. hypersensitivity, perfectionism) and aspects of what is known as 'cognitive style' (e.g., negative thinking, rigid thinking, poor problem-solving) are risk factors for self harm.

2) Life History & Situational Damage: early childhood trauma (e.g., disrupted relations with caregivers, family history of suicide, premature death, experiences of sexual or other abuse); current family dysfunctionality; conflict in intimate relationships or with authority; imprisonment; substance abuse; current access to lethal means (the ease with which a person can get access to a method of killing or injuring him/her (e.g., guns, pills, drugs); absence of religious and spiritual commitment.

3) Socioeconomic Damage: unemployment, individual and family poverty; relative deprivation or low class status, low standards of community health, stability and prosperity.

4) Culture Damage: loss of confidence by individuals or groups in the ways of understanding life and living (norms, values, and beliefs) taught within their original cultures and the personal or collective distress that may result. (Royal Commission: Choosing Life: 1995:20, 21)

Who knows more about the legacies of the national residential school system than the Indian students themselves? We must hear the cries of the damaged children and recognize the broken spirits of the oppressed people. The legacies of residential school consist of the destruction of health, and the loss of a flourishing, age-old, sacred Indigenous way of life.

Chief Boissoneau argued that residential schools were an experiment in cultural genocide that should never have taken place. Indians need a healing process to get over the damage that was done to them.
by these schools. Part of that process involved
taking control of their own lives and well-being.
Part of that self-empowerment was the assumption of
control of Native education by Native peoples.
Students spoke of wasting years and decades in
alcohol, drugs and violence before they managed to
put their lives back, to confront the pain that has
been driving them to harm themselves, and get on
with the business of living. Unspoken was the
knowledge that people attending the reunion were the
'success stories'; among the absent were the
thousands who never overcame the pain and self-
destruction. (Miller, 1996:8, 9)
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. A Critique of the Historical Literature

Dominant culture, historical writers when they talk about the violence of First Nations youths, talk about collective or systematic use of external oppression, not about internal oppression.\(^\text{13}\) Internal oppression is the voice of the affected Aboriginal people. Conventional historical accounts of acts of violence by First Nations youth have limited explanatory power because they argue from an external perspective of the oppressors, their institutions and how they can improve these institutions to create more sanctions and more government controls. They do this under the disguise of equality and rights.

Historical explanations about Aboriginal oppression and institutional racism are accurate from the external point of view. Yet they do not go far enough into the micro-life of youth oppression for the larger or macro-society to understand. I propose to develop this argument within the theoretical concept of genocide and to argue that because of genocide, Aboriginal peoples have not flourished.

\(^{13}\) In my language we say “Nõndê,” which means I want but with Nîdēh (my heart). We do not say “I,” (my ego). The ego is greedy and without self. We say ‘Nõndê’", my heart wants this.” The idea is not to build a big “ego,” but to build a big “heart”. As we lose our language, we lose that civility, we lose that kindness and sharing philosophies that are embedded in the Saulteaux language. When our youth acquire English as their first language, their ego's build up. Bounderies are lost. Residential school legacies continue. They cannot know our laws not written in English and, importantly, how the Anisinâbē have dealt with that loss.

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Furthermore, genocide has been a major influence on First Nations youth acts of violence. These are the areas that have been poorly understood both by the dominant society and by First Nations.

In addition to the failure recognized in RCAP's report, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1995) report, "Special Report on Suicide Among Aboriginal People," states further that:

"suicide is clearly one of the most urgent problems." In 172 days of public hearings held in ninety-six communities across Canada. . .the commission heard issues discussed with such pain and such determination to make change. Commissioners are left in no doubt that the harrowing stories of shootings, hangings, drug overdoses, and teen death-pacts recounted in the national media are only a shadow of the full problem of self-destruction behavior among Aboriginal people. We are convinced that current high rates of attempted and completed suicide among First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples-and the treatment of new episodes constitute an immediate crisis in human and public policy terms. (Royal Commission, 1995:1)

One Elder said, "we know our youths are killing themselves now why don't you tell us why they are doing that and we can work from there" (Preliminary Interview 1998), but

[The 1995 Royal Commission states that] causal factors related to suicide are conventionally grouped within the four categories of psycho-biological factors, life history or situational factors, socioeconomic factors, and culture stress. (Royal Commission, 1995:20, 21)

The stories of the Elders will naturally focus on all four causal dimensions of violence. But Elders do not tell their stories with this political academic language.
Historical writers have written about cultural oppression and institutional racism, but their work is far too theoretical. Historical writing, however, is a background source for understanding the political, social, and cultural oppression of Native people as a whole.

For example, historical writers speak of the oppressors, their institutions and how they should improve these institutions to achieve equality for all people. Yet is this possible? It appears that contemporary schools continue to discriminate and ignore Aboriginal history.

Howard Adams, (1989) a Metis academic whose work has been helpful to me, says that in the past, schools taught history that portrayed the Native as cruel, sadistic savages, who had not even reached the early stages of civilization. An examination of 300 textbooks by white historians being used in American classrooms in the 1970s showed that not one could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and culture of the Indian people of Americas. Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history. (Adams, 1989:17)

Dominant cultural education has been used not only as a political tool to omit Indian history and the Indian way of life, but also to take freedoms away from the Indian child and his/her family. As a result education was a tool used in the genocide on Aboriginal peoples.

Adams (1989) goes on to say that,

After the political and economic subjugation of Native people comes the final stage of colonialism, the cultural takeover. Traditional and ritualistic customs were retained as long as
they served to increase the colonizer's power over the Native people. For instance, the position of chief, even though he was powerless was kept for purely ornamental reasons. All real power and authority was removed from the chief's position and from other institutions of Native society and placed in the hands of white authorities. Decisions affecting Native life were made by the white power structure. (Adams, 1989:35)

Schools under the authority of the Federal Government of Canada taught Aboriginal children to be ashamed of their cultures and customs. Colonization of the children was effective in that children lost their language and pride. Adams goes on to say that,

A fact of imperialism is that it systematically denies Native people a dignified history. Whites claim that Metis and Indians have no history or national identity, or, if they do it is a disgraceful and pathetic one. When Natives renounce their nationalism and deny their Indianness, it is a sure sign that colonizing schemes of inferiorization have been successful. (Adams, 1989:43)

In earlier writings, non-Aboriginal writers, explain poverty and criminality as factors of racist ideology and not as conditions of the crime of genocide. For example, Frideres (1974) attempts to understand the criminal behavior of Aboriginal people.

The rate of alcoholism among Indians has been estimated at fifteen to 25 per cent. While the definition of "alcoholism" used in the different studies has varied, the figures clearly suggest that the rate is much higher than that of the general population. But, again, white society has chosen to consider the alcoholism rate as just another manifestation of the inherent inferiority of Indians, instead of seeing it as their way of handling and/or escaping from their hostile social environment. As for Indians' social conditions, if
the trend in society of individual entrepreneurship over community ownership and control continues, little improvement can be expected. People on welfare at present can expect to find their children joining them as they become adults, continuing the poverty-welfare cycle. (Frideres, 1974:57)

Frideres (1974) write about the horrid social and political conditions of Aboriginal people and how discriminatory dominant institutions are. Although his historical critiques were well-intended, the reader gets the idea that for Frideres, Indians are, in part, responsible for changing their social and political status even while educational institutions continue to assist in the process of assimilation.

This historical attitude persists and the fact is that it is hard to change those societal attitudes and feeling towards First Nations. Prior to 1974, those same attitudes and feelings towards First Nations people were even harsher and crueler. Children in residential schools felt those feelings through physical and sexual abuse. Such children were made to be ashamed of who they were and forced to forget their language. These impacts are known as intergenerational or multi-generational legacies.  

When the children were forbidden to speak their language, their spirits were confused. Politically, the

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14 Intergenerational and multi-generational effects mean that certain behaviors were passed down to the next generation or to the next two or three generations. These are the legacies of physical and sexual abuse first learnt in residential school.
Anisinābē people are spiritual. Past and present educational institutions have tried to destroy the language and consequently have confused the essence\(^{15}\) of the Indian Nation. They have confused this essence from the minds of Indian children.

Historical writers, write about Aboriginal people's cultural oppression and about institutional and systematic racism in their own understandings. I suppose that is because they want to understand how Natives handle oppression and violence. I think they are only trying to explain the "Indian problem" and they are not digging deep enough. In the past, most of these writers have been non-Aboriginal and generally were, also, outsiders. They looked to the oppressed people's social and political lives for answers, but they did not ask the affected people. They usually based their answers on statistics and visible indicators. Today, some Aboriginal academics write about oppression, colonization and violence in conventional terms, meaning they write in the English academic style. That means they have been limited in what they write.

Nevertheless, the Anisinābēk (the "beautiful people") do

\(^{15}\) The essence of the Indian Nation is the spirit, the soul that was embedded in our language, which we embed in our everyday lifestyles in cooking, cleaning, hunting, loving and praying together. The Anisinābē spiritual-based family system is a way of life and not a religion. The internal human spirit and the ordinary living creations are not separated.
have a beautiful culture and way of life. That has come out in many non-Aboriginal writers, yet we still need to hear the real pains and hurts. We need to hear how the Anisinābē people have survived that oppression and violence in their own lives. We have to listen and hear holistically. As an Anisinābē woman, writing about the Anisinābē.¹⁶ I write about the lives of its people, and have a different perspective and understanding of Anisinābē oppression and institutional racism. Furthermore Anisinābē people through Anisinābēk experience create a more credible voice.

In the past, with writers like Frideres (1974), the reader got the impression that Indians were partly to blame for their youth’s violence and oppression due to their own poverty stricken states. This is usually where the understanding of experts stops. Frideres, for example makes simplistic statements like "I am not saying this but...(in my own words)". Inadvertely, he has put a negative stereotype of the Native into the reader’s mind, thereby stacking the cards against First Nations. For example, Frideres writes:

The crime rate among Indians is extremely high: 28 percent of all males and twenty-five percent of female inmates at Canadian prisons are Indians or Metis. The numbers in federal penitentiaries vary by province but they are always disproportionately high. One simple explanation (to which I do not

¹⁶ The Anisinābēk means plural for the Anisinābē, the group, the Nation of people. When I and the Elders tell our stories, give our opinions and reveal the shame of residential school we speak from an individual sense, but we do not stop there. We go on to speak from a sociological perspective which is from the Anisinābēk (the group of people, the Nation) perspective.
subscribe) is that Indians are more prone to commit acts of defiance. (Frideres, 1974:54-56)

He does not ask the question why Aboriginals as such a small portion of the general population (10%) comprise 80% of the prison population. He has subtly put into the reader's mind that Indians are born evil and like to commit acts of violence. He uses the word often which means an inborn or basic element.

In the Aboriginal culture, we teach children at an early age not to put negative thoughts in their minds about any living thing, but to try to understand and accept themselves and others as they are. This is the natural law. Frideres' (1974) work is an indication of how some academic work remains insensitive or removed from social and cultural concerns. The negative thought that Natives are born inherently evil implied in Frideres. He does not specify young or old, so it falls on all Indians. Any statistics or evidence will confirm this negative image in the reader's mind. Frideres (1974) continues,

Other social scientists, also, doubt this and suggest an alternative explanation. They say that because of Indians' low status and society's negative stereotyped view of them, they are more conspicuous and more likely to be picked up by the white police, charged and given prison sentences than Whites. Concerning arrests rates of Indians in Winnipeg, they found that for Indians and Metis, the rates are far greater than expected from their representation in the population. Most police {RCMP} are Whites who are not accountable to the Indian community and thus do not attempt to ameliorate problems that might arise. It is much easier for them to charge the person from the community (and subsequently reduce the police load)
but also show that they are "doing their job." (Frideres, 1974:56-57)

Again, the academic, empirical presentation is covertly damaging.

In contrast, let us look at Aboriginal writers. Brian Maracle (1993) writes about "Native Voices on Addictions and Recovery" and how Native people across Canada lived to tell about how they were victims of cultural oppression and institutional racism. The storytelling reveals how Natives turn to alcohol to survive their daily existence. If Indians had not turned to alcohol they would have killed themselves, or harmed, or killed other persons. It is important to understand that merely surviving is an accomplishment to celebrate.

The teachings and the way to live are embedded in the cultures of Aboriginal peoples. For example, one similar custom and value of all Natives is to teach that you must never hurt or think wrong of any of God's creatures. You do not know anything about another living being unless you study its culture and its way of life. Even then you never have the right to destroy that life. You are to let the being live as Ki-ci-Manitō has chosen for it. In reverse, Ki-ci-Manitō's other creations will respect and let you live the way Ki-ci-Manitō intended you to live.

When the newcomers came here, we let them live their own
way and respected them for it. Natives did not know how else 
to treat them and took the abuses they dished out to us, 
hoping one day we would understand why they did things as 
they did. As a result, we have endured the abuses. When the 
abuses became too unbearable, Natives turned to alcohol. 
Alcohol has served its purpose. Indians in this study said 
they needed alcohol so that they could not feel, see or 
remember the horrors that were happening to them. One Indian 
said, "Indians were not alcoholic, they only swam in it until 
they could adjust their mode of thinking." A culturally kind 
and peaceful people, they could not react fast enough to 
external pressures so they got drunk. Maracle (1993) relates 
the survival experiences of Native men, women, and youths in 
contemporary society. Maracle (1993) illustrates the 
Aboriginal perspective but more importantly he details how 
the dominant society has reacted to the influences of outside 
forces upon our people. He shows how the dominant society 
views traumatized Indians:

You are walking on a downtown street in a major 
Canadian city. You are one of the shoppers and 
office workers. Everyone is striding with a sense 
of purpose to their intended destination. You 
notice an obstruction in the flow of people ahead 
of you. The obstruction is a man. He's standing in 
the middle of the sidewalk and he's the only one 
on the block who's not moving. In one quick 
glance, you absorb the distinguishing features of 
an all too familiar character. His brown skinned 
face is dirty and unshaven. His shaggy black hair 
is matted and greasy. His clothes are ragged and
filthy. One of his eyes is half open and unfocused, the other is a swollen, purple bruise. He has no front teeth and his drooling mouth is a gaping, twisted hole. By now you've recognized the distinguishing features of this pitiful creature of the urban landscape and made your identification. He's a drunk, a native drunk. He's another drunken Indian. You can see he's not dangerous. You are determined not to detour around him and you have no intention of changing direction. So you take a deep breath and grit your teeth. You increase your pace, your heart rate and your blood pressure. Two strides later, the tension is lifting from your muscles and you are breathing easier. A block later, the man is no longer in your thoughts. He no longer exists. (Maracle, 1993: 6,7)

The average Canadian citizen has ignored the visible signs of economic oppression. Dominant society members and their governments have looked the other way or have hidden the problem. Worse, dominant society represented by both the citizens and the governments is not willing to change its social and political ways. They see the problems of economic oppression but ignore them. They refuse to give up the benefits of capitalism even if capitalism decimates certain populations.

Maracle (1993) points to the fact that Natives have had to pay a high price for economic progress. Their identity, languages, medicines, and spiritual ways of life have suffered. Simply put, Aboriginal peoples have had to go underground with their spiritual ways of life. Aboriginal people have not integrated their humble spiritual way of life to dominant society's economic progress. Aboriginals have
been denied their own traditional ways of life because of dominant society's economics. In dominant society it is the practice to have an underdog\textsuperscript{17} and Aboriginal people do not have underdogs. Aboriginal children have had to pay the price as well. For example, one young person stated,

"When I was a teenager I thought there was nothing but death and pain in the world, so I drank and used to make the pain go away. When I drank I just didn't want to feel anything." (Maracle, 1993:108)

This person was not inherently evil, bad, or prone to violence. Natives know what has happened to them and they know they have to heal. They are only trying to survive.

Maracle (1993) illustrates the gap between academic non-Aboriginal interpretation and the reality of the Aboriginal people. Non-Aboriginal experts cannot know why an First Nations person drinks, because they simply do not want to know.

I think there is a place for White folks in scholarship/research but only once they are decolonized\textsuperscript{18} in their thoughts, actions, and about the laws that promote

\textsuperscript{17} An underdog is one who is conned, ripped off and never get to climb the social ladder. In this new world if you are to become successful you are to cheat the other guy; it is a dog eat dog type of society. The Anisinab\'{e} cannot seem to grasp that social practice of the dog eat dog type of success needed in the social ladder.

\textsuperscript{18} To decolonized for me means to leave that idea of being ruled by a King or a Queen. For to honor, to bow down and kiss the ground that the monarchy walks on, is to be a slave. No one has that almighty power and the monarchy should not be given that power over people.
them. I heard one Elder say,"once a slave always a slave." That mentality never ends, centuries later, even after democracy has been introduced to the First Nations people. Colonizers need to study why they oppress and to explain the impact of their oppression (Barsch, 1996:13). Maracle (1993) writes:

according to one study done in the mid 1980's, forty-three different academics, social, medical, and government "experts" have posed their own separate theories to explain the phenomenon of native alcoholism. None of these theories have been proven. These can be grouped into three categories sociological, psychological and biogenetic. One of the sociological theories says that Native people drink to cope with bad feelings caused by racism. One of the psychological theories says Native people are simply copying the drinking behaviors they learned from their parents who learned them, originally from hard drinking soldiers and fur traders. And one of the biogenetic theories says many Native people have inherited a defective gene that causes them to become alcoholic. A 1984 survey of native addictions counselors in Saskatchewan listed eight reasons to explain native alcoholism. The reason listed most often was the loss of cultural identity, followed by poverty and unemployment. The various experts aside, however, the ones most affected by the problem, Native people themselves, have their own explanations. (Maracle, 1993:216)

This partial understanding is illustrated by Robert, a 25 year old drunk. The reasons he drinks have nothing to do with bad feelings of racism, or from learning it from his parents, or a defective gene, poverty or unemployment. These "expert" explanations of why an Indian is an alcoholic are explanations of "symptoms" of a deeper root cause. Simply
put, they have not touched on the real problem.

"One of the reasons I started drinking was because I had been sexually abused. I was just a small child--I was twelve years old. That really hurted me a lot. I started drinking when I was twelve and quit when I was fifteen. I got sexually abused again, that's when I really started to drink. I didn't care anymore. I left home. And the third time, the time that I really started to drink, I'd been at this party and the same person was there [who] sexually abused me when I was twelve. He waited till everyone was drunk and he did the same thing to me again. I tried to fight back. The third time: I was torned up all inside. I had stitches all inside. But still yet I wouldn't come out and say who did it to me. I kept holding it deep inside and every time I drank I would get into a fight, get in an argument with anybody. And the violence I did to other people--I tried killing them, I tried stabbing them, I tried shooting them. I tried every which way to get that feeling off my chest because I felt so dirty inside. I started to commit suicide about five times. The first time I shot my left foot. My foot didn't heal because I was drinking too much. I had to get my foot cut off." (Maracle, 1993:221, 222)

In this case Robert drank and turned to violence because he was sexually molested. The physical and psychological impact on him were more than he could bear.

