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Language and culture loss due to colonial  
imperialism in Canadian Residential  
Schools

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## ABSTRACT

In September 2021, a painful page in Canada's history was reopened as 1,300 unmarked graves were found across former residential schools in Canada. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the late 1990s, residential schools existed and expanded in Canada, with the aim to *Europeanize* the Indigenous children. These schools were funded by the federal government in collaboration with the different churches as a process of colonization by assimilation, destroying and erasing Indigenous cultures, identities, and history. The residential school survivors' efforts have not been in vain, as there has been an increasing acknowledgement of the harm, effects, and losses, as well as the general recognition of the need of conciliation between the indigenous and non-indigenous population.

This project addresses the history of Canadian residential schools, as well as the interaction between language and culture. The aim is to understand language and culture suppression, and its consequences on account of the residential school system that operated for almost two centuries in Canada's cultural context. An experimental study was conducted to investigate 1) whether students aged 18- to 22-years know what residential schools were, and 2) whether language loss triggers culture loss and if both are intertwined. For the first part, the experiment recruited 67 undergraduate university students who committed to a questionnaire shaped between history, language, and culture questions. For the second part, four field professionals were asked for interviews to reach an inner perspective that would complement the research. The results suggest that most students aged 18- to 22-years do not know what residential schools were or what happened in Canada, and that language loss does entail culture loss. This research puts into focus the significance of teaching and learning a country's history to avoid committing the same mistakes in a future.

**Keywords:** Residential schools, Canada, Indigenous, History, Language, Culture, Relationship between language and culture, Intergenerational trauma, Settler imperialism.

## **DEDICATION**

To all the kids who never returned home. I hope all the damage will one day be recovered.

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I owe it all to you.

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**Elder:** A highly respected member of a First Nations, Métis, or Inuit community (The Alberta's teacher association, 2017). An Elder transmits their wisdom, knowledge, and oral traditions to the community, and therefore Elders are teachers, healers, and counselors. Their knowledge is essential in ensuring the culture's continuity (S. *Hele*, 2021).

**Indian Act (1876):** The Canadian legislation, first introduced in 1876. According to the Canadian Encyclopedia, it is the primary law the federal government uses to administer Indian status, local First Nations governments and the management of reserve land. It also outlines governmental obligations to First Nations peoples. Does not reference non-status First Nations peoples (Parrott, 2006).

**First Nations:** term used to describe Indigenous people of Canada who are not Métis or Inuit. This term started to be used in the 1970s to replace the term "Indian" or "Indian band" which is offensive. It includes Status, Treaty or Registered, as well as non-Status and non-Registered indigenous people. Approximately, 820,120 First Nations live in Canada (University of Waterloo, 2021).

**First peoples/ Natives/ Aboriginal peoples:** collective term used to describe the original peoples of Canada and their descendants (Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, 2012, p.11).

**Indian status:** “[One’s] individual legal status as an Indian, defined by the Indian Act” (Communications Branch Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2002, p.12).

**Inuit:** The term means “people” Inuktitut language. Inuit are another distinct Indigenous group living primarily in Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit homeland. Their territory comprises:

the Inuvialuit Settlement Regions (Northwest Territories), Nunavut, Nunavik (Northern Québec), and Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador) Historically, they were located in the Arctic. Do not use “Eskimo” as it is demeaning. In total, approximately 64,235 Inuit live in Canada (University of Waterloo, 2021).

**Métis:** a specific Indigenous group in Canada with a unique history, culture, language, and territory. They are the descendants of both First Nations people and European settlers. The official language of the Métis Nation is Michif. 587,545 identify as Métis (University of Waterloo, 2021).

**Non-status:** “A First Nations person who is not registered or has lost their status under the Indian Act” (The Alberta Teacher’s association, 2018, p.3).

**Status/registered:** A First Nations person who meets the requirements to be “a registered First Nation” as they are registered with the Canadian government under the Indian Act Treaty Indian (The Alberta Teacher’s association, 2018).

**TRC:** The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was created by the Residential School Survivors, the Assembly of First Nation, Inuit representatives, the federal government, and the church. It was created with one main aim: to explain what happened and report the truth; the truth of Survivors, families, communities, former employees, and government and church representants. The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) is now responsible for preserving the TRC records. (NRCT, 2022)

**Important:** Capitalize Indigenous, Aboriginal, First Nation, Inuit, and Métis likewise French, or German are. If the word “Peoples” comes after the terms “Indigenous or Aboriginal” (e.g., Indigenous Peoples), it should also be capitalized. By adding “peoples”,

it recognizes the existence of more than one group of Indigenous Peoples (University of Waterloo, 2021).

## **Terms to avoid**

**Aboriginal/ Native:** Outdated terms that should be avoided in respectful conversations. They refer to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. However, Aboriginal is commonly used since it is in the Canadian Constitution (Queen's University, 2019).

**Indian:** Extremely undervaluing and negative term, it entails strong negative connotations due to its history, as it was used in the policies implemented by the government (Queen's University, 2019).