My interest is in how Anisínábē children in particular were affected by cultural oppression and institutional racism by acts of violence against them directly or indirectly perpetrated by the state, the church, and by dominant society. My research explores the attitudes of the Elders and the impact of the abuses, and how Elders have chosen to deal with the matter at hand. Importantly, my research puts Aboriginal voices back into the research so we can all
understand the reality of the oppressed.

2.2. Oppression\textsuperscript{19} of the Aboriginal People as a Consequence of Internalized Institutionalized Racism

Since European contact, First Nations People in Canada have experienced oppression through legislative means. Ideologically and politically, the new immigrant peoples made themselves into the founders, the sole owners and law makers of this great land. The First Peoples of the land were not considered as founders of this country in any sense, politically or ideologically.

Historical writers promote this belief by arguing that the First Peoples crossed over the Bering Strait into the new land. This "theory" is contrary to many creation stories of the First Nations, including the Anishinabē. The fact is, Aboriginal people of Canada were here first; therefore, they are the founders of this continent. Ignoring or arguing that fact serves no practical purpose. First Nations deserve ideological and political recognition and should be legally and officially recognized as the founding Nations of this country. Just because First Nations do not argue for that recognition does not mean the newcomers have the right to impose their laws and structures. Aboriginal silence does not mean acceptance or acquiescence. It is not right to ignore the First Nations as the founders in this country.

\textsuperscript{19} This writer is using oppression as a starting point in explaining "internalized institutionalized racism" and how it felt from my people's point of view.
Furthermore, in this country First Peoples have always had laws. The Europeans chose to ignore those laws, but that does not mean those laws do not exist.

One of the laws of the First Nations is "cultural freedom," which means freedom for everyone. But the one area I want to expand on is "cultural freedom" for the children. I understand this to mean children learn as they grow. They are never, at any time during that learning stage, to be punished for any reason. There are no right or wrong ways. If any mistakes are made by the child or the youth, these are not considered "soul damning" issues, but learning issues. In fact it is the "right" of the child or youth to be wrong and not punished for it. If anything, the parents, teachers and the particular community take on the responsibility to rethink their approach or techniques of training. They take on the responsibility of that youth's behavior. But never is the child or youth blamed for being wrong, nor is she or he punished. These are the teachings of the Anisinābē people.

An attack on the children by the newcomers in the form

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Freedom for everyone as a law means that people were not ruled and forced to follow a man made law. After many centuries, the Anisinābē people lived in harmony with nature and with themselves. This is where harmony must be defined to include the Anisinābēk and their relationships between and among themselves. The Anisinābēk respected animals and their lifestyles. Through ceremonies, observation, participation and storytelling, it was recognized and practiced that each living being has a role to play in society. Each living entity has the right to live at whatever stage it is in with no interference from anyone. When someone interferes then that is the time that law is broken. The balance is broken. Children should have the freedom to grow and experience life without abuse and beatings.
of oppressive federal government polices and prison-like residential schools should never have happened. The newcomers should have begun by looking at what they did to their own children. The newcomers can now recognize they entered into a highly advanced civilization where there was no hierarchy, no officially recognized superiors and the weakest and the oldest were the most valued people. That should have been the direction of the newcomers relearning.

The first wrong done to Aboriginal peoples was that the newcomers tried to erase their democratic and political organizations instead of trying to work together. When the English immigrants came to Canada, they made international peace treaties with the adult Aboriginal peoples which was good. But the disrespect and elimination of Aboriginal rights that came afterwards with these treaties resulted in genocide by the English Nation. Today that genocidal behavior is reflected in government.

The Canadian government came to ignore treaties originally signed with Aboriginal peoples (which, it can be argued, recognized their existence as sovereign nations) and instead came to project the Aboriginal Canadians as barbarous, uncivilized, a people that needed to be forcibly assimilated and civilized, and as not being equal to Europeans nationalities. Subsequently, Aboriginal peoples' equal-status in the law was abrogated on the one hand by their non-recognition as a founding people in the BNA Act, and on the other, by unilateral enforcement of Canadian citizenship upon them.

When I say no hierarchy, I mean in the sense that the Anisinâbê people did not bow down to any one person because they had power over other people. The Anisinâbê way of life had respect not power. There was not a system in place where the physically strong could brutalize, terrorize and greedily take.
without the human rights of other Canadians. By ignoring the equal humanity of the Aboriginal Canadians, an anti-social relationship was established which began the long history of denying equal status to Aboriginal culture, and institutionalizing discrimination. (Samuelson and Schissel, 1991:90)

Instead of developing these treaties to co-exist with Aboriginal culture, the treaty writers degraded Aboriginal ways of life. Where was the human dignity in this? Indian colonizers like Duncan Campbell Scott wrote of Aboriginal practices as, "Senseless Drumming and Dancing." Titley goes on to say that Scott's attitude, evokes the essential paternalism and the assimilationist roots of Canadian Indian policy. Although the department, through the Indian Act, had attempted to do away with the cultural practices beginning with the revisions to the Indian Act in the 1880's, it was not until the years that Scott became Superintendent General in 1913 that these clauses were invoked through the Indian agents backed by the force of the law. Indian people who disobeyed the law against potlatching lost their possessions and were imprisoned when they resisted. Their objects, confiscated by the Indian agent, found their way into Scott's office or into Museums without compensation or in lieu of a jail term. (Titley, 1989:209)

Historical racist attitudes of immigrant leaders like those of Duncan Scott are some of the origins of a highly racist Indian Act. From there, institutional racism was perpetuated and racist internal colonization appeared in the social, political and cultural life of the Aboriginal peoples, and worse, of Aboriginal children.

Institutional racism and internal colonization inherent in the first Indian Act of the 1800's right down to its many
revisions have caused the Native peoples many hardships. Socially, the price tag has been over-representation of Aboriginal youths in prison, poverty, and destruction of the family unit/organization. Economically prison is a very expensive alternative, and the price tag has been poverty:

or... low per capita income; a high birthrate; a small, weak middle class; low rates of increase in the labor productivity, capital formation, and domestic savings; and a small monetized market. The economy of such a country is heavily dependent on external markets. This is a relatively accurate description of a reserve in Canada today. (Frideres, 1998:3)

Howard Adams (1989:35) states,

the acceptance of the Indian Act has finalized the political and economic subjugation of Native people—it is the final stage of colonialism, the cultural takeover. Consequently, the White power structure made decisions affecting Native life. (1989:35)

Furthermore, he declares that the

Indian Act became an enforcing tool under the disguise that Indians need to be protected. So the Indian Act was developed to protect the Indian and to ensure its survival. The colonizing government gets away with this suppressive and abusive control of natives. This clearly institutionalized racism is undeniably the main and the only characteristic of the Indian Act. The Aboriginal people of Canada and their position in Canada today is a direct result of the colonization process. (Adams, 1989:148)

Frideres (1993) discusses how the oppressors upon contact do not ask but just take. This concerns the incursion of the colonizing group into a geographical area. In Canada, both French and English settlement followed this pattern.

The colonized and the colonizers are always polarized. Only through comradeship with the colonized can others understand their
characteristic ways of living and behaving, which often reflect the structure of domination. The colonized cannot understand the order that serves the colonizer. This often results in violence—striking out at their own comrades. They have a belief in invulnerability of the power of the oppressor. According to Frideres, there is no use attempting to liberate the colonized without a political consciousness. (Adams, 1989:140)

The fact is that the colonizers have unquestionably colonized the indigenous people. But that does not mean the colonized do not know what's happening. Every year the Anisinābē people are losing their children and youth to crime, suicide, loss of language and conversion to orthodox religions. And in contemporary Aboriginal societies, some Aboriginal leaders have internalized colonization and cultural oppression to the point that they become the oppressors.

What does dominant society's government mean when they use the term colonization? What does the term colonization entail for both societies? Do we all comprehend and understand that terminology? For dominant society the term, colonization has the underlying assumption of "a total reign," a "we won" attitude. Colonization means one thing to the dominant society and means another to Aboriginal peoples. The more theories of colonialism are examined, the more they seem mythical.

Colonial myths are very powerful because they become an organic part of the thought processes of the people in the imperial nation and serve as their reality. The particular interpretations of focus of white historians, diarist, and journalist depends also upon particular circumstances of the
period. For example, when it appeared that the Hudson's Bay Company might delay industrial expansion across Canada, writers were very critical of "The Bay" and explained how its officials severely exploited and abused Indians and Metis. However, as the Bay yielded its sovereignty and land, writers composed glowing reports about its generosity in its treatment of the Native people. This principle holds true for each historical period. Consequently, they largely omit the experiences and relationships of the "common people" from historical writing, because in capitalism the masses are not the ruling force. (Adams, 1989:18)


Why are the most vocal and organized opponents of Indian treaties and Aboriginal rights preoccupied with equality? One hypothesis might be that they are self-consciously the underdogs of non-Native society. Equality is not only an attack on the legitimacy of Indian claims, but an implicit demand for justice vis-a-vis other whites. These citizens do not cry "equality" at the Rockefellers or Bronfmans, however. The limited context in which the appeal to equality indicates that it is a demand not for equalization with the rich, but for preserving the existing status hierarchy among different groups of the poor. Not surprisingly, this recalls the argument that imperialism distracts the poor within the colonizer's society. Instead of combating injustices at home, they compete for status with the poor abroad. Hence we see again that the key to understanding the situation of Indians is not to be found within Indians societies, but in the injustices and opposition that exist among European-Americans. (Barsh, 1996:13)

The colonizing government of any time secures and enforces its laws and its way of life. When contact was made, peace treaties were made. It is understood that when peace treaties were made the Anisínábē people would live as they
always had and not be integrated into another society. There was never any conquering involved, yet Canada acts as if the Aboriginal people were overpowered. No, we have not even begun to begin to live as self-determined people, but we will. The past and present dominating behaviors of the newcomers can be accurately interpreted as genocidal legislative practices and they must be stopped.

After saying all this, in my interpretation and my people's interpretation, I want to emphasize that oppression of the Aboriginal peoples as a consequence of internalized institutionalized racism is not to be looked at as a result of one society overpowering the other. Anisinābē people are reorganizing to include the newcomers in their country and their way of life. The Anisinābē Nation is experiencing centuries of French and English oppression. The jail sentence, overflowing prisons, poverty, suicide, and crime are not to be looked at only in a negative way but positively as well. We are in transitions and out of the ashes will arise a stronger, more beautiful Anisinābē Nation.
CHAPTER THREE: MY STORY

3.1. Introduction

Through a narrative of my own childhood experiences in a residential school, I hope to convey how such experiences have contributed to contemporary living problems of many Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan. I was born and raised in the Cote Indian Reserve near Kamsack, Saskatchewan. When I was six years old the Oblate priest who was the principal of St. Phillip's Indian Residential School, eight miles from my home reserve, came to take me away. The principal's authority to do this was the Indian Act.

I lived in that boarding school for ten years, maybe more. Social contact with my immediate family, my extended family and my community was limited to ten days at Christmas, ten days at Easter break and two months in the summer each year. Daily prayers dominated life in the Catholic school, beginning with early mass at 6:00 a.m. and the benediction mass in the evening. We had to attend two masses every day and more if it was a Christian holiday. Learning formal lessons was, in fact, of much less importance than discipline.

To us, as children, punishments for breaches of discipline were all that mattered. Freedom of expression, freedom of person and freedom of time were simply forbidden. In other words childhood was forbidden.

3.2. Life Before a Roman Catholic Residential School

I was born August 31, 1949, during "birds beginning to
fly" season, when the leaves are beginning to have grey hair. It is a beautiful time. Everyone is preparing for the long winter, medicines are strong; there is rushing and joy in the air. How I love fall! It is a beautiful time.

The birth of the first born daughter was sacred in my family. She was big medicine, since she was the one whose duty it would be to ensure the survival of the Anisinâbâêtâ tradition in the family. To celebrate the birth of a daughter after four sons, my father went to town and brought me new clothes.

My two sets of grandparents, my family and my extended family held a sacred naming ceremony. Everyone sat in a circle with the men sitting in one direction. It is a spiritual time and a time to be optimistic. We know Kici Manitô is very kind. Kici Manitô is in the animals, the plants, the earth and the elements.

One of my grandmothers had been told by the Spirit Helpers that I was "Woman who had two roads to walk." This is how I was introduced to my family during the ceremony. My

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22 My family on my dad's side is: My great great-grandfather Chief Gabriel Cote or Mee-may (the pigeon), the flyer with a message. He had four wives and one of those wives had a son named Benjamin Cote, and he had a son named George Bell Cote and then my dad Fred Steele Cote. Chief Gabriel Cote is known in history as the signatory chief for the Fort Pelly Indians, as the Anisinâbêk were mistakingly known. It is told that Gabriel Cote was chosen to be the speaker at the Treaty discussions in Fort Qu'Appelle as he was an excellent English and French speaker. He had been European and was raised as an Anisinâbê. Some people say he was not the hereditary chief, but a spokesperson.

23 Kici Manitô is the Saulteaux name for the Great Spirit. In the 17th century the French Jesuits and the fur traders used the word Kici Manitou.
Indian name guides me, directs me and gives me strength during trying and happy times. The spirits promised to accompany, love and nourish me during my entire life. My grandmother told this dream to everyone. As they passed me around to each of the old men and the old women, each of them held me in their arms and gave me their gifts of love, wishes and blessings for my life to come.

As a young child I remember being in a red-flowered cradleboard hung on a tree so that I could see my parents as they worked and as the children played around me. Everyone had a smiling face for me. No one used harsh words or negative behavior in front of me. We believe that Kici Manito loves everyone very much. In return we love each other and love all of Kici Manito's living creations.

In later years, my dad explained the meaning of my name. There are two roads in life. I will choose the straight road. Furthermore, I will never stray off it. Should I ever become confused, the Spirits, through my dreams, will help me and I will know what to do, just as surely as I have a head on my shoulders. I will figure it out and will never forget my roots.

3.3. Life in a Roman Catholic Residential School: My First Day of School

Suddenly I was six years old. It was time to register me in school. My dad was unusually quiet, very quiet. He seemed to want to be by himself. The principal came for me
and my older brothers. I screamed and cried as did my parents and relatives. Even today, it is difficult to relive these events. As I am writing this today, I am crying my head off and my eyes are burning.

As we approached the school I became more excited, talking as loudly as I could. The priest turned me over to a nun, who took me upstairs to the infirmary and took my clothes off. She went to fill a bath tub with water. She was very rough, told me to shut up and called me a dirty, filthy, little Indian. My family had never told me to shut up. When I was first told to shut up, it shocked me. Where did she get all these terrible words from? She was pulling my hair, and kept telling me to shut up and to stand still. I fought back. Nobody was going to treat me like dirt. When I protested that she was hurting my head by pulling my long hair, she became more angry and pulled my hair harder. I jumped up to leave, but she knocked me down in the tub. I could never have guessed in a million years what she would do next. She began to scrub me up and down my body, separated my legs and began poking her fingers in my vagina. I was shocked and I protested more by jumping out of the tub and yelling. She slapped me in the face and pulled my hair harder, calling me a dirty little savage. "We have to clean you inside and out." She held me down under water several times while she continued to beat me. She almost drowned me. I am sure she would have if I had continued to resist her. Even today, I have nightmares about escaping from water. Such fear of water
has been so terrifying for me that I have never learned how to swim.

How often or how many years she did that to me, I do not know. However, I learned to keep quiet when they yelled at me to shut up. Even though I was able to repress my fears, I felt so completely violated and helpless. I was totally shocked. Where were my parents? School became a blur. I do not know how I existed, but I did.

3.4. Ten Years Old and a Dummy

One of my clearest memories is of the day the girl's supervisor came and got me from the school playground. I was now ten years old. They put a nice dress on me, new shoes and new socks, too. I can still smell that ugly smell of old moth balls. I still hate the smell of new clothes. I still rarely, if ever, wear a tailored new dress.

The school principal took me in his blue car to town to see a doctor. He was very pleasant about it. I had never seen him so pleasant to me. I became suspicious. "What does he want? Well, he is not getting anything from me without a fight." When we got to town, he drove to the hospital. We signed in and were told to go to a room one floor down. The principal told me to tell the doctor everything, and then he left. The doctor was an old, soft-spoken man who asked me why I had quit talking and why I was being a bad girl. I had totally withdrawn from the world. I would not talk anymore; I responded by fighting. A slap or a punch by staff would
result with me not feeling it and ignoring them. I refused to cry. I can remember the visit to the doctor, thinking "I would not tell this White doctor anything." The principal took me back to the school. I do not remember any more abuse. As I slowly came out of my shell, I became very bossy and a good fighter. I feared no one and learned to defend myself whenever and wherever I had to.

3.5. Running Away

At twelve years old I thought, "I have had it and I am outta here." My family had since broken up. My dad and my mom were now total alcoholics and my home was broken up. You have to remember at that time our parents tried to continue the family concept as the center of our social, political and cultural systems. But as loved, small children were forcibly taken away, the mothers and the fathers could not bear it. My parents could not bear it. How could they look at each other with respect, when they could not protect their own children.

Children who still had families and a home intact on the reserve went home for ten days at Easter break. Two other girls and I decided to make our break during Easter holidays. We asked if we could go for a ride on the back of the janitor's truck when he was driving children home. As he was turning into the drive way of one home on the reserve, we jumped off. Because I was the leader, I told the other girls to watch me. I jumped off head first, did a somersault and
landed in the ditch. We looked to both sides. One side had a bush, the other side had a pasture. In the pasture was a bull and many cows. I told the girls that nobody would look for us in the pasture if we lay really still. We watched as the janitor looked for us in the bush and finally drove away.

Two of us managed to stay away for three weeks. After the second week, the third girl got caught. We two girls were drinking and driving around with some boys. Our physical education instructor found us by using his dogs. We rode in the back of his truck with the dogs watching us. He took us back to the school and into the Father's parlor, across the hall from the principal's office. He went to get the principal. However, before he left, he punched me right in the face full force with a closed fist because I would not shut up. I went flying across the room. When the principal came to the room, I told on him. The principal told me I was nothing but a drunken liar. He said that I had come to school looking all beat up. He refused to believe that the physical educated teacher had punched me in the face. The girls' matron took us to have a bath and to come down afterwards.

After our bath, we went back to the second floor. A grandfather's clock stood beside the principal's office. We were both by the grandfather clock. I went first to get strapped. They told me to pull my pajama bottom off and to lie on the desk. The matron held me down. The principal promised to give me only ten straps if I promised to say "I would never run away again." I told him "fuck you." He went
on to give me ten more straps all over my bare bum. Each time I told him "fuck you" he would give me ten more straps. Finally, I could feel no more pain and I became stronger. The matron was getting tired of holding me down. By now, I had no clothes on. The principal hit me with that strap all over my bum, back, ribs and legs. Still, I refused to say as they instructed me. Finally he was so tired. Both had to stop. When I looked at his face, it was all red and sweaty. I could see the fire and hate in his face. I have never seen anyone with such hatred and contempt in his or her face. He could barely talk as he sent me to bed. I could hardly move as I put on my pajamas. I am sure he broke my ribs and cut my bum. I could not cover with a blanket because it was too painful.

The next day they herded us into the girls' playroom and ordered all the students to sit on the floor. They put me on a high stool. The principal told the other children that this is what would happen to them should they ever have thoughts of running away. They shaved my head bald. The kids did not laugh or stare at me. They just cried. That night in the dorm I looked in the mirror. I cried. However, before I cried, I looked to see if any supervisors were around. There was no way I was going to cry in front of them.

My punishment did not end there. For the next month they put me on hard labor. I washed and polished floors till late at night. I was forced to get up at 5:00 a.m. for early mass and back to work till 11:00 p.m. The only freedom from work I had was when I went to class.
3.6. Life After A Roman Catholic Residential School: Suicides, Parties and Living on the Streets

I left residential school when I was sixteen years old. I had completed grade eight. My life became completely chaotic. I drank the whole summer until I requested that Indian Affairs find me a boarding place in Regina so I could attend high school classes in September. That first summer I had no home, so I just lived with my girlfriends at their homes. I did my grade nine over the next two years. I lasted three years in the city and did not complete grade ten.

After grade ten I got pregnant. So I went to Winnipeg and then I went home to the reserve to live with my grandmother. It was there where I had a miscarriage. I had no permanent home and drifted from city to reserve and lost track of time.

I finally got a clerk typist job in Yorkton with Indian Affairs, but I was so lonely. So at the end of my on-the-job training I hitch hiked to Winnipeg with my two cousins. I lived on the streets and became a drunk. I hated being a teen-age drunk, but I did not know what other kind of life to live. I do not know why I stayed on the streets. That whole summer I drank and just lived on the streets. Sometimes I lived at my aunt's home, but most of the time I just ran around drinking. I got tired of drinking. It was hard work and I hated myself and my life.
3.7. Three Relationships Turn Sour and I Lose Four Children to the Government

I took a two-year cosmetology course and graduated at the head of my class. Before I finished my two-year cosmetology training, I became engaged to another residential school survivor. He was kind, understanding and very classy when he was sober. That was the man I loved and wanted to share my life with. He became dark, evil and sloppy when he was drunk and was very mean to me.

We lived with his parents and two younger brothers. A few months after my baby was born, he came home drunk and gave me a vicious beating. I was terrified for my life and the life of my baby. The next thing I knew I was on the operating room table. Somehow in the midst of all this commotion, he had thrust a big butcher knife into my face, near my left eye.

My common-law went to jail for six months. I went to live with my mother in Saskatoon. When he got out of jail, I remember he took me and my baby to visit his relatives in Regina. We spent the weekend together. After that weekend I never saw him again. Later his brother killed him.

Back in Saskatoon, I began an "on-and-off" relationship with another residential school survivor. I became pregnant by him. My second old man was massive, with a huge temper to match. He was just as bad as my first old man. He drank from morning till night and never worked. Once he beat me up with a clothes hanger.
On one occasion he punched me on the left side of my face and knocked me right out. He had a big blue ring on his finger. That ring went through my mouth knocking my tooth out and leaving a scar on my face. When he punched me, I was sitting against a wall. I felt the full impact of that punch before I blacked out.

He ended up doing a two year prison sentence in a provincial prison for a robbery offense. This two year prison sentence extended to nine years in a federal prison due to escapes and prison riots. He became one of the toughest and most dangerous criminals in Canada. My first old man and my second old man had been in St. Phillip's residential school with me. At age 23, I had two children, no husband, and no permanent career or address.

I met my third old man on the streets of Saskatoon. He later became my husband, the only man I ever legally married.\textsuperscript{24} He was five years younger than I was. He was fresh out of a foster home when I met him. I learned later he had gone to two residential schools and was severely abused in each of them. Although he became a womanizer, never worked and was a chronic drunk, he was kind to me and did housework.

The most unforgiving thing he did to me was after I had a baby girl by him. He told the welfare I was an unfit

\textsuperscript{24} When I say I married my third old man I mean we started our relationship as common law in 1972, we married in 1979. And a lot of things happened in between.
mother. He and my ex mother-in-law called social services and reported me. Social Services apprehended my children. The police broke down my back door and my front door one early morning. It must have been about 5:00 a.m. I begged them not to take my three children but no one listened to me. I had been drinking that night with him, my mother-in-law and her boyfriend. Both of them gave me a beating and a black eye. So when the police and social services came, I was sporting an attractive shiner.

My common-law and my ex mother-in-law, after I sent them out, went to the police and made statements while intoxicated. Those statements were used against me in court and they were one of the main reasons my children were apprehended for life. When court came my ex mother-in-law gave me $50.00 to pay for a lawyer, but she did not take her statement back. She tried, but police would not tear it up. She was a chronic alcoholic and could not make court days.

My common-law was in jail when I went to family court and the courts did not call him. I sat in that court room and never uttered one word. They would not allow me to speak even if I could. What could I say? I went into shock. The lump in my throat was huge. I was so shy and timid. They told me I was unfit; I would never amount to anything because I came from a family of criminals. I never forgot those words and I still hear them. I cried and cried. After the judge hit the hammer on his desk, my family life was over. The social worker approached me and told me I could have one last visit
with my two oldest children. My 5-year-old little boy said, "I will be a big boy and I will not cry. I will take care of my sisters." I cried harder. My children were gone.

I didn't see my children after that until my oldest son was twelve years old and my daughter was ten years old. The adoption did not work out and the adoptive parents of my two oldest children allowed these two to return to me. They changed their birth certificates and they told me if I wanted social assistance I would have to re-adopt my own children. I refused.

I had another nervous breakdown. When you are having a mental breakdown you do not realize it. You just live day to day and you try to forget. I drank and drank and I left my third old man. I figured I would forget about having a marriage and a normal life. I could not hit the jack pot on a good man. I would live alone.

I became a full-fledged alcoholic and a drug addict. At especially rough periods in my life I attempted suicides. When I got pregnant, I got abortions. I thought why should I bring more children into this world for the authorities to torture? That is how I rationalized my crazy life.

In the Anisinābē culture we are forbidden to kill any living thing. I killed my own unborn children and I must answer to the Great Spirit for doing that. In total, I had

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25 When I was 10 years old, I had a nervous breakdown in school. After years of sexual abuse and physical abuse I broke down. I refused to eat, talk and play, so the principal took me to see a crazy doctor.
three abortions, three miscarriages and five live births. The
one thing that bothers me is I know that if I and my three
mates had not been in residential school, we could have had
relatively happy married lives. The main thing is I could
have had a big happy family with eleven children. Can you
imagine eleven beautiful children to love and to care for,
to grow with and to have until you die? The Great Spirit
blessed me with many children. I hate that, I hate that. Can
anyone or anything ever replace my family, which is so
essential in the Anisinaabé culture? When we have many
children, we are rich. Now I am poor and I am ashamed to be
poor, I am someone to be pitied. Today I am alone with no
husband and only one child at home. Can the dominant society
ever understand this great loss?

I spent ten years in that school prison and have taken
more than twenty-five years to obtain a university degree.
That school prison has wasted twenty-five years of my life,
but I have stood up. It has taken me years to get to the
point where I can actually talk about my experiences in
residential school. Do I have a future? I believe I do. This
is why I am strong enough to interview twenty Elders about
youth oppression and violence and to let the public know why
we are as we are. I can contribute to the social, political
and cultural healing of my people, our families, society and
Mother Earth.

I remember when we went home on holidays. Sometimes the
priest would give us rations. However, in times of no rations
we had to survive on whatever we had. My brothers learned to
hunt for small animals. By the time I came out of residential
school there was lots of crime in my family. When we kids
would be starving my brothers would go out and rob a store
to feed us. We were proud of them for stealing food. Often
we might have died if they had not stolen food for us to eat.
Often my brothers went to jail for robbery. We never looked
at them as criminals, but as people to be admired. By the
time I left school, my home was broken up and my parents were
full-fledged alcoholics.

I blame the residential school system for the break up
of my home. My cousin said that when they were little
children and they were starving, one of my oldest brothers
showed up at their home. They were loaded down with big bags
of chips, pop, chocolate bars and candy. Boy! Were they ever
happy they could eat. My brothers had robbed a store. There
was no nutritional food, only goodies. Is it any wonder we
are all diabetics today after all the nutritional violence
and starvation we went through? Why did the federal
government have to put us in those prison schools? It ruined
our health, our social lives and our political lives.

My oldest brother died in a small town in Manitoba. He
was a director of the Indian friendship center and a leader.
He was the one who did ten years in prison for a murder he
did not commit. He had an epileptic fit on the street and the
police thought he was drunk. They threw him in the cell and
that is where he died. He died in an RCMP cell. My big,
handsome brother died in a deplorable and shameful manner. He must have suffered, being thrown in a cell like a dog. I do not know how you could not distinguish between the two, being drunk and having a seizure.

My mother was a residential school survivor. She never talked about her school days. That topic was never spoken of. My mother had thirteen children and she was a kind mother. However, she could be mean and rough if she had to be with other people. The little time we spent with her during holidays from the school, she taught us not to fight each other, but to protect each other. The happiest times were when we were very small. My mother was an excellent sewer, cook and canner. We always had good food, good-home-made clothes and warm blankets. My mother became an alcoholic while I was in residential school.

I remember when I told her that the grade eight teacher was trying to seduce me. That teacher called me a sweetheart, would touch and fondle me. He would catch me off guard and touch me. I hated that bald-headed, big-headed man. He was not going to make a girlfriend or sex partner out of me. My mother slapped that teacher's face and pulled what little hair he had left on his head. She saw him at the post office in town and she went after him. She slapped and punched him with all of her strength. People talked about it.

My mother left my dad during the summer holidays. I remember the day so clearly. My mom told me that she was leaving to go to the city. She would go and find a job and
come back for us later. I told her "No, mom, don't go." She told me that she had thought about it long and hard. My dad was too mean to her and she had had enough.

She told me she arranged for us to be picked up by the school priest. The baby would be picked up by our uncle and my two little sisters and a brother would be picked up by my aunt. I, my sister and brother would be picked up by the school principal. I cried, begged her and hung unto her clothes so she would not leave. Nevertheless, she kept going and going. She never turned back. I watched till she disappeared into the horizon. I cried and cried. I hated those people who came and picked up my baby brother. I swore at them and called them names. Saying no, noooooo. Still, no one listened to me. My aunt and uncle came and picked up the three little ones and boy did I scream at them.

My world was falling apart in front of my eyes. I could not do a damn thing about it. My heart turned to ice. No one was ever going to fuck'n hurt me again. My mom was never the same. She became a total drunk, with some periods of sobriety, but never the mom I knew. My mom never went back to the reserve. My mom died of cirrhosis. The doctor told her to quit drinking but she said she wanted to die. I begged her please to quit drinking and to live longer. I told her I would be a good girl, I would work hard and help pay the bills. My mom did not care anymore. She died and I was so mad. I hated her for leaving me. We could have made it. She should never have given up. I was growing up and getting
stronger all the time.

I turned to my dad. He missed my mom, he missed us all. He was so pitiful. My whole family was broken up. My dad was a good man in my eyes and I loved him. I remember the first time I saw my dad beat up my mom. It was the time the priest was taking us back to the residential school. My dad was never the same. I told him that I was getting sexually abused in school. He could not do a damn thing about it. He had taken us away up north in the bush, but that damn priest always found us. My dad turned to alcohol and beat up my mom. Oh, that damn residential school system ruined my childhood, my family and my home! My dad quit hunting and trapping. He just did not care anymore.

After my mom died, my dad just became a drunk. He had no home and the reserve did not give him a house. He built a cardboard box house in the bush. It looked like a dog house. The welfare in town got a house built for him and that was his home till he died. He did not pray with his Indian medicine ways openly anymore.

In 1986, he told me he was not going to be around to help me in the rain dance anymore. I told him, "Old man, don't you dare talk of leaving me I need you for a long time. Don't you go and die on me?" Well, the next year he was gone. Damn!

I heard he was drunk in town and the police picked him up. They threw him in the cells on a Friday. That night the old sergeant laughingly hosed him down with cold water
because he said he stank. They left him like that till Sunday morning. Sunday morning, they threw him out of the police station and he was dead by noon.

The chief and council tried to do something about the manner in which my dad died. My dad was 65 years old at the time of his death. The chief and council called an inquiry. Nevertheless, the RCMP was too powerful. They raided the band office and seized the accounting books. The RCMP laid formal criminal charges against the chief and his council. They all got charged with mismanagement of band funds. Some people did go to jail. After years and much financial costs, the chief was able to defeat the charges. The inquiry regarding my dad’s death was forgotten.

Despite these painful experiences, I have had immeasurable unique personal and spiritual assets to be thankful for. My Anisínabëway way of life is rich and flowing in my veins. The reason I am alive today is because the oppressors could not take all that away from me. I still see beauty in the world and no matter how horrible my circumstances have been, I remember how much my parents, grandparents and close relatives have loved me. That early parental care got me through many horrible times. I have had good physical health for many years, because of the loving, the traditional foods and medicines that my parents gave to me as a child.

I may never regain my former innocent self and achieve my full potential, but I have overcome some of my visible
crippling behaviors such as suicidal attempts, my nervous breakdowns, my drug and alcoholic addictions. I developed many invisible crippling behaviors in that school and I may never regain my true Anisinābē human self, and the wasted years. Although the state and church staff have violently shaken my spirit and have tried to destroy my Anisinābē identity and my pride in who I am, I still know my spirit-helpers and my Indian name. This has helped me to continue with the ways of my culture.

I remember thinking in my drunken mind, after my children were taken away, "I have to stay alive, so that my children have someone to come home to." How many times have I used that sentence in my life? I have survived genocide. I am not a stupid, ugly and dirty Indian. It is not a simple exercise to say "I am a beautiful person." I have tried to say that for years and it is still difficult to believe. Yet, I force myself to say it and I get mad at myself so I will believe it. Believe it! I know I was brain-washed, and I fight that everyday within myself.

3.8. My Healing Journey: The Painful Road Back to My Anisinābē Roots

I wanted to get my family, my home and my land back together. I did not realize that I would resort to many detrimental addictions such as suicide, alcohol and drugs. I knew from my father's teachings and life in my early childhood that I wanted to live a good Anisinābē life. I wanted to return to that beautiful life. I remembered; I had
not forgotten. I had to quit drinking and doing drugs. I did.

I remember when I lost my children. I had another mental breakdown, but I did not realize it was a mental breakdown. I became an alcoholic for two years. I lived on the streets of Saskatoon and slept on the river bank. I was a stinky street person. I knew I should try to get out of there. I was hungry all the time and had only the clothes on my back. But I knew one thing in my drunken mind. I had to stay alive so my children would have someone to come home to. I had to sober up.

Life was very lonely and I tried to forget my children. It was a mind-shattering experience, but I tried to be normal. There were so many memories in Winnipeg; my mother died there and that is where my last baby was born.

I bought a ticket to Toronto. In Toronto I sometimes lived in a hostel for Indian girls. The director became a close friend of mine, and she told me I needed to go see a psychiatrist. That insulted me, but when I had time to think about it I went. The psychiatrist gave me pills right away. After many visits he told me that he could not do anything for me but to give me pills so that I would not kill someone or someone would not kill me.

At this point I had been in Toronto for about two years. The advice of this psychiatrist was valuable. He told me that I should return to my own people, for they were the ones that would heal me. He said that all he could do, and all that his people know how to do is give out pills when they do not know
what to do. He said, as I understood it, that medical professionals are limited in what they know. He said,

"for me when I have my holidays each year I do not go to Europe or some exotic place. I go up North and visit an old Dene woman. I live with her for my entire holidays. I work for her: she makes me get up at 4:00 a.m. and haul water and cut wood. I do not ask her for knowledge. She gives it to me when I least expect it. She tells me about things and I learn many things. This is where I get my knowledge of the Indian way and that is why I am telling you this. I cannot give you any more medication, because you will become addicted and you will be worse off. You will have to fight off another addiction and compile your problems. Go home and your own people will heal you."

I thought of this advice for another year. I was a work-a-holic. During the week, Monday to Thursday (9:00 am to 5:00 PM) I was a store manager. On weekends, Friday and Saturday (9:00 am to 5:00 PM) I worked in a beauty salon. I worked the graveyards shift at the hostel Saturday and Sunday. Sometimes I would fall off and go on a drinking binge.

Then I got a phone call from Winnipeg from a nurse. She told me someone had stabbed my common-law partner and he was in critical condition. Memories came flooding back to my mind. I remembered he had told the police and social services that I was an unfit mother and how, based on that, the police had assisted social services to apprehend my children. I could not forgive him for helping them remove my children. I told the Winnipeg nurse not to call me and that I was not his wife. I never married him. She called me a heartless woman with no feelings. I was inhuman. She told me, he called my name every day in his delirium and that I was a cold-
hearted woman. I told her to "fuck off" and never to call me again. I hung up.

Well, I could have gone out and got drunk, but I did not for I remembered my mother's words, "Be kind to him or totally let him go." I told my cousin to watch the store and booked a flight to Winnipeg. I had to deal with my past, forgive him or I would die a wrinkled, bitter, ugly person.

I was clean and slim, but my mind was still bitter and hurting. I went to the hospital and he saw me. He said, "Am I dreaming or do I see my beautiful wife here? I told him, "Fuck off and what the hell happened to you. I heard you are on your death bed." He laughed and said, "Yeah, this guy cut my hand with a soft drink bottle. He was taking an old lady's beer and was going to rape her. I helped her out. I almost died." The story of helping the old woman melted my heart. I took him home to Toronto and married the guy. My Toronto friends told me I was stupid. Three days later he left me and started dating a Mic Mac woman. He was gone.

I went to the bars looking for him. He told me to leave him alone. My cousins tried to help me to keep him from cheating and leaving me. I could not handle it, so I quit all my jobs and sat in the bars. When I found him, he was always with a different woman. I engaged in many fights to get him back and just enjoyed what little time he gave me. I took the crumbs, or worse. He only came home with me when I had the money. I loved him. That is my excuse for accepting his
abuse. My husband went to jail for one year for stealing from an old man. He wanted to drink. I was with him when he did his crime. He literally told me to hold the bag while he went for a taxi and the police pulled up and caught me with the goods.

My friends came to court. One friend had $1000.00 to bail me out. Another friend from the hostel said she would take me on her own recognizance. I would live with her and work for her. The court asked if she would do the same for Mr. Quewezance. She said "No," like he was joking. The judge asked my other friend if he would use the money to bail Mr. Quewezance out. He said "No, I came here with my pocket full of money to bail Helen out because she does not belong here. She is a good woman. That goodness has got her in trouble. She was good to this man and this is where it ended." So my new husband got one year in prison and I was let go. Thank the Great Spirit for good Anisínabē people. They saved me from prison. They saw something in me as good.

When he got out, we left Toronto. I became pregnant and I decided to leave him for good. That leaving him was hard. I had to give up a companion and live a bachelor life. A bachelor woman is laughed at and made fun of. I would live it down somehow. I knew I had to chose. Financially providing for myself was easy. I had always done that. The nights were hard; I prayed hard. Many nights my mind would float away and it was a beautiful feeling. I would leave my body in my
sleep. I remember doing that as a child in school when they were abusing me. I wondered why it was happening now. I remembered how I wanted to die when they took my kids away and how I rationalized in my drunken state that I must stay alive. I had to stay alive so my children would have a mother when they got home.

I talked to my fears as though they were a living entities. A living evil spirit. My dad had told me to face my fears and to speak to them. Talk to them and pray. I did.

In the end I decided to re-familiarize myself with my Anisinābē identity and to use my traditional culture and spirituality to get back on the straight road. My dad told me that I would always go back on that road.

I wanted a traditional Anisinābē family. I had a beautiful baby boy. I told my husband I was leaving him forever. That little boy was all I would need to begin my new life. I would give up companionship. My baby came to me in a dream. I saw how he would look at grade three and he did look like that. In my dream, my child was begging me to be born. He was saying please do not get an abortion. I had had three abortions and I was going to do that again. They refused me an abortion in Winnipeg.

My sweet little baby taught me to love again. He opened my heart and he gave me so much happiness. Oh my God, the feeling of love was unbearable! I was wondering when was it going to end? When is the White man coming to destroy that?
I hid out from my husband because I heard he was looking for me and the baby. Yet I knew one thing. I was not going back to that life of drinking and drugs. Today I tell my son that it was an honor to have raised him.

I got a job and then I heard "Tēnās²⁶ your kids are looking for you." Wow, what a jolt. What was I going to do, I did not want my children to be ashamed of me? I would go to university and get a degree. Then I could help my kids. I would find out who these people were who abused me. I knew that my children would ask me hard questions about why they were in care.

I wanted to talk to an Elder and I had no one. My dad was the town drunk, so I chose my second oldest brother. He was the only sober Elder I had. He was in the Stoney Mountain penitentiary. I took tobacco and asked for advice on my goals for the future and on another matter. He told me to go back to our ceremonies. I was to take my mother's role. My mom was dead already and I had to finish off her dancing and praying. My elder brother told me not to think badly of people who abuse or have abused me; I have to have good thoughts about them. Whatever evil they did to me, they will get back. The Creator has promised us that.

I went to the reserve for a rain dance and I took part

₂⁶ Tēnās, is my baby name from my four big brothers. My big brothers were trying to say little sibling and mispronounced it. Today I am known by this name by my family and the whole community.
in it. I was unconfident and unsure of myself. I had so little stuff and no one to baby-sit while I danced. I bummed a ride off my boss. My dad was there and so was my auntie. They helped me and I thanked the Great Spirit for them.

After the rain dance the reserve child care worker came up to me and I heard again, "Your kids are looking for you." I told her I would meet her at the office. I did. We phoned and my oldest son said, "Mom," and I broke down and cried. I said "Wee-Small?" We both cried. He could not talk anymore. I sent him a plane ticket.

At the airport I saw this little 12-year-old boy get off the plane, with raggy clothes, scabby knees and no luggage. He was poorer than I. I thought he would have luggage, nice clothes and be civilized. He was in worse shape than I. He was a street kid at 10 years old. I kissed him and he told me many sad stories. He was so unhappy all his life. He ran away, was beaten and terrorized.

Once his adopted parents asked him, "What do you want for Christmas? You can have anything you want." He said, "I want my mom." They told him that was one thing they could not give him. My oldest daughter came home at 10 years old. My third daughter Holly came back at eighteen years old. My fourth child, Desmond, who is now 24 years old is still in the system and I have not found him. Today my children have different last names. Their birth certificates have been changed and my children say they are trying to find out who
they are. My children's oppression and violence is worse. Their names have been taken and their birth certificates changed. In their birth certificates their adopted parents are shown as giving birth to them. My oldest son's birth date was even changed. I once was told to re-adopt them by a White social worker. I said no.

I knew I had to explore my past roads in life. I wanted to examine who had caused me so much pain in residential school. I would find out who these people were who abused me.

In the 1980's I entered university. It has been a terrible struggle because I have found it hard to face my fears head on. I came to understand through my university education that my ancestors have suffered because of no fault of their own. I quit blaming my people for my misfortunes. For example, my grandfather went to a Presbyterian school and he completed grade eight. He was sent to Regina to further his education. Then he went overseas to World War II. My grandfather was a womanizer and alcoholic. Yet, he was very kind and loving to us.

My mother was a second generation residential school survivor. She died of cirrhosis of the liver and I was angry at her for dying. I knew she could have lived longer. At her death-bed we discussed many things including her death. At that time I made promises. I would not be an alcoholic and I would be kind to Aboriginal people. I promised to try and understand why my brothers were alcoholic and why they get
in trouble with the law. She told me to forgive them because they had suffered in school.

In the areas of family and community consciousness raising I had to deal with my own problems before I could get my family back together. My mother told me the stronger your family is the stronger our Nation will be. I realized my children would be returned to me damaged. I did not want to add to their problems by behaving in a shameful manner. My real healing journey began. I prayed to the grandfathers and the grandmothers, I cried and asked for strengths of which I knew nothing. I knew that I had to be kind to my children even if they were difficult. My mother said, "Do not give up on them for if you give up on them they give up on themselves. My mother said, "We are all Kigi-ti māgiziminī, " which means we are all pitiful and poor, we are all creatures like the animals, no one is better than anyone.

There have been many troubling issues in my life that I have to come to terms with and reasoned out in my own mind and in my own behaviors. Yet, I still have more to learn, it never ends. In university I came to sort out my destructive behaviors in my mind by integrating my Anisinābē cultural practices into my daily life. My mother's teachings taught me to forgive and to understand. These have become my goals in everything I do.

My university education has helped me to talk about my abuses and to understand them from a personal point of view.

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Today, I have completed two undergraduate honor degrees in Native Studies and Sociology. This thesis is my masters degree and I am proud of myself. I have developed strengths from my cultural roots and integrated them with higher education so I can balance my life. I can see possibilities for my children, my people and my community. We must go back to our Anisinābē ways of life. We must not think we are better than anybody else, for we are all Kigi-ti māgizimiñ.\textsuperscript{27} That does not mean we have to be oppressed and to be walked on.

\textsuperscript{27} We are all poor in our lives. This does not mean we are poor in material things like money, cars, houses and jewelry. We are poor in our health, our lack of loyal relatives to assist us in our times of need, we are poor if we do not have the kindness value, we are poor if we are greedy and mean to people especially to our family members and we are poor if we cannot develop, maintain and enhance our spirituality through our languages.
CHAPTER FOUR: DAMAGED CHILDREN AND BROKEN SPIRITS

Introduction: My Research Methods

4.1a. The Dilemmas Within this Project

Within the Anisinābē tradition, Elders frown upon use of selective parts of stories. The reason for this is that we all have different beginnings and no amount of sameness means we end up the same. This immediately creates two dilemmas for me in balancing two educational systems and two philosophical systems at the same time.

With respect to educational systems, I am an Anisinābē-Saulteaux speaking researcher, and I wish to retain the Anisinābē educational system based on oral history. On the other hand, I am an academic sociologist and I wish to remain within the modern, European-based academic educational system which is based on rigorous application of the scientific

28 The reason for this is because you cannot know why a person is the way she is by just using an certain incident in her life. Elders believe we must be patient and hear the whole story. One person's life is not the same as another even if both were in the same institution or home. We are all unique and special. We behave a certain way because a certain abuse affects all differently. In my culture we never assume anything. We do not start our wisdom and knowledge writing by listing a bunch of assumptions. We are taught not to take the easy way out, but to have patience, to sit down and to hear the whole story, to get it right the first time.

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method. Similarly with respect to philosophical systems, I wish to retain my Anisinābē tradition based on inclusivity and holism. Yet I must balance this with the European academic tradition based on exclusivity or rationalism.

To resolve these dilemmas and fulfil my stated general and specific objectives, I present my data in Appendix IV, and an academic, analytical approach in this part of my thesis.

4.1b. A General Critical Study

I have chosen to write about life histories: my personal experience in residential school and the experience of other residential school survivors. Mine is an attempt to use life histories with a message: a call for social and political change for the Anisinābē people. My thesis will attempt to show through this critical study that a new understanding of the Anisinābē consciousness and our way of life can continue to live in our children and grandchildren.

Critical ethnography is a type of reflection that examines culture, knowledge, and action. It expands our horizons for choice and widens our experiential capacity to see, hear, and feel. It deepens and sharpens ethical commitments by forcing us to develop and act upon value commitments in the context of political agendas. Critical

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29 I chose to include my statistical data at the appendix, so my people can see that I have not taken the easy way and that I have taken the time to listen to many stories and ensure that I do present the facts as truthfully as I can. My Elders have taught me that ten people can hear one story and those ten people can interpret that same story ten different ways. Whose to say whose story is the right interpretation.

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ethnographers describe, analyze, and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agenda, power centers, and assumptions that inhabit, repress, and constrain. Critical scholarship requires that common sense assumptions be questioned. (Thomas, 1993:2,3)

Life histories as a principal tool in this critical study allow me to use a critical writing. This allows me to talk of youth oppression and violence from Anisínábë Elders' points of view. I have the choice of being a participant observer and the choice of writing a thesis from the point of view of being one of the people being interviewed. This critical study further allows me the chance to tell how the European people and the use of the English language and its interpretations are employed in negative and blaming ways toward the Aboriginal people accused of committing acts of violence. The violent acts of our youth do not reveal the historical circumstances that explain why Aboriginal youth act out today. Finally, a critical ethnography allows me to tell the life histories of my people and to use these life histories to uncover the structural and political nature of violence as practiced by a privileged, White, colonialist people.

Critical ethnography [is]. . .a tool [permitting one to apply] new ways of thinking. [We acquire new] implements by which we can act upon our world instead of passively being acted upon. We can affect our own personal development and that of our surroundings. . .when we have a reasonably clear view of the nature of our culture and what possibilities for action are open to us. (Thomas, 1993:61,62)
4.1c. Sampling

The subjects are Anisinābē Elders, from five Saulteaux reserves in Saskatchewan. The only requirement to be involved in my research was that an Elder had to be willing to share his/her personal experiences. Elders had to be sober. They had to have a young member in their family or extended family who had committed an act of violence such as murder, manslaughter, infanticide or suicide.

Sampling began with family members of my own extended family and community members. Subjects then referred me to other possible subjects. A snowball effect method occurred with the Elders. Some people heard about me interviewing people on youth acts of violence. Interviewed Elders referred other Elders to me, and some approached me. Originally I did thirty interviews, but only twenty interviews were used for this study.

During the interviews with the Elders I tried to encourage discussion on topics such as their age, sex, family, children, residential school experiences, addictions, co-dependencies, marriages, and other personal information. I was thus able to count how many people were affected by violence and at what age violence first affected them.

\[30\] The snowball effect is a technique in research which relies on the subjects referring other subjects to the researcher. (Li, 1981:31)
4.1d. Analytical Method: Interview Strategies

By extracting information about experiences of violence and Anisinābē reactions to that violence, then placing it against the experiences that the Elders had in residential school, I am able to contextualize information the Elders have provided. The purpose of research questions is to provide answers to the following: i) Are Anisinābē youths involved in murder, manslaughter, infanticide or suicide more so today than in the past? ii) How have the Elders dealt with the preponderance of the non-natural deaths that result from those acts of violence? iii) How would the Elders classify these acts of violence? Are they social, medical or criminal in nature?

These three research questions guided my interviews that were done as informal talking sessions. Informal talking sessions are visiting sessions done as the day progresses. A person would make coffee or tea and we would sit down and talk about his/her life. The Elders told their stories with the understanding that I would listen to all the events leading to the crisis. This could begin with the grandparents' or the parents' history. I wanted to limit the "acts of violence" to non-natural deaths. Elders have told their stories and I have done very little editing.

The focus here is to show the reality from the perspective of the Elders. Perspectives of the Elders include their reflections on the colonialism of residential schools,
the violence done to them in the name of assimilation in those schools, the intergenerational real experiences of non-natural death.

The purpose of my research is to understand why Aboriginal youth commit violence against the self or against others. I have limited the nature of violence to four acts of violence because of the space and time to do the research. This topic is already enormous. I would like to discuss all acts of violence but I cannot.

The focus of my research is the Elders' stories about youth acts of violence. I want to understand their origins and the impact of so much non-natural death on my people. I conclude with an additional focus on the resiliency or the assumed resiliency of Native people to violence and oppression.

The research is primarily qualitative. This thesis is inductive and exploratory. I am both participant and observer. The approach to this research is based on culturally appropriate methods. I transcribe the narratives of the Elders without alterations beyond basic editing. The life histories are the foundation for the analytical questions.

4.1e. Methods of Presentation of My data

Details of my interviews are in Appendix IV. The objectives of this research are: i) to identify the

31 Acts of violence are murder, manslaughter, infanticide and suicide.
historical factors and influences that may have contributed to contemporary socioeconomic problems in five Saulteaux communities, problems such as high rates of youth crime, high rates of youth suicide, child poverty, and youth over-representation in the criminal justice system; ii) to explore Elders' attitudes as to why Anishinabé youth commit these acts of violence on themselves or on others; iii) to explore, from a cultural perspective, why Saulteaux youth are involved in these acts of violence; iv) to gain an ethnographic, holistic understanding of Saulteaux First Nations understanding and assumed resiliency to these acts of violence, from these experiential accounts of Elders; and v) to develop a theoretical analysis of how First Nations Elders have developed a culturally appropriate explanation of non-natural death.

The general objective here is to examine the resiliency of First Nations people to acts of violence by their youth. The specific objective is to analyze how groups of Aboriginal people have dealt with the historical phenomenon of non-natural death.

This method is used so that the Elders and I can tell our story our way. It allows me to use our culture to explain how we understand it. For too long, we have tried to fit our lives and our philosophy around a foreign system. Try to
understand ours. Interviews with the Elders were done with very basic questions. This chapter is based upon selected parts of the stories told by twenty Anisinäbē Elders.

Five themes will be developed within this section:

i) oppression of the Canadian Aboriginal people as consequence of internal colonization and institutionalized racism;

ii) placement of Aboriginal children into residential schools and foster homes;

iii) internalization of violence against the self and others as a social issue;

iv) normalization in the community of violent death occurring at young ages; and

v) resolution of societal alienation by means of personal and public healing journeys.

4.2. Oppression due to Colonization

Personal accounts of four Anisinäbē Elders illustrate how colonization and oppression were experienced. The names of the Elders have been changed. This is to protect their identity.

Indian Woman of Wisdom remembers her beautiful home land being taken away and the pain associated with that.

My grandparents' first home was in a densely forested area called Nakaw Ininwak. It is up north,
not very far from the border. This beautiful land has a big lake, trees and is still in its natural state. After the signing of the treaties, the Queen's representatives forced the band of Nakaw Ininiwak to leave the forest, surrender their nomadic lifestyle, and move to small parcels of land called reserves. The Nakaw Ininiwak referred to these small parcels of land as Iskonigan, meaning "what is left over." As a result my family had two homes, one on the reserve and one in Nakaw Ininiwak. We had a shack on the reserve while us kids were in school. My dad stayed on the reserve and my mom stayed back and trapped in Creator's Land. I have five brothers and nine sisters. During the summer we stayed back in Nakaw Ininiwak. So Nakaw Ininiwak never had reserve status. They had registered many of my relatives and many of our people with a registered reserve. We want to prove to the Federal government, if we have to, that my ancestors have lived in Nakaw Ininiwak. We who are alive and have grown up there want to move back. As one proof of our past existence there, we have pointed out grave sites, sites where we had ceremonies, and sites of past homesteads. (Subject 17)

According to this woman this is not just an historical issue, it is in the present, the here and now. This is a case of stolen lands, in which Indian Woman of Wisdom, her parents, her relatives and her people were relocated to nearby reserves. Their memories are still alive and in the moment. These people want to go home and some have started to do so.

One Elder, whom I will call Professor, explains to me how his people lost their hereditary chieftainship in the years following World War II.

My uncle was only twenty-five years old when he was charged with killing another man. He served 18 months of a three-year jail sentence. The man was my uncle's best friend. My uncle was supposed to take over as the next hereditary chief. In 1951, the band chose to take the new elections system
established under the Indian Act. This meant that the hereditary chief would give up his title and all his responsibilities. There would be no more governing of the people by the spiritual systematic structure that the Great Spirit gave to the Saulteaux people. (Subject 23)

The Professor's uncle was so overcome with personal grief over shooting and killing his best friend that he never assumed his expected roles as chief in that particular community. More importantly, as he stepped down as the last hereditary chief, the centuries-old spiritually-based political governance system of the Anisinābē people ended on this particular First Nations reserve. In fact, the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act abolished the Anisinābē's traditional system of political governance.

From the time of confederation, the policies of the Canadian Government have allowed immigrants to keep their customs and their languages, but these liberal polices have never been applied to the First Nations people in Canada. Specifically, the administrative policies of the Department of Indian Affairs have been anything but liberal, mostly for reasons of political expediency. Listen to the words of Morning Star Woman, who is professionally trained as a social worker.

The difference is they allowed immigrants to keep their traditions and languages. The government did not allow First Nations peoples to keep their

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33 An act to amend the Indian Act. RSC.1951 allowed bands to elect leadership under 'band custom'. Over the next four decades, there was external debate over how 'band custom' should operate. (Brinski, 1993: 228).
languages, their culture, their spiritual practices and their everyday customs like something as simple as their eating habits. Yet, we were born here. Why were we forced to adopt a foreign language, a foreign culture, a foreign religion, and foreign customs like a foreign diet? Immigrants such as the Doukhobors, Japanese, Chinese, Ukrainians, and West Indians have the right to keep their languages, their culture, their religions and their foreign customs like their diets. How come they did not give Aboriginal peoples that option or that right? (Subject 10)

Morning Star Woman demonstrates that the Anisinābē certainly do understand what has happened to them. Governmental agencies established under the authority of federal and provincial legislation effectively ensured that assimilation practices against First Nations people were complete. For example, Aboriginal peoples have generally had to look to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Indian agents, and other officials for protection of their lands, their resources, and their treaties and for assistance in their surroundings. However, the social reality is that these institutionalized authorities are generally perceived by Aboriginal peoples as antagonistic and threatening forces. Take the words of this Elder:

When I was living on the reserve, four Indian teenagers got drunk on wood alcohol. The dad of one of these boys phoned the RCMP for help. The police picked them up and they were thrown in jail. The police should have taken these four Indian boys to the hospital not to the jail cells. The next day these four boys were found dead in the police cells. (Subject 5)

There are many stories like this in which Indian people have

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34 Here I refer to the reserve system.
died in RCMP custody. Such stories only serves to reinforce perceptions of institutionalized racism, and worse, just plain not caring.

4.3. The Placing of Anisinābēk Children into Residential Schools and Foster Homes

In the Anisinābē traditional culture and language there are two kinds of things, animate and inanimate, something with a spirit and something without a spirit. All living things have a spiritual partner which is of equal importance in the circle of life. As an entity with a spirit, the Great Spirit provides you with your needs and protects you from misfortunes.

Since all Indian children have spirits, they are protected by the Great Spirit. One of these protections is cultural freedom. Each child must be allowed to grow up with loving caregivers, to grow without cruelty. It is the duty of the whole community to ensure that every child has the freedom to enjoy every aspect of childhood. Children are seen as gifts from the Great Spirit. These are the Anisinābē teachings as they have been shared with me.

From the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans found it difficult to change the social and economic practices of the First Nations. The mercantilistic and materialistic bases of European society were not the way of the Aboriginal peoples who found it ridiculous to follow and idolize one person, to
hoard food, and to store material supplies.\textsuperscript{35} Aboriginal societies are based on a communalistic system which does not have a concept of private property.\textsuperscript{36} Frustrated in their efforts to work with Native adults, the newcomers turned their attention to changing the children.

Mother Earth speaks of her dad's negative memories of being in residential school. He was only in that residential school for one year.

I come from a family of thirteen brothers and sisters. My husband comes from a family of nine brothers and sisters. Both of our parents attended residential school. Both sets of parents lived on First Nations reserves and raised their children on the reserve. Both sets of parents raised livestock, had big gardens and were traditional hunters and trappers. My father attended residential school for only one year, yet it left him with scars he will never forget. He ran away and almost froze to death. Rather than return to school he continued his journey home and when night hit, he slept in hay bales to survive the cold. Today he can neither read or write. Yet he was a band counselor, rancher, hunter, trapper, and an Elder for his community. (Subject 4)

Her father rejected reading and writing as taught in the residential school, yet was sufficiently intelligent to become fluent in six languages, both Aboriginal and non-aboriginal. This rejection of the Euro-Canadian educational

\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{Anisinābē} people did not hoard or store food, they lived off the land and used only what they needed. One important teachings is take what you need, leave some for other people and leave some to reproduce.

\textsuperscript{36} Private property means to own, for your own exclusive use. As I understand it, should any person be caught walking on this land or using this land for their own purposes will be jailed according to Canadian law.
system is one reason many Aboriginal people do not go on to higher learning today. They have the attitude that such education is oppressive in the sense the Anisinâbë cannot share their life experiences and their knowledge of the world.

For example, spiritual knowledge is not an area of academic knowledge. When the Anisinâbë children were taken away from their homes, their spiritual practices and how they understood the world was taken away from them. What they believed in and what motivated them to continue on with life was taken away and made fun of. They became confused and they rejected the educational system because it did not offer them any of their beliefs and ways of life. Although some survivors have continued on to higher education, they still try to come to terms with and to understand why their early residential school education was so oppressive.

Head Spokeswoman is an elected band counselor. She speaks of spending so many years in two different residential schools that she barely knew her own family. She claims the schools never prepared her for regular life, including marriage and parenthood.

There is something we call "boarding school stress." Everything we learned in school, we never used in life. They put nothing into our lives. They drill one thing into you and that is to stay married forever. That is why I felt like a failure when my marriage broke up. I got married when I was pregnant. I didn't get to know my mother when I was fifteen years old. (Subject 18)

The point she is trying to make here is that her mother did
not have the chance to teach her anything about life and marriage. The only learning about family life which she had was from the school and this confused her. It interfered with her understandings of what a healthy marriage is all about. She continues her story:

My husband was also a residential school product. He knew nothing of being a kind humble person. Least of all he did not know how to treat a woman and his own children. He was very violent. Once he beat up our baby girl. She was only three or four months old. That was our first child. I had to give her to my in-laws to raise because he was so mean to her. He was mean to our next little girl, as well. After she was born, I gave him no sex. Because after you have a baby, a man should not bother you until you are healed. Well he forced himself on me shortly after I gave birth to the baby. As a result I got pregnant right away and had a little boy. He gave me no support and no shelter. His parents could not help me because they were deadly afraid of him. He was mean to the kids and used to slap them around. I decided to leave him. My son came and lived with me, because he was just a baby. (Subject 18)

Anisinābē children placed in residential schools were not taught how to live together but were segregated from each other by sex. Girls did not mingle with boys, and neither gender was taught the value of the other. Simply put, they were not taught their unique traditional roles and duties. As a result these same children came out of school and married each other while still adolescents. This does not lead to healthy marriages. In addition, residential school children were not taught how to live in an Anisinābē community. When they had children, they lost them to the same system but for a different reason. This new system had a new
name, but was a product of the same oppressive and racist environment. Residential school children's children were placed in foster homes.

Head Spokeswoman's little boy became a foster child. He was placed in an already dysfunctional home.

I gave up my son because I was doing too much drinking. He was placed in a white Roman Catholic foster home. While he was a boy in the home, two biological daughters of the foster parents committed suicide. Social services refused to remove my boy from that home. When his adopted family went on summer holidays or any other holidays, they never took him along. Instead they put him into another foster home. When he was 21 years old, my son committed suicide by connecting a hose to his car. When my son killed himself, he left a suicide note. He did not want to be buried by a Roman Catholic Church.

Here is a picture of him at nine years old. This was the first time I saw him after he was placed as a baby in a foster home. I had gone to the small town where he was in the foster home. I asked the social workers to see him and they said "No." My in-laws knew where he was, but they would not tell me. I do not know how I found out, but I did. I went to the foster home and asked to see him. The foster parents would not allow me. I stood at the door crying and begging to see my son. They were yelling at me, "you cannot see your son. It is not the policy." I cried more and begged them, "Let me see him in the playground, please." I was crying and they never showed any pity for me, they said, "No." I then went to the social worker and asked her to see my son. She said "No." I told them I'm gonna get mad and destroy you. The social worker said, "You cannot threaten us." Finally the social worker said, "I'll arrange for you to see him." So they set a date and time for me to go see him. I and my three children went to the small town and visited him. He was nine years old. We all met and I got a photographer to take a family photo. We planned to meet again, but the social worker said no more visits. I asked why and she told me. He was acting out since our last visit. I knew where he lived and I went there to get him and got mad. The foster parents called the police on me and pushed
me out. I kept yelling, "I want to see my son." I had my other kids in the car. I realized this and left. My dad said, "Your kid will come back. Leave him alone, you can do nothing." O.K. I will leave it alone. I will always remember that son and one day he will get older and he will come home.

The next time I saw him he was twenty-one years old. He came back in a casket. (Subject 18)

The cycle of abuse continues for the Anisínābēk children. This cycle of abuse is carried on by the provincial government, through their foster care system and continues just as harshly, maybe more harshly, in the Young Offender Act.

Hazel found residential school a safe place. As a little girl, someone sexually abused her. She found safety in the school. Still she does not advocate children be removed from their homes. In the 1970's, a certain Native worker on her reserve sent children away to White homes. Hazel talks about the Anisínābē people becoming oppressors of themselves. Recently her own grandchildren were apprehended by a Native social worker from the reserve.

My common law was picked up by the RCMP, after my granddaughter reported him for sexual abuse. The children's protection worker on the reserve came to pick up all of my grandchildren. I told them if they did not return my grandchildren I was going to open a new can of worms. There is Elder abuse on the reserve and certain Elders sexually abused me as a little girl. They fucked me and I will name them if I have to play dirty. After they took my grandchildren, I went to a chief and council band meeting and told them, "I will take my case to the RCMP and name those respected Elders who sexually abused me." I told them "Elders are sitting here which you all respect so much and I will tell what they did to me when I was four years old." As a
result they gave back my grandchildren to me.  
(Subject 12)

Diamond Girl first experienced sexual abuse in a foster home by a male relative of her foster parents. She says she never attended residential school but believes she suffers from its effects.

I want to tell you why I went out and became a hooker, sniffer and alcoholic. An older man sexually abused me during my early childhood days. When I turned sixteen, I left my Indian fostering home on the reserve and went to live on the streets in the big city. I sniffed, drank and took pills. I even had tricks. Even last year in 1997, I went to the bar and lifted my blouse up and showed my tits. I had lots of friends when I did this. I became very popular with the men. My older sister showed me that. She went to residential school for many years. She is an alcoholic and still is. I quit drinking and sniffing. She has not. (Subject 19)

Diamond Girl's sister has never been able to quit drinking or to deal with her residential school past. Diamond Girl quit boozing and began to rehabilitate her life by returning to ceremonies and making contact with her own family:

look at rehabilitation. I quit booze. I don't miss it. People can get rehabilitated in prison, if they go to jail for a short period. It depends on what they have done or what has happened to them. The important thing is the person must want to be rehabilitated. Some want an education, and to quit drugs and alcohol. If you go to jail too many times and for too long a period, rehabilitation does not work anymore. It becomes "The Problem" and people get used to the prison approach to rehabilitate. When you're in jail too often, too long and regularly, you begin not being able to function in another environment: the only place you can function is in jail. You come out of jail and you cannot function in the city or on the reserve anymore. People do crimes to get into jail and to get the treatments and services they cannot otherwise get. Like me, I went to jail and when I got out I could not make it on the outside. I wanted to go back in and I did. (Subject 19)
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4.4. The Internalization\textsuperscript{37} of Violence Against the Self and Others as a Social Issue

At several points, I have commented on the belief or conviction amongst Anisinēbē Elders that one of the root causes of the social crisis in the Aboriginal community relates to the residential school era. The ultimate causes are believed to be assimilationist policy and the practices of the churches when the Aboriginal children came into their care.

The 1995 Royal Commission report adequately documents the high suicide rates among Aboriginal youth as a major problem. Youth suicide is a crisis.

Throughout our public hearings, Aboriginal people pointed to high suicide rates as an accurate indicator of depressed human spirits in their communities. The concern we felt as we listened was intense. But our concern was to some extent

\textbf{Step 1:} Some long term residential school children who survived residential school, internalized the horrible behaviors, practices and characteristics of the priests and nuns who took care of them. These children sub-consciously, without realizing it, in some cases did not even know they took on the characteristics of these people and what they were taught and shown. One reason these children were brainwashed was because they were prisoners to a government oppressive system that was intent on killing what they stand for as the owners of this Land. There was extreme physical and sexual abuse in these schools. Many children died. Others survived. Survivors without realizing it internalized the sexual and physical abuse. \textbf{Step 2:} Some survivors refuse to look back and see the physical and sexual abuse. They literally believe it never happened. It is blocked out of their minds. Some of these people continue to drink and live anti-social lives. Others live relatively normal lives but are very unhappy. Some acknowledge the past and see it for what it was. \textbf{Step 3:} The person who is brave can talk, feel and grieve for it, to understand and to come to terms with it. To know it happened, it is not your fault and it is not your shame to carry is the difference between a healthy shame and an unhealthy shame.

\textsuperscript{37}
balanced by what else we heard: stories of people and communities that have begun to address the conditions that lead to suicide--stories of hope. (Royal Commission, Choosing Life: 1995:43)

As the Elders look at their encounters with non-natural death, they know that the difficulties faced by their children and youth are direct consequences of their own past in residential school and how they tried to cover it up with drinking and drug addictions. Furthermore, they know that their past drinking and drug addictions were direct consequences of the sexual and physical abuses they experienced as children in residential school.

Far from redressing the problems they face in their nations, their communities and their personal lives, it is aggravating them. In large measure these problems are themselves the product of historical processes of dispossession and cultural oppression. As we explained in our special report, Choosing Life, the legacy of these historical policies for today's generation of Aboriginal people is high rate of social disorganization, reflected in acts such as suicide and crime. (Royal Commission Report, 1996:x1)

This is how Hazel interprets her son's suicidal death and its circumstances. Her relatives on the reserve made no effort to tell her in a gentle way that her child had died.

My third child died on October 14, 1984 from fooling around with a gun while he was sniffing. Someone said to me, "How come you gonna play bingo, your son just shot his head off?" Bluntly, just like that. That is how I learnt my son died. In the past he had threatened to kill himself. A week before he died, he came over to my place, he came and seen me. He was kissing his son, he told me, "Please look after my son when I am gone." That little boy [meaning his son] kept saying, "You smell like paint, get away from me." (Subject 12)

Hazel knew that her son was going to commit suicide
because he kept threatening to kill himself. She speaks with no tears in her eyes as she tells me that he blew his head off. She speaks with a bit of shock. Maybe she is looking for confirmation and acknowledgment of her pain and suffering.

Hazel has little or no memory of any protections and security in her childhood life. Some members in her immediate family were mean to her. She didn't know how to protect herself or her younger siblings. Her step-dad called her "crooked eye," because she did have a squint in one eye. Worse, her community was not safe, because some Elders sexually abused her. When she speaks of these events, she is emotionally detached. However, when conversations shift to the physical and sexual abuse, she responds very differently.

Once, I got a flashback of when I was about 10 years old. I happened to look out the window when I was babysitting four of my grandchildren. I saw a man coming leading a horse and I panicked. I went right back to my childhood and I saw my abuser coming. I had been home alone with the younger kids as usual. I immediately put the baby on the floor with a bottle and rushed out the door. Just then I came back to reality. I scared the hell out of the kids. My 9-year-old grandson called my brother and told him, "Coco can't stop crying." The incident nearly made me crazy. The next four hours I went back to my childhood and fought hard to stay in reality. If a local young Elder had not come to process the incident with me, I would have gone over the edge and not come back. My flashback experience made me realize what some people go through just before insanity sets in. Flashbacks seem so real. (Subject 12)

Hazel cannot go into the negative experiences because they are too horrendous for her to absorb. Our bodies, our minds and our spirits only give us what we are able to deal
with without devastating us. As Hazel talks more of her negative experiences and develops more trust and confidence with herself, her family and her community, she will be able to see, feel and release her horrible childhood experiences. One of the biggest social problems today is drug dealing.

I used to drink and do drugs and alcohol. I became a drug dealer. I use to go to Regina to get my supply and bring it back to the reserve. I quit all that, though the money was good. I knew I had to stop and I wanted to stop. (Subject 12)

Hazel experienced violence and then perpetuated it by becoming a drug dealer. Hazel knew only too well that people hid in the drugs to mask their pain. She knew there was a market and she capitalized on it.

Brave Heart speaks of violence in his family and why it happened.

My brother's son killed himself. The boy was a loner. He kept to himself. He stuck to his own family and never tried to mix with others. He stayed home always. He shot himself in the chest with one rifle blast. He was sober at the time. As far as we can figure out, the boy committed suicide because someone put an evil spell on him. We call it bad medicine. I cannot talk about it, talk to the mother. That is the proper way, because my brother is also dead now. My brother took it very hard when his son died. (Subject 1)

He is in denial and has not dealt with the violent act of suicide. We know both the boy's parents attended residential school for years and his parents were alcoholics. The assumption here is that the boy's parents passed on some ill effects of residential school to him.

The Warrior began life within a strong Anisínabé.
spiritual background. He is the son of a strong medicine man and has never forgotten his father's teachings. He attended two residential schools and had been in a white foster home. As a survivor he was determined to maintain his Saulteaux language and today he speaks it fluently. He can barely speak English. He has not been without pain and suffering. He fought the residential school system and the white foster home so much that he earned the name "Harry the Warrior" from his classmates.

Today, he lives alone in a rooming house in the downtown area of a large city. Periodically, he quits boozing, but continues to do drugs. He has five children from four different women, but he has chosen not to raise any of his children. Harry the Warrior says he tries to stay out of trouble, but admits trouble follows him around. His life experiences have not provided him with any constructive social skills.

I have been a sniffer, alcoholic, drug user, a prescription abuser, a chemical abuser, you name it I did it. I have attended two residential schools and been in a White foster home. I have bad experiences and bad memories of those places. I want to get involved in lawsuits against these places. But I do not know how. Yes, my nephew was the victim of such an act of violence; he was not the one doing the crime. In 1972 or somewhere around there, about thirteen or nineteen drunk young people from my reserve were involved in the beating and hanging of my nephew. I was very close to him. We grew up together. He was like my brother not my nephew. They hanged him up on a tree. They charged and convicted about six or seven people. One of them was only fourteen years old. (Subject 7)
Harry the Warrior is still grieving. He has not accepted the abuse in residential school and as a result he has not accepted the homicide of his nephew who was the same age. People did go to jail for this crime. Harry the Warrior is angry at his community and has not accepted anything. How much of his present circumstances are due to his residential school and foster home experience? He is still fighting the system (the state and the church) in his mind: no, he will not listen, he will not abide by their roles, he will not live like the white people and he will break all their rules.

Let's examine the story of a young man who experienced physical and sexual abuse at his aunt's home on the reserve. His aunt was a residential school survivor and her husband was a child molester. Here is the young man's story:

My mother was a treaty woman who lived with a Metis man on her reserve. When she died, I was one year old. My dad took care of me till I was five years old. He was a single parent. After my dad moved off the reserve, I went to live with my aunt. Her common-law husband sexually abused me. At five years old he tried to rape me. It was very painful and I told him to stop. He threatened me not to tell anyone, not even to my aunt. I did not tell my cousins because they were getting sexually abused, too, by him. I remember when I was there he use to give my aunt sleeping pills. He made me watch him have sex with her. When I refused him, he used to slap me around to sit and watch him have sex with her. He was a "pig." I had a dream or a flashback that he use to make me give him a blow jobs. I think it was real. It was bad there and he was a bad man.

At nine years old I tried to hang myself. I told God to send someone to help me. I went in the basement, put a rope on the beams, stood on a chair and put a rope around my neck. I pushed the chair away. My cousin found me as I was blacking out.
After my cousin untied me, I said, "I cannot go on like this anymore." What I meant was I was sick of being sexually abused by my aunt's man. I tried to commit suicide three other times while still a boy in that home. (Subject 8)

He left his aunt's place at 15 years old. This young Elder is on a healing journey and has dealt with the physical and sexual abuses he encountered in his foster home. He has forgiven the people involved. He is now established in a career of teaching adults the Saulteaux language, works with suicidal young men as a counselor and is a traditional dancer. He is happy and is moving forward in his life.

I am 19 years old now. Today, I would not lay criminal charges on my aunt and her common-law. No, a higher power will judge him. The Great Spirit will judge him and it will catch up to him. Besides I do not believe in the current criminal justice system. The current criminal justice system and the courts are crap. When a Native person kills another Native person, they get three years or less or get away with it. (Subject 8)

His healing process led to the rejection of the criminal justice system of White society.

Further research is needed in this area. For example, a further important question is, who sexually molested and abused his molesters? Where did the abuser learn to abuse? In order to know these answers we need to look further into the original abusers background, their parents' and their grandparents' backgrounds. We the victims and the abusers must examine the original abusers' world views, their philosophies, and the reasons why these original sexual and physical abusers chose to abuse. But in order to make this a better and peaceful world, we must work together to find
the answers. This is a research project for the oppressors, and the oppressed peoples because only they can answer these questions truthfully and with honesty as each issue must be looked at from their own perspectives. The Anisinābē people have begun to work with themselves and with their people.

4.5. The Normalization\(^{38}\) of Violent Death at a Young Age

In the context of this thesis, the term violent death is virtually synonymous with non-natural death. Like all other societies in the history of mankind, the Anisinābē people have dealt with non-natural and/or violent death in their own unique way. It is expected that the traditional ways in which Anisinābē societies have dealt with these deaths differ in many respects from the ways in which European-based societies have dealt with them.

Anisinābē traditions permit some individuals to kill themselves and others, but there are sanctions concerning the age and the health of the individuals, the socio-economic circumstances of individuals and the larger communities and various other communities.

\(^{38}\) Anisinābē normalization means to the Anisinābē that we have accepted that sexual and physical abuse happened. It is something that happened and for whatever reason, we must re-live it, and then move on. It is now a part of the past circle of life, forgiven and sent away Kāgizinākwe, we acknowledge it, we ask it in a good way to go away and let us live. We do this in a ceremony. Anisinābē normalization does not mean the phenomena are here to stay, but we have had to include it into our cultural way of life. Our belief is, it is one of the problems of the dominant culture, that we have been given to correct.
[For the Objiway-Saulteaux of the Western Great Lakes Region] the trying climate was difficult for the sick. LeJeune states that as long as [the sick or injured] could eat they were carried on sleds when the group moved. Those who did not want food any more were abandoned, or even killed—according to Le Jeune, a deed of compassion. The sick were done away with when people were starving, and aged people who were too feeble to follow their kinfolk on their wanderings shared the same fate. The killing of the sick and aged was thought of as a good deed. There are instances from all over North America, from the Eskimo in the north to the Seri in the south. Occasionally the infirm asked their relatives to kill them, or they committed suicide. (Hultkrantz, 1992:27)

The will to live is a very personal experience, between you and the creator. One of the most powerful of the Anisinābē laws is the decision to live your life as you want. If your will did not want you to live or you became a problem to your community or there was a choice between who would live, you could choose to die. The young were chosen to live. If a mother was dying in child birth and there was a choice, the mother would live if she had 12 children. If there was a war and people could get killed, the old people always took the front lines and the women and children were hidden to ensure the survival of our species. But I must add that suicide is not a new issue. It has happened in Anisinābē societies but it was frowned upon for young people to do it, when there is so much life to live. It is against our beliefs to commit suicide for anyone. The word form the Elders is that if you do destroy your life your spirit will not reach its destination where all our relative are camped out across
the river.

Today, what is perceived as abnormal about the high rates of suicide among Anisinābē people is that most of the individuals who kill themselves are its young-those who are needed for their future cultural, political, economic and social contributions to the larger society.

Beautiful Mother is a 74-year-old pensioner and a recognized Elder in her First Nations reserve and community. She is occasionally called on to attend important band meetings. She has a good relationship with her young people and other young people in the community. Communications are open and her young people are not afraid to disclose anything to her.

Recently her clan gathered to honor her and her sister. They come from a big family and her dad was the son of one original signatory for Treaty Four. The two sisters were raised traditionally and grew up respecting the laws of her Anisnabe people. Both speak and understand her Saulteaux language. Beautiful Mother raised a family of fifteen children. She is now a widow.

She attended a Roman Catholic residential school for ten years. She is in the process of suing the government and the Catholic order that ran the school for their part in her abuses. Although she was abused in residential school, she has a deep respect for all religions and reads the bible. Above all, she has the utmost respect for the Anisinābē way
of life.

When I asked her about youth and acts of violence, she told me about them in her quiet, no nonsense manner.

My 15-year-old daughter killed herself by taking pills in 1975 or 1976. Apparently it was a game between her and another girlfriend. Her friend survived but she died. The girls were sober at the time and attempted this event at the home of one of her friends on the reserve. Both girls had attended a Catholic residential school for many years. Neither girl was an alcoholic. They had been out of boarding school for one year. (Subject 3)

Beautiful Mother believes that her daughter did not intend to kill herself. No one wants to die. She believes this case is not a suicidal death but an accidental death. She does not ask why her young fifteen year old accidently killed herself. My assumption is that she accepts that the kids are curious and in this case it went wrong. It was a horrible accident.

Beautiful Mother continues with her story. Five years later, before even the wounds were healed, she had another sudden and unexpected death in her family. This time it involved a granddaughter who had a young son. Beautiful Mother is upset because a little boy was left alone. The father was absent. The little boy's grandmother will not take the grandson so Beautiful Mother must now raise her little great grandson. Beautiful Mother has not dealt with the suicide of a granddaughter who left her little boy without a mother.

In the 1980's my granddaughter committed suicide by hanging herself. I am now raising her son. He is
now thirteen years old, and he is my great-grandson. It is a very selfish act. There are other ways of dealing with your problems and suicide is not one of them. (Subject 3)

Then another tragedy struck the family. Beautiful Mother says her 7-year-old granddaughter was found hanging in the basement. Here are her words: "In the late 1980's, my 7-year-old granddaughter committed suicide by hanging herself." Beautiful Mother will not discuss the event any further. Neither the members of her extended family, the community nor the chief and council asked for an inquiry. We cannot ascribe normalization of a violent death to this community response. We can safely say that Beautiful Mother has not dealt with the death of her 7-year-old granddaughter.

Thunderbird Woman is considered an Elder in the community. Both young and old people regard her with respect. About non-natural deaths, she says,

Today there are more suicides than long ago. I find it, really, with white people you hear of suicide or murder occasionally. Once in a blue moon or else you seldom hear about it. Nevertheless, with the Native people you hear it always. Once my white friend who comes and visits me regularly asked me, do not tell those stories in front of my children. She does not want her children to think that is the normal way to live. I am always telling her of murder or suicide stories. (Subject 5)

Aboriginal children speak of death with no signs of shock. Normalization of death at the level of community consciousness has become a social reality. It is no longer shocking to discuss death no matter what its nature or circumstances. Thunderbird Woman's words explain how normal young deaths are even in the minds of very young First
Nations children:

One day I was sitting alone in my backyard when a little Indian boy about five years old came to me and said, "Where's your kids? Are they all dead?" Ohhh he gave me the creeps. I sent him home. This little boy spoke of death like it is the normal way. Some kids are used to that death thing. (Subject 5)

4.6. Resolution of Societal Alienation\textsuperscript{39} by Means of the Personal and Public Healing Journeys

A healing journey is usually undertaken by an adult, who has experienced some very negative emotional trauma often in company with his/her family members. In this study, I am paying particular attention to the experiences of survivors of a dysfunctional residential school. A healing journey is a trip down "memory lane," back to childhood for the source of your present anger and torment.

There are two types of healing journeys, the public healing journey and the private healing journey. The public healing journey is one in which individuals come to terms with hostile antisocial behavior as it pertains to society's norms and values. The private healing journey then pertains to the individual's realization that he/she must establish a personal identity in the context of a social world.

A private healing journey begins when a person realizes he or she must change his or her life, to respect his or her family and to give the children a chance to grow up in a safe

\textsuperscript{39} Alienation is used in reference to dysfunctional interpersonal relationships within social groups ranging from a nuclear family through an extended family to an entire community.
and non-violent home environment. Some people begin their healing journeys because they realize their family relationships are dysfunctional. They have come to realize there is a better life out there. It is surprising how often these realizations develop as individuals confront their present addictions. Every healing journey begins with these realizations.

The public healing journey begins when an individual’s private problems create a general social concern in his/her family or community. An example of a public healing journey may begin when a person is convicted and sentenced by the courts. Hazel explains what happened in her family.

We have many social problems and sick people in our own families. Recently they charged my common-law husband with molesting my granddaughter. My granddaughter reported to the RCMP, about how he had sexually abused her during one school outing to the city. After they charged him, he left the reserve and moved to the next small town. My granddaughter will learn to trust people again. She needs to be relearnt. I hope wherever treatment he goes to, they will relearn him how to respect children and women. (Subject 12)

Hazel wishes him the best. She realizes that abuse of an abuser is not the solution.

Hazel’s healing journey did not begin with her common-law being in jail. It began long before that.

I study Bradshaw and his ideas of healing. He says

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40 C.Wright Mills (1959) is acknowledged as a sociologist who emphasized the important relationships between private problems and social issues.

41 John Bradshaw has written over thirty books in a “popular psychology” format applying system theory to dysfunctional family relationships and co-dependency.
"people must learn to forgive, to be able to move on." I say, "No," some things you cannot forgive. (Subject 12)

After people recognize the existence of some fundamental problem, they begin to move to the next stage. The denial stage is passed and the community begins calling for healing workshops in their own community. This does not mean that individuals have internalized the problem or that communities have normalized it. The Anisínabé Elders are healing themselves individually; at the same time they are healing as a group.

Hazel participated in Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.) and did inner child work. Today she is a counselor for a K-12 school on a reserve. Hazel connects the "abuse" in today's society with residential school.

I concluded that bad parenting is a direct result of boarding school. Do not answer back, eat all of your food. We did not deal with the sexual and physical abuses of residential school and with the sexual and physical abuses that continued after school within our own families. All we deal with are just concerns (Subject 12).

Hazel is beginning her healing journey, no doubt, yet she will not talk about her own problems. She has begun to internalize her own abuse. When she speaks she shifts the focus to problems she perceives at the level of community.

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42 I must add here, that to internalize your own childhood abuses, every residential school survivor must begin at a different point. Different events or different situations bring it out, when you are ready. Whatever it takes to get you to speak of the abuse and sort it out for yourself is O.K. Hazel has her own unique way to heal herself and it is helping her.
As I listen to her, she transfers her professional career into her personal life and thereby is able to remain emotionally detached from her own problems.

No one can explain why it is that Anisinâbê people who have successfully completed healing journeys almost always have gone back into their culture with a determination. They heal with the memory of their early upbringing, advice of the Elders, consultations with their family members, ceremonies, and making amends to their victims. It is their free choice and there are no rewards, except a peaceful mind. They realize this is a solo journey.

The consequences are that the Anisinâbê community as a whole redisCOVERS its cultural practices and values. One Elder's experience explains how this happens:

I dreamed about my mother-in-law. I know she was an alcoholic, but she was a good mother. In my dream she said we had to love the children and be kind to them. In my dream she was petting the children on the head and speaking to them very softly. She said after all they are only children and we have to be very careful how we raise them. We must not yell at them, hit them or speak in a harsh voice to them. We must be good to the children. That is what I am trying to do and to follow. We have to go back to the old Native way of raising children. (Subject 4)

Brave Heart talks about how some residential school survivors develop a "front" as they attempt to cope with life.

We have developed a front, like how we present ourselves to ourselves and to the outside world. We know what happened in residential school, but we do not talk about it. We act like we are family people, family members, kind people, like were not abusers, and we act like we're not prejudiced.
Nevertheless, we are all prejudiced. (Subject 1)

Brave Heart talks about following what his brothers do and learning from them. He is a traditional man who knows the traditional ceremonies passed down to him and his brothers and this, he believes, is the right way to live. His brothers are his role models and where he seeks guidance. As insurance, he remembers his upbringing with his parents.

I keep to myself and keep to my family traditions. I go to sweats and always remember my upbringing with my mom and dad. I will look at my brothers and try to be like them. Whatever my brothers do, I do. When we have ceremonies, I get involved as I am supposed to. Traditional handling of ceremonies must follow a strict criterion like knowing the language. Today, they do not teach traditional ways of life, unless a crisis occurs. That is the only time a person runs to the ceremonies, when they're in trouble, not when they're celebrating. (Subject 1)

The Professor travels from the private healing journey to the public healing journey and then back to the private healing journeys. He says,

The first school I was the victim of a 'homosexual' teacher for years. I got fed up and ran away. The first thing I did was burn down a farmer's barn. They transferred me to another residential school. The first thing that hit me, there were bikes to ride, snacks were chips and ice cream. The food was far more superior. After residential school, I became an alcoholic, drug addict and abuser. I took coke, drank Lysol, shaving lotion, pine sol, used downers, uppers, Valium, Tylenol 3's, was addicted to sex and ended in the penitentiary. After prison I married. My marriage broke up. I was living alone. I said, "Fuck, when is this going to all end, I was living on welfare. I was at my wit's end. I prayed for a woman and I promised God if he would give me a kind woman, I would treat her good. I would not beat her up and I would not cheat on her ever. I wept and fell on my knees, praying as I had never prayed before. I knew I had to have a woman to survive in this world, I could not do it
alone. A woman is a gift from the creator. (Subject 23)

The Professor talks of his healing journey back to his traditional Anisínabē roots. He had to admit to himself that the woman is a sacred thing and must be respected. He was taught to disrespect women and children in residential school.

I remember when I began my healing journey. I had to look at my life and really to look at it. I remembered, in my crazy days when I was full of booze and feeling like a modern man. I had forced myself on a woman and forced sex on her. To heal, I knew I had to face that woman and tell her I am sorry for what I did. I was drunk at the time but that is no excuse. That was one of the hardest things I have had to do. Today I can tell you anything. I am not ashamed of my life. I let it go. As we heal our body, mind and soul, we need to tell about how we abused people. It is not enough to tell about the pain and suffering we went through as children in residential school. We need to tell how we healed ourselves. How have we managed to live in this crazy world? (Subject 23)

As he began his healing journey he knew he had to quit drinking and drugging. He did that. He found out he was confused about many things. He had to deal with the shame of being a sexually abused child. Then he had to deal with the shame that he had taken on the very characteristics of his abusers. He realized he must return to his Anisínabē ways to live a life of sanity. He went back to traditional prayer and asked the Great Spirit for a woman, so that he could begin to live.

Mother Earth tries to be both a faithful practicing
Roman Catholic as well as Anisinābē.⁴³ She goes through the physical acts of Anisinābē cultural practices but has not internalized the meanings through an Anisinābē consciousness. In contrast, her husband is a traditional Anisinābē in first place, and then a Catholic.

Both Mother Earth and her husband have an extraordinary respect for each other's beliefs. Mother Earth respects her husband's choice of the spiritual way of life and in turn her husband respects her choice of the Catholic religion.

Mother Earth attends and supports her husband in his ceremonies and practices. The combination of the two make for a successful marriage. They have seven children and are now raising four grandchildren. This is an exceptional case where the Catholic faith has managed to integrate well with Anisinābē spirituality.

Mother Earth prefers to talk about social problems in her community rather than to discuss her personal problems. Aboriginal parents, she thinks, are not teaching their children about morals and traditional teaching methods are not happening. Mother Earth believes that once this generation is gone, so will the traditional Anisinābē stories about parenting practices. She strongly believes that we, the present generation, must pass these stories on. Present Aboriginal families are accepting foreign teachings and moral

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⁴³ The Catholic faith and its teachings are her first loyalty. Yet, she respects and takes part in Anisinābē spiritual teachings and way of life. She goes to church retreats, and says the rosary.
disciplines of their children and grandchildren.

The Anisinābē people have almost forgotten how to pass on stories and teachings. We need to bring back our medicines, our spirituality and our kindness. This family looks to their Anisinābē history to understand the root causes of poverty, sickness and unhappiness.

I and my husband have health problems. We are both diabetic and overweight. My husband has to take needles, has poor eyesight and has had a four-bypass heart surgeries. I am on medication for my diabetes. Two of my biological sons have health problems. One of my sons had cancer and a traditional medicine man cured him. Today my boy has an impaired left arm and leg. My other 24-year-old son is a paraplegic due to extended drug use and alcohol abuse. (Subject 4)

Mother Earth knows that the suffering her family faces today is due to the loss of Anisinābē morals. The legacies of residential school affect us all, one way or another.

4.7. Conclusion: Oppression and Assimilation Equal Genocide

Anisinābē Elders believe that oppression and assimilative practices are not a thing of the past. Although

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44 Assimilation is genocide. (Chrisjohn and Young 1997:42).

45 The Contracting Parties of the United Nations Genocide Convention dated December 11, 1946 stated that genocide is a crime under International Law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world; recognizing that in all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required. . .Article II (e) talks of forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (Chrisjohn and Young 1997:150).
things may appear to be well and comfortable for our people, if you think that Aboriginal people have forgotten the past, they have not. There is much unsettled business in this country and much yet to be done. As the Professor says:

We were all residential school survivors, but did we really survive? Yes, we're alive but that was it. Our spirit was gone. There were no social sanctions against residential school, against the RCMP, against the Indian Act and the Indian agent. (Subject 23)

Most of the Elders in my study are residential school survivors with horrid stories of their childhoods. In the past many have chosen to forget that part of their lives and have died with their shame. Some Elders have chosen to remember and use that pain to understand their present social problems. Mother Earth talks of her younger sisters killing themselves. No one knew they were going to do it.

The first sister to kill herself was only fourteen years old and one was nineteen years old. My sister hung herself in my basement. She was in grade seven. She was a good student; we found her hanging. It was a shock. One year later, my 19-year-old younger sister takes her own life by taking pills. Why? We do not know. She was a good girl. She was not into drugs or alcohol. My sisters never went to anyone with their problems. The only supports they had was the school teachers. (Subject 4)

There are many ethical questions in Head Spokeswoman's story. First, her boy was placed in a foster home where two suicides were committed. Why did Social Services not remove this boy from this home? Second, the two suicides were the two natural children of the fostered parents. Something must have been very wrong in that home. The question is why are
these kinds of fostering homes kept open? Third, these two suicides occurred at different times. Why were questions not asked? Four, when this boy started out, why was the boy not returned home or why was the boy not put in a Native home in his own community?

The assimilation practices continue in today's society. Policies and laws are being developed and implemented to curtail the assimilationist and genocide practices of the government and the Department of Social Services after much outcry from Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people have begun the process of taking over their own Social Services, unfortunately with the same oppressive laws and the same practices continued under a different name. There is no change in practice, only in who is doing the placing. This is a form of colonialism that needs further examination. That is why Aboriginal people are saying we must relearn our languages and follow the treaties. We need to study those treaties and understand them from the Anisinābē point of view.

The Professor discusses the outcome of a prolonged stay in residential school.

Why our people became the way they are was because there was no social structure on the outside. That was all taken away in residential school. The only social structure we had was in residential school. Today there are gang style killings by boys and girls. The incidents are on the up rise. Where you find poverty and where social and economic conditions are poor, this is where you find crimes like this. Crimes and civil disobedience thrive in these poverty-stricken places where you have no sports for the kids. Kids
move to organize gangs where they have some power. They kill people to have acceptance from their peers and support. There is a lack of role models, meaning we have no traditional people to look up and to follow. Everyone wants to be a white man and to follow white man laws. They see success in the white world and not in ours. That is wrong. No one to aspire to and that is alien to our world. If we have role models, they are usually distant ones. (Subject 23)

It does not stop there, everything is affected. The professor says that the Anisínábē social and political structures were taken away by the oppressive practices of the residential school system and the policies of the state with nothing offered by society to replace them.

Hazel raises the issue of taking Anisínábē children off the reserve by Native social workers. Howard Adams (1989:157) comments that our people have become our enemies. Some Native leaders have become so preoccupied with procedure and ritual that discussions of serious social and political issues never arise. They can not relate to their people. This is a direct result of counseling by white advisors and by those Native collaborators who want to imitate seemingly sophisticated white leaders. Native people must be perceptive enough to recognize when they are being led down blind alleys by their oppressors, red or white. Anisínábē social workers have not always served the interests of their people, but they have served the unbalanced purposes of dominant society. One reserve social worker had become an "apple," red on the outside and white inside. Hazel explains:

I told them that in the 70's the chairperson of this meeting was a child protection worker and used
to take children off the reserve. Well that did not work in the end. Kids came back more damaged, some came back dead, some went to drinking and some were lost or sold to white families. Kids are more dysfunctional so the idea to give those kids to whites is not the way to go. Today those kids that were given away, are coming back damaged and they are coming back for good. We are unable to repair that damage. (Subject 12)

Hazel points out how one Native social worker worked years ago. She has not forgotten what happened in the 1970's, when masses of children were removed from their families by Native social workers hired by whites. The stigmas of sexual and physical abuses in Anisinābē communities are shame-based.

The Professor talks, though, of a come-back by Anisinābē.

The Anisinābē people are a strong and powerful people and they will come back, stronger and more powerful. Legend has it that the 7th generation will uprise and take their rightful place in society and in this country. (Subject 23)
CHAPTER FIVE: A SUMMARY OF THE ELDERS' EXPLANATIONS

5.1. The Consequences of Residential School Legacies for Saskatchewan Anisinābē People

Canada's Native people, as a whole, have begun to look at the generational effects that are the legacies of residential school. There is a massive healing movement in First Nations communities across Canada that is changing the social, political and cultural atmosphere of those communities and of Canada.

Upon first contact with Europeans, Aboriginal people and their world views were labeled as primitive and inhuman. This Eurocentric bias is reflected in and is perpetrated by the assimilationist policies of the Indian Act. Aboriginal people have referred to the policies of that act as genocidal.

For example, the genocide of residential school, sponsored by the state and run by the churches, effectively contributed to the high number of suicides and to the near extinction of Aboriginal people, their way of life and their cultural identity. The churches did this by brain-washing the Anisinābēk, other First Nations children and the Metis children. The assumption was that Aboriginal children were the means to eliminate Aboriginal ways, so they placed into schools that were like prisons or military organizations. The

The Anisinābē are changing those legacies of residential school and those negative experiences into powerful tools to re build their country and their Nation. These legacies need not be our downfall but reason for our re-emergence as one of the original governments of this country.

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policies sanctioned in these prisons/military residential schools were the same as the ideological and political policies that created the present foster care systems.

I come from an Anisinēbē background with totally different world views, although I was exposed to the dominant society's world views in residential school and was forced to learn these world views. My first loyalty is to my Anisinēbē people. The dominant society respect people with status, degrees and money. Anisinēbē people respect people for being people and for their strengths in kindness and sharing, for who they are. The Anisinēbēk respect all creation, plants, animals and rocks. I took a course in ethics at the university and I found out the medical institutions have no ethical guidelines for plants, animals and rock. They do whatever they want with them. As an Anisinēbē person I was shocked and I cringed when I thought of the horrible deaths and the loss of freedom they must have felt.

I argue in this thesis that the term cultural genocide should no longer be used when discussing the genocidal issues of First Nations people. It is an unacceptable term for the simple reason that genocide means to kill off a people not to kill off a culture. And it is my people, and other First Nations, who have been killed. Stop insulting us by thinking we are stupid and we do not know what happened to us.

The policies of the state and the practices of the
residential school system were genocidal.\textsuperscript{47} When I look at some definitions of warlord, war, and war practices, those definitions form a lexicon for my education and the school I attended. The priest exercised local civil power through force sanctioned by the state.

The priests gathered thousands of children into cattle trucks and took them away from their parents. They then raised the Anisinābē children in groups of more than a hundred, as you would raise chicken or cows. This is a direct cause of the immoral behaviors of the survivors of residential school.

The children were barely fed and not clothed properly for winter months. This could be a direct cause of the arthritis that so many Aboriginal people suffer from today. There were endless hours and days of praying. The endless kneeling and the washing of floors caused arthritis as the children become adults. Some children in these schools were used as sex partners for the staff.

The Professor says:

People talk of the 60's and 70's scoop of Aboriginal children. Well there was a bigger scoop of Aboriginal children in the 20's and 30's. The federal government, Indian Affairs and the churches took their Aboriginal children away to schools in other provinces. Far enough away so that they could not find their way home again. (Subject 23)

My grandfather was a residential school product, so was my

\textsuperscript{47} Genocide means the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political. Or cultural group (The New Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 1989:314).
mother and then me. That makes me a third generational residential school survivor. This compounds the abuses that I have survived.

The priests in the residential schools my family was incarcerated in seized, descended on and brainwashed children with the attitude that they were inhuman objects, savages that needed to be transformed to fit the religious, social and political system of the Church and State. These two groups of institutions and their employees are the trusted ones in dominant society. We trusted they would act in our best interest according to their laws and customs as outlined in our treaties.

Some children died in these residential schools. Children were not taken to the hospital; they died in the schools. Native people have not pointed any fingers but the younger generations have noticed the problem. It was never really an "Indian problem"; colonizers wanted to get rid of "the real land owners." First Nations governments were a threat to the imperial government of Canada; the imperial government refused to admit that Canada was occupied and governed by many highly civilized peoples. Just as the laws of nature allowed many animals to live in peace, the people learned to live in peace and in harmony with the animals and with each other. I am not saying there was no crime, no wars and it was perfect. No, life was civilized and highly organized. When the newcomers came to Canada, they wanted to be the sole owners and the sole government of this land.
Their immediate intent was to label us as non-people and their long term goal was to make us the peasants who would bow down to them and thank them for our food and a place to live. That was their "Indian problem," not our culture. But our culture was harmless, kind, good and very spiritual. The white man did not know about our spiritual culture. How could he? The *Anisinābē* culture is so old that we as *Anisinābē* people know only parts of it, but it is powerful. All they saw was land owners who were in the way. There is no such thing as cultural genocide, only genocide.

Genocidal practices of the state and Catholic church have escalated into Aboriginal oppression and the consequent violence which today is affecting dominant society. The violence and oppression that was... Now, dominant society wants a solution, that must include them.

The public is yelling for tougher youth laws. Why did the government give $350 million to the Aboriginal peoples? Could it be that because Aboriginal young offenders' crimes are hitting the front pages. The government thought it had to do something very big.\footnote{The Minister of Indian and Northern Development, Jane Stewart, told Mr. Erasmus that she had read the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People report and the government was interested in doing something. He, along with the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) encouraged her to do something especially with respect to an inquiry into the residential school issue. It was estimated that 100,000 persons would need the opportunity to talk about the issue. RCAP also recommended that self-government, land claims, and economic development could not be addressed until healing took place. January 7, 1998 the federal government responded with an apology and a $350 million healing fund (Aboriginal Healing Foundation Residential School Healing Strategy Conference, July 14-16, 1998).}
I asked the Elders how they would classify acts of violence by Aboriginal youth. Are they social problems, medical problems or criminal problems? One Elder answered, kids just want to fit in. They are trying to fit in. Kids just want to be loved and accepted. The perception youth have of mainstream society is one of violence and deviance and further that it is hip to be that way.

Thunderbird Woman says violence on her reserve has been acted out within the families:

I married a treaty man. He committed suicide by one shot gun blast to the head. He was under investigation by the RCMP. The day he shot himself he was to get a lie detector test. I suspected him of molesting kids, he knew I knew. I secretly reported him to the RCMP. I could not confront him. After his death, his son shot himself in the head.

This one man, his two young people and a 14-year-old killed an old white man. That old man used to bother them. He picked up the trio and he took them to his house. He provided them with drugs. A mark is a white man who bothers young kids for sex, spends his money buying booze and drugs and when the kids are drunk he does sexual things to them. These girls and this boy had a tough life and it is not all their faults. The kids stabbed him. The girls grew up in an alcoholic home. The parents went to residential school. The girl's mother, their stepmother and their brother killed themselves. The girls are in prison for twenty-five years and the 14-year-old did time in a young offender facility. He got three years. (Subject 5)

The Professor connects residential school staffs' abusive behaviors to today's youth violence and oppression in these words:

There are more of these crimes in our society today because they controlled us by the residential school life. When we left residential school,
already we had two or three generations of people trained in these schools to come out and fight our traditional people [soldiers of Christ]. By the time we got out of residential school our peers were out there. My peers were all criminals. We learnt how to be fighters, to steal in the canteens, to steal for food, and to admire the fighters. We saw injustices of the residential school. The staff, nuns and priest had fresh fruit. We used to steal that fresh fruit. I remember from the band room there used to be a cellar that went right into the pantry. We use to go in there and we saw cases of cookies and fruit. We never got to eat that stuff.

The social environment on the reserve was alcoholism. Alcohol was the norm and not thought of as wrong. People laughed at the horrid social conditions on the reserve. I lived in abject poverty and never ate for days. We starved. Violence was normal and I looked up to my peers for beating up someone. That is how we were when we came out of residential school. It was a big thing to beat up someone smaller. People looked up to you if you were tough. If you did a crime, it was good. To go to jail was a big thing. You came back a warrior and they looked up to you. Women were beaten up by men and thought it showed they loved you. Some women asked to be beaten up by their mate and they could sport a black eye as proof they loved them. Women were not considered equal. It was 'in' to subjugate women. The church taught our people not to feel. People reinterpreted that message from the church. There was a sense of a loss of control. (Subject 23)

From the residential school experience girls learned it was a good thing if someone beat them up. It showed you were loved. Boys became aggressive and thought it showed they loved their victims. Exactly when the abuse of woman and girls came about I do not know. But when I was a girl I used to see the nuns cater to the priest, as if they were powerful and knew everything. A man could punish a girl because it was for her own good. When Native men came back from war they beat their wives, too. Men abusing women and girls became a
social problem.

Mother Earth speaks of the loss of cultural practices and the loss of true Elders:

There are more crimes committed by youth today than in the past because they do not teach children morals today. Children and youths are left to figure things out for themselves or it's left to the schools to do that work. People [First Nations parents] do not take their children to church or to ceremonies. They do not teach them their language and people are just plain, lazy today. You know there are bad Elders today, we all know that you know that yourself. At one time we used to have good Elders and there used to be good Elders. I am not saying we do not have good Elders but we have to be careful. There are good Elders out there and we have to find them. (Subject 4)

Almost all of the three generations of Anisinābē families have been to residential school and it is always explained as a negative experience. Some do not talk about it.

We all went to residential school and experiences are negative. It is not God's fault. It's bad people who worked there. I attended boarding school for a short period, one year in this school and nine years in another boarding school. My husband, nine siblings, his mother and all her brothers and sisters. Yet my mother-in-law never hit a child in her life. My dad attended residential school for a short period. He talks of how horrible it was. I know people who never talk about residential school. My dad ran away from school in midwinter. Rather than go back to the school he crawled his way inside hay bales and slept there for the night. During the night he had to crawl his way out to get some air. You could smother in there. My dad never learnt to read or write and shows us scars on his head where the nuns had hit him with yard sticks. He told us they locked him in a dormitory for days. (Subject 4)
5.2. A New Understanding of Anisinābēk Consciousness

When the Anisinābē person who commits violent acts against others is caught by the police and charged, society forces rehabilitation programs on him/her so that he/she can come to terms with his/her antisocial behavior. The correctional system philosophy punishes the individual by taking his/her freedom away. Some convicted prisoners reform, but the majority do not. Because of the nature of their punishment the convicted offenders seldom heal. Furthermore, there is an ethical problem in the relationship of the individual to those in political power in society. Those in

49 The differences between the rehabilitation in dominant society and the private healing journey of the Aboriginal people is best explained by the convicted person. Jack's relationship with the Elder was quite different from that he had established with nurses and other staff at RPC. He suggested that there was a great deal he could not bring up in his counseling sessions with the nurses, and chastised them for always looking at their watches to gauge session time. As Jack said, "It's hard to trust when you see a person act this way." In his estimation, he had obtained some benefits from the group therapy sessions, but his lack of trust of the staff clearly inhibited his participation. In contrast his work with the Elder was built upon a foundation of trust. His respect for the Elder, stemmed, in part, from his respect for the knowledge the Elder had gained over the course of his life, and he contrasted this with the knowledge of the nurses (Royal Commission Report, 1996:134).

50 The philosophy of the Criminal Justice system, as the Anisinābē have experienced it, is that the system has to have someone to blame. The system looks only as far as the person and no further. The criminal justice system must expand its vision to one of seeing the offender's childhood experiences. Was the the victim once a victim of the same crime he/she is now being accused of? Was this man or woman ever in residential school? Were the parents of this person ever in residential school? Were the grandparents in residential school? The criminal justice system and the prison system have to look at residential legacies and cumulative experiences that result in "criminal behavior" as a defense and as a way of closing the gap between theory and reality. The system must charge all priests, all nuns and all persons who committed these crimes.
power do not like the offenders. They despise the offenders. Those in power despise the people in prison and they let them know. That feeling is known by the offender.

So many of the crimes committed by Anisinābē youth are a result of poverty. Mother Earth and other Elders have spoken of the horrid social conditions and poverty on the reserves:

We're poor. We have to haul water and the water is bad. We have to boil our water. It is bad and caused sicknesses. Too many of us live in one house. They haul our garbage to a dump, but that is not always good because the dogs always knock it down. We have to do our laundry in town and it costs lots of money so I hang my clothes on the clothes line in the summer. In the winter I have to pay I have no choice. (Subject 4)

We have poor housing and need better homes to raise our children and grandchildren. I need renovations. You can see the outside from the door frames and window frames. There are no frames in the windows and door frames. My house needs painting. It is grey where color use to be. I have applied for renovations. They have turned me down. (Subject 12)

Faith Alive Woman speaks of a different kind of effect that poverty has had on her family. Poverty leads to crime and youth strike out. Her grandson and his friends took a hostage and raped a foreign exchange student. While in prison her grandson hanged himself. She says he did that because he was poor all his life. She says that he was fed up of being Kiwaskwē kitimāgizi, which means crazy poor. He was fed up of being poor and it affected his mind. He struck out anywhere he could. There is no way to know when a youth will reach his limit and what he/she will do. The Anisinābē people have lost many cultural, political and spiritual practices.
that have been used to keep our minds, body and spirit intact.

The Professor talks about colonization and its effects. We have lost the family clan systems, the bear clan as our police system, and the whip man who kept everyone in order in the camp or in ceremonies. These people kept balance and we do not use them now. This summer I saw a whip man for the first time since I was a child. It was nice to see him. He was dressed in a nice ribbon shirt and had a fancy braided whip. Long ago when I was a child the whip man was a man with a loud menacing voice and when he spoke you listened. Those policing systems and the people who ran them were called peacemakers. The Professor talks about peacemaking and what its loss has meant:

We lost our clan system a long time ago. The bear clan was the police system. We had a whip man and lost that around the 1800s. We lost most of our remaining tribal systems by the turn of the century 1900s or earlier. We lost lots of our customs when the government moved us unto reserves. We could not travel anymore and we did not need those customs. In 1874 we lost many of our customs because for another reason people were on the run from the government and the police. . . We lost our values. We were traditional and we were very territorial. We policed those territories closely. We would never over hunt in our areas. Look at history, look at us. Aboriginal people were in the way of progress. (Subject 23)

The Professor's memories of his family have developed his inner strengths. One of the most sacred philosophies of the Anisinaabē is that they come into this world alone and as a whole being. The Professor is a outstanding leader and a
positive role model for the young people in his family, his community and his Nation. Anisínâbê like him are re-emerging culturally and they are politically stronger due to their spirituality and the ways they use education to bring forth a revival of their ways of life. As more and more Anisínâbê people join the healing journey, return to their language, return to their ways of life and commit themselves to the collective well-being of their community and their Nations the Anisínâbê as individuals will become strong collectively in their social, political, and cultural way of life.

Aboriginal identification is a mixture of internal dynamics and external pressures. At present, that identification is being translated into ethnic mobilization—the mobilization of an ethnic group's resources and manpower to better its position. White Canada is bound to respond with such contemporary demobilization techniques as the White Paper in order to remain in a controlling position. Aboriginal mobilization in turn will increase, and the accelerating spiral of conflict will be set in motion. Meaningful changes are desperately needed in the political, social, and economic position of Aboriginal Canadians. Acting from frustration and helplessness, Aboriginal leaders are increasingly abandoning the legal means to effect those changes. If White Canadians do not act quickly and respond effectively to Aboriginal demands, the future of Aboriginal-White relations in this country may well be written in blood. (Frideres, 1998:457)

Some Anisínâbê Elders have internalized the abuses they have endured, but without a doubt there is movement to healing. Some young Anisínâbê have begun to heal at a very early age; Therefore, they have not internalized the violence and abuse. They have grown up without it, fortunately.

The Anisínâbê have survived colonization, but they have
not bounced back. To say the Anisinābē are resilient is to say they are surviving: the government and the churches can ease their consciences. It is an assumed resiliency and its effect is to ignore the impact of residential school.

The identity of the Anisinābē people has been damaged, but not lost. They have begun to seriously look at the loss of their language which was the cement that holds all the sacred Anisinābē philosophies and laws together. First, what is it that prevents former residential school survivors from choosing and speaking the Anisinābē language in the home? Today, some former residential school survivors do not teach their children the Saulteaux language. There is no one stopping them from speaking Saulteaux in their homes. My studies do not show that the Elders gave up their language voluntarily.

I must look at residential legacies and associate that with Kimi sawigōmin. The Elders, as children, were forced to speak English and were cruelly punished if they spoke their language in residential school. Daily torture over a decade will do much to a child. Kimi sawigōmin means mental conditioning but it can be reversed. Kimi sawigōmin is similar to classical conditioning except food is not used. Instead strapping and daily torture are employed.

The loss of the language becomes problematic, an issue for the Anisnabe consciousness, because in order to have our Anisinābē Nation, the people must teach the children the language. Furthermore, it must be the language of choice in
the home. This becomes an issue of identity in Anisinābē consciousness. The loss of language is in part a result of being in residential school. Many former residential school survivors cannot comprehend the sexual and physical abuse that occurred in the school. Children were tortured for years and when they got out of school they tried to forget it. They tried to erase it from their minds. How could these residential school survivors begin to heal if they could not even think of that abuse? Survivors could not believe that it actually happened, but it did. Survivors internalized that abuse. If residential school survivors had not internalized the violence of residential school in residential school and taken that legacy of violence into their communities, we would not have the problem we have now. Every home would use the Saulteaux language as the language of choice in the home. The Anisinābēk have stopped using the language in the home. Residential school prohibition of the use of Saulteaux has had a transgenerational effect. Importantly, in the area of education, there is a movement toward total control of the school curriculum by the Anisinābē people. One goal for Aboriginal people is the recognition of First Nations languages as official languages in this country.

Some former residential school students have normalized violent death at a young age. As awful as it sounds, some former residential school students have accepted that some of us have to die young in this new society. It is one of the
stages we must go through as the Anisinābē people go from an old way of life to a new way of life. That is the way it is. This, too, becomes a social problem. We must understand that murder, manslaughter, infanticide and suicide are the worst social problems and we as a social group have hit the bottom of the barrel. We cannot go any further down. At this last stage we begin to chose what we want and what we do not want. The Anisinābē can make those social problems into strengths. As the Anisinābē people re-examine their lives in residential schools, they put a picture to the horrible abuses they experienced and how they too came to act as the oppressors. The healing journey takes on a spiritual aspect; it takes on a personal on social, political and cultural significance in their own lives. A new consciousness begins to appear as residential school shame disappears and pride appears. This new consciousness grows as a massive healing movement spreads among not only the Anisinābē people but among Canada's Aboriginal peoples.
CHAPTER SIX: AFTERWORD

6.1. Afterword

Once I concluded individual interviews with Anisinābē Elders, I began to note the focus of issues and events. I noted, for example that my grandfather came from a different social and political backgrounds\(^{51}\) than my mother and me. I wanted to consider in my research the historical circumstances of each Elder. There were many reasons why the Elders agreed to be interviewed: i) because of my similar Anisinābē background. I spoke the language, and I was a relative; ii) The majority wanted to know how we can stop a youth from committing an act of violence; iii) many Elders want to contribute to the solutions by sharing their experiences in residential school; iv) and many had to accept what happened to them. They want to move on, and they want our people to move on.

In residential school when the federal government inspectors came to the school, the priest and missionaries prepared us on how to act, to speak and to be polite and not to talk. We acted very good when the inspectors came. We sang

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\(^{51}\) In my grandfather's time the reserve and the Anisinābē were fenced in by order of the government. He had to go to Industrial school, live on rations and then he had to ask for permission to leave the reserve to find a wife. He was allowed to farm, but not allowed to eat or sell his produce, a very feudal practice. In my mother's time she was forced to go to boarding school, but was allowed to leave the reserve to live in the city. She was not allowed to farm, but had to accept relief checks. This was the time Indians were allowed to buy liquor.
and we were very polite. Difficult children were hidden away or taken out of sight. We preformed for the inspectors and it was not real life. After the inspector left, the supervisors became mean once again. In real life, we have to learn not to perform but to be real.

Sociology as it stands today certainly can benefit from this critical study, in that sociology can learn from the Anisinäbë people who were oppressed simply because they are one of the original land owners and one of the governing Nations of Turtle Island. Furthermore, society should learn that in order not to make the same mistakes again, it must make the knowledge of oppression part of every school curriculum. It must acknowledge real history.

In the Anisinäbë culture the people observe everything around their circle of life. Anisinäbë observe if everything is in balance and if not ask why not. There are many things that concern the Anisinäbë people today. People, the animals and the plants are suffering. View the words of this Elder:

Some Elders are acting un-naturally and un-culturally. Some Elders sexually abused me at four years old. I was the victim of repeated sexual abuse for years. I had no one to listen to me. They have traumatized me repeatedly as a child. Children traumatized repeatedly have closed off their feelings, emotions and survive by just existing. The spirit has been shut down and in my case I did not choose suicide. Suicide was not spoken of in our community in the 40's or 50's.

(Subject 12)

This Elder told me to look at her dog, that what the dog has

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52 It is known in one of the creation stories of my people that Canada was known as Turtle Island.

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done is unnatural.

I have a very skinny dog with ribs sticking out. The dog has been breast feeding. I guess the dog has eaten her puppies. She has eaten up this second set of puppies. This dog has a 6th sense. Something bad is coming—that is why she ate her puppies. A sign of evil coming or is it here already. (Subject 12)

Diamond Girl comments on the unnatural behaviors of children, children as killers.

Kids are getting younger and younger and playing with guns and knives. Did you hear about the five-year-old who shot his aunt? Can you imagine a five-year-old? Terrible isn't it? You see more youths in court. There are more violent youths and children today. Parents leave them alone too much. Parents are used to being alone and must have been in boarding school. People do not know how to manage their lives. We're used to people telling us what to do. My son has 3 kids he raises by himself. His wife left him. I wish no one any harm and have not any bitter feelings to anyone about how they raised me. Look at me, I am not perfect so who can I judge? (Subject 19)

6.2. Issues for a New Design for an Oral Program for the Anisinaabe Saulteaux of Saskatchewan

Brave Heart shuts off the tape recorder as he requests I do the interview by hand. When an Aboriginal person does an interview she/he wants your full attention and it is rude to be writing as he/she talks. My limitations of one hour for the first interview and one hour for the second just flew out the door. Brave Heart set the stage for future interviews, which include visiting, having tea, and meeting the family. Elders are insulted if you do not do your interviews in this format, or worse they think you were not raised right. Not being raised right means you have no culture or no morals.
Time must not be a dictator. For example, an Elder once told me, "If you're going to be in a hurry and keep checking your watch, don't bother to do it because you will just end up hurting people." That was a big lesson in itself. I try to apply this teaching to everything I do.

Three things should be considered when doing oral research with the Anisinābē people: i) the Anisinābē language; ii) the environment and the seasons; and iii) the spiritual practices of the Anisinābē people.

What this means for the Anisinābē people is that we can begin to organize ourselves and teach the Aboriginal culture along with the European educational system. But that does not mean we have to compromise our culture and our ways of life. The Anisinābē will begin to teach the language in school. Some hands-on instructions will take place in the language. This type of learning has begun in the community. For example some bingo games are called in the Saulteaux language.

Teachings are done according to the seasons. For example, story telling of legends and myths is never done during the summer seasons. Hands-on work is done during the summer, ceremonies for the youth and the living. Permissions are to be sought, you do not just enter into the Anisinābē territory and start asking questions. A system is in place. Physical training and putting into practice the teachings of the winter months is in progress in the summer. Sitting in the classroom for eight hours a day for eight months is not our way, and this is another reason many of our youth do not
find education motivating. There is no consideration of the circle of life in dominate society.

In the Anisinābē way, it is exciting to go on a vision quest, learning about Mother Earth, the animals, other tribes and people. As the Anisinābē children learn these things, the spiritual components are embedded: respect, kindness and sharing. Their place is always told to them; they need those things to live. The breaking of a branch of berries is never allowed, nor the selling of berries. The killing of animals for sport and the selling of that meat from the animals is not allowed. So, for every season, for every seeker of knowledge and wisdom, and for every teaching there is a price to pay, and a way of attaining and a proper method of gaining that knowledge and wisdom.

Anisinābē education never ends. We are continually learning and discovering. Young people are taught to listen, to live what they learn and then to ask questions. They live their education, and they include the entire world. They experience life and then they come back and ask questions. How can they ask sensible questions if they are continually interrupted and do not get the whole picture? A doctoral program takes four years. Anisinābē philosophical teachings can take longer. It takes a lifetime to even begin to embrace a holistic view, if ever. Elders have said the older you get, the more you need to learn. It never ends.

Future culturally appropriate critical studies should be done in the Anisinābē language, according to seasons and
respecting spiritual practices. Research should include the Elders' entire life histories, their observations and their warnings. Aboriginal people are experts in their environment. Their ancestors and their teachings have been here for centuries and they have perfected their art of living in harmony with nature and with other Aboriginal Nations. Contemporary Elders, who have endured genocidal practices, have wisdom and knowledge. They also know how to survive in the new world.

Canadian leaders and the churches knew what they were doing when they instituted the Indian Act. Their successors should acknowledge their practices and the practice of genocide on the Anisinābē people. This acknowledgment should be done in consultation and side by side with the affected people, their descendants, and most importantly community by community.

The Anisinābē people are seeing signs that the successors are acknowledging their genocidal behaviors all in the name of land stealing. This writer believes that the successors have a long way to go. The Federal Indian Minister has apologized. The Catholic Church has not. The apologies are just words but words do acknowledge that many children were imprisoned and many children died.
Now, we need a holistic apology\textsuperscript{53} from the state and the church and this must be done together. The Anisinābē people believe an apology is an expression of understanding. The oppressors know what they have done is wrong. It does not stop there. Next to acknowledgment, the oppressors must go another step and that is to accept that First Nations are the first founders, the first peoples of this continuant and deserve all the rights and privileges that go with that. They must do this in order to correct historical wrongs, to accept a history of the genocide, oppression and abuse, to listen to the history told by Aboriginal peoples. When we teach our mischievous children we say, "Sorry for that and what must you do to correct it. Be happy to do it. Don't be greedy and bossy."

\textsuperscript{53} A holistic apology from my Anisinābē perspective, is Kāgī zimōkwe. What this means is that the offender must come to our territory, identify their crime, pay for that crime, go to prison, pray with us and beg for forgiveness for the crimes they have done. The offenders must be acknowledged by the victims and be involved in the court case and sentencing process. The offenders must make up for what they have done, what they have taken and ensure it never happens again. They must make a promise and sign a legal agreement to ensure it never happens again. In the past a hand shake and many gifts were sufficient. Today we need it on paper. It is the offenders' problem to find out how they have offended and how they will bring peace again. It is not up to the victim to teach the offenders. The offenders have come to our lands and we have shared our food, our resources and allowed them to live as the Great Spirit has showed them. The Anisinābē people have heard the apology. Now we need to hear and see the next step. The offender must honor us and we the victims must believe that they are sincere and they must be ladled with gifts and things that please the Anisinābē. This is our law and this is how the two Nations must begin so we can be reconciled. We ask only for what is rightfully ours which includes our dignity. At all costs the victims must be satisfied and pleased that repairs have been done.
APPENDIX I: Consent Form

TITLE: Damaged Children and Broken Spirits: Youth Oppression and Violence: As told By Anisinābēk Elders. Department of Sociology, 9 Campus Dr. University of Saskatchewan. SA5 S7N

The purpose of this research is to study acts of violence, committed by Anisinābēk First Nations youth (ten to twenty-five years old) who have committed murder, manslaughter, infanticide or suicide, as told by 20 Anisinābēk Elders.

The objectives of this study are: i) to identify the outside factors and influences that have resulted in severe socioeconomic problems in First Nations communities, problems such as murder, manslaughter, infanticide and suicide; ii) to explore the points of view of Elders why First Nations youths are involved in these acts of violence, either as victims or as offenders; iii) to gain an ethnographic perspective why First Nation's youth violence and oppression on the bias of those experiential accounts of Elders; iv) to develop a theoretical analysis of how the Anisinābēk people have developed a social construction of non-natural death. The general objective here is to focus on the assumed resiliency of Native people to violence. The specific objective is to analyze how Anisinābēk First Nation's have dealt with the historical phenomenon of non-natural death; and v) to benefit First Nation's communities as they rebuild their institutions and to educate society in general about the assumed First Nation's young offender and how they are understood by their own communities.

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The risks associated with participating: i) only I and Professor Schissel have access to those data and at no time will you be identified by your real name or specific First Nations; ii) potential risks involved in the study such as the risks to the participants in discussing the illegal activities of family members and others, especially because of the identification in handwritten records. There is legal implication if the material is ever subpoenaed or requested by the courts.

I understand the nature of my involvement as it has been explained to me. The results of the thesis will be published as an M.A. thesis or in an academic journal, conferences, presentations, and a public document will be written and circulated.

Although data from the study may be published, the confidentiality of participants will be maintained. The names of participants will not be released, nor will material identifying participants, without written permission of this participant, unless required by law.

I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any questions and that I may withdraw at any time. I agree that the interviewee may also terminate this interview with me.

The University Advisory Committee of Ethics in Human Experimentation (UACEHE) requires a statement that there is no bar to publication and that the researcher is free to publish her findings without reference to or consent from any other person or body.
Interviews will be one hour long and a second visit of one hour will be used to clarify any information. The interviewees will not be recorded or videotaped. I will record your words by hand.

1.________I consent to be interviewed. After the study, the results of the study will be securely stored at the University of Saskatchewan for a minimum of five years under lock and key in the Department of Sociology, U of S as required by the University of Saskatchewan guidelines. At no point during the future analysis will I be identified by name or area. I want confidentiality with no identifiable marks.

Name of Interviewee:_________________________________________

Helen Cote Quewezance:_____________________________________
Researcher,
University of Saskatchewan Ph: (306) 542-2312
E-mail: teanash@yahoo.ca

Dr. Bernard Schissel:_______________________________________
Supervisor,
University of Saskatchewan Ph: (306) 966-6934
E-mail: schissel@sask.usask.ca
Appendix II: Breakdown of Number of couples, singles, ages, income, children, residential school attendance, addictions and acts of violence.

Total number of singles = 12
Total number of couples = 11
Total number in Residential School = 17
Total number not in residential school = 6
Total number *B-A. (Binge alcoholic) = 7
Total number **R-A. (recovered alcoholic) = 13
Total number ***N-A. (no addictions) = 3
Total number on wages = 8
Total number on SAP (social assistance payments) = 8
Total number on pension = 4
Total number on pension/foster care = 1
Total number on sap/foster care = 1
Total number on wage/foster care = 1
Deleted Interviews = 3
Appendix III: Total Number of Reported Acts of Violence Exceeds 20

Table 1: Total Number, of Murder, Manslaughter, Infanticide and Suicide. This number exceeds 20 As some 13 Elders have disclosed multi Acts of Violence in their families

Figure 2: Total number of murder = 11
Figure 3: Total number of manslaughter = 3
Figure 4: Total number of infanticide = 4
Figure 5: Total number of suicide = 17
Total Number of Interviews = 20
**APPENDIX IV: Table 1: Chart on Twenty Interviews and Personal Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interv &amp; Date</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Resid/Sch</th>
<th>Additions</th>
<th>Acts of Violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.April,1997</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>49&amp;40</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>*B-A. 1 suicide-shot/head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.July2,1997</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>54&amp;66</td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>*B-A. 1 Accidental death,1 Frozen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.August,1997</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>*B-A. 3 Suicide, 1 pill, 2 Foster care, hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.July3,1997</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>40&amp;43</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>**R-A. 2 suicide, 1 hang, 1 Foster care, 1 infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.March16,1997</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>***N-A 2 suicide, 1 murder, 4 accidental death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.September8,1997</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>**R-A 1 suicide (hang), 2 ax murder, 1 infanticide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.December26,1997</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>*B-A 1 murder/gang/victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.June 30,1997</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>***N-A. 1 suicide, shot/head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.May 1997</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>49 &amp; 62</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>**R-A 1 Infanticide, 2 in car accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.Aug18,1998</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Sap,Foster</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>**R-A 2 suicide (shot), 1 Murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Age 1</td>
<td>Age 2</td>
<td>How</td>
<td>Outcome 1</td>
<td>Outcome 2</td>
<td>Outcome 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.August 20, 1998</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.A.P</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>*B-A victim of violence (stab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.August 22, 1998</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>56 &amp; 50</td>
<td>S.A.P</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>**R-A 1 suicide attempt, 1 murder, 1 drown in resi/sch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.July 18, 1998</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>41 &amp; 65</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>*B-A 1Infanticide, 1 murder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.Nov. 15, 1998</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>**R-A 1 attempt murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.March 1999</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>**R-A 2 attempt suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.April 10, 1999</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>**R-A 4 murder, 1 other, 1 infanticide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.May 1, 1999</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>49 &amp; 44</td>
<td>Wage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>**R-A 1 manslaughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.March 1999</td>
<td>couple</td>
<td>48 &amp; 54</td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>*B-A 2 manslaughter (stab &amp; Beat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX V: Number of Acts of Violence Per Family
Interview 1 = 1 suicide, 1 other (1 attempts hang 3 times)
Interview 2 = 2 other (1 froze to death while intoxicated)
(1 choke on food while intoxicated)
Interview 3 = 3 suicide
Interview 4 = 2 suicide, 1 infanticide
Interview 5 = 4 suicide, 1 murder, 4 other (4 youths died of wood alcohol poison died in police cells)
Interview 6 = 1 suicide, 1 double ax murder, 1 infanticide
Interview 7 = 1 murder
Interview 8 = 1 suicide
Interview 9 = deleted
Interview 10 = 1 infanticide, 3 other (1 drink & drive) (2 car accident)
Interview 11 = 1 suicide, 1 other
Interview 12 = 2 suicide, 1 murder
Interview 13 = 1 other (pill overdose - lived)
Interview 14 = 1 murder
Interview 15 = 1 other (abducted by a male youth who knifed her, tortured her and stabbed her - lived)
Interview 16 = 1 murder, 2 other
Interview 17 = 1 suicide
Interview 18 = 1 suicide
Interview 19 = 1 murder, 1 infanticide
Interview 20 = 1 other (1 girl shoots dad's leg off as he beats her mother)
Interview 21 = 2 other (19 & 25 year old brother & sister attempt suicide)
Interview 22 = 4 murder, 1 infanticide, 1 other (girl gets shot in the face at a drinking party for asking for a smoke - died)
Interview 23 = 1 manslaughter
Interview 24 = 2 manslaughter
Interview 25 = deleted
Interview 26 = deleted

Total Number of Murders = 11
Total Number of Manslaughters = 3
Total Number of Infanticide = 4
Total Number of Suicides = 15
Total Number of Other = 9
Multi-Acts of Violence in each Family = 13

Total Number of Interviews = 23
Works Cited