**Native Canadians/Indigenous Canadian:** Indigenous peoples have been in Canada thousands of years before Canada was discovered by colonizers. Many Indigenous Peoples do not consider themselves Canadian, and therefore should not be referred to using these terms (Queen's University, 2019).

## 1.Introduction

“Those who do not know their history, are doomed to repeat it”- Paul Preston.

History is crucial. It is through history we learn about the past, the people, and the societies once lived and existed. History enables us to understand the world we live in, how societies came to be like they are now, and it builds our identity. But history is not always straightforward. Sometimes it is altered, changed, and hidden. This thesis will focus on Canada's hidden history about the residential school system. For almost two centuries, the indigenous population was oppressed in an attempt to “kill the Indian in the child” (Pratt, 1982, p.46) and erase their native cultures and languages.

The concept of “otherness” plays an essential role in this analysis too. For many years, philosophers, anthropologists, and sociologists have been studying it. The greatest genocides in history have been the answer of hatred and prejudices towards the “different”. Historically, those who are different have always been described according to some conventional standards set up by a group of people who considered themselves culturally, economically, and political superior-. Deflecting from the norm should not be regarded as something one should be afraid of. Otherness is essential in our society; only by accepting that we are all different will we progress as a community and grow as individuals. We should embrace and love what is different instead of letting hate and prejudices consume us. As Nelson Mandela stated in his book *Long Walk to Freedom*, “No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite” (p. 115).

This paper's purpose is to present the history of Canadian residential schools, discover the relationship between language and culture, and whether language loss triggers culture loss and whether both are intertwined. In the theoretical background, the study focuses on different aspects such as, the history, settler imperialism, language and culture, indigenous languages in North America, and the intergenerational trauma. This will serve as a foundation for the paper's experimental study.

The method section was developed to investigate the students' knowledge on the residential school system in Canada, as well as their thoughts on the interrelationship between language and culture. The method will include a questionnaire aimed at students aged 18- to 22-years and four interviews with diverse professional on the area.

### **1.1 Introducing the problem**

According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), the residential school system began in the 1880s and lasted until 1996 when the last residential school in the province of Saskatchewan closed (see Figure 1 in *Appendix A*). The residential school system was created and perpetuated by the Canadian Government, along with the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United churches (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). At a minor level, however, there were also residential schools that operated without federal support and were supported by religious orders or provincial governments (Restoule, 2013).

The origins of the residential school system are found in Canada's colonial history. Canada was first colonized by the French Empire, and finally acquired by Britain through the Treaty of Paris (1763). Both the French mission "civilisatrice" and the English colonies ran missions to enhance their respective empires. However, their aim was "not merely a cultural and ecclesiastical exchange", but rather a means to solve

“Canada’s problem” regarding the Aboriginal population. They wanted to civilize and Christianize (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015) what they thought was “the savage”.

Residential schooling was the policy of choice to reshape the identity and consciousness of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children. Residential schooling that punished the expression of Aboriginal languages, spirituality, and life ways and attempted to instill a Euro-Canadian identity in Aboriginal children, continued from 1831 into the 1970s (Castellano, Archibald, DeGagné, 2008, p.1).

In 1876, amendments to the Indian Act<sup>1</sup>were adopted and resulted in the creation of the first industrial residential school in 1883 to solve the “Indian problem”, these were the words of Duncan Campbell Scoot, superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs.

In 1920, the Indian Act prohibited and declared it illegal to attend any other educational institutions that were not residential schools for indigenous children (Restoule, 2013). In that year, Duncan Campbell Scoot also stated: “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” (Rheault, 2011, p. 3).

The colonizers justified the imposition of the residential school system on the superiority and universality of European beliefs and values. As Barker puts it, “the basic substance of the problem of colonialism is the belief in the superiority and universality of Euroamerican culture” (Barker, 2009, p.341). Thus, in these schools, all aspects of Indigenous cultures, such as languages, traditions, and heritages were to be eradicated in

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Indian” was extensively used in the 1800s to describe the Aboriginal population. However, now, it is considered extremely offensive and should be avoided.

an attempt to dissolve such culture (Young, 2017). Children were forbidden to speak their native languages, and harshly punished if they were heard doing so; they were separated from their families, denigrated, indoctrinated, and forced to erase their identities:

Many former students identify the most painful legacy of Canada's Indian Residential Schools as the loss of First Nations culture and language resulting from cultural denigration, religious indoctrination, and the removal of children from their families (Oxaal, 2005, p.367).

The Indigenous population in Canada is divided into three main groups according to the Canadian Encyclopedia: The First Nations, the Métis, and the Inuit. All of them suffered the effects of the residential school system, as an estimated number of 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children, aged between 4- and 16-years were obliged to attend those schools in Canada (see Figure 2 in *Appendix B*). In 1879, Nicholas Flood Davin, in the Report on Industrial Schools for *Indians* and *Half-Breeds*, claimed that "...[I]f anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young. The children must be kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions" (Davin, p. 2).

Several survivors have spoken up about the nonhuman abuse suffered at the schools: verbal, physical, sexual, and psychological. The effects of these schools cannot be calculated; suicide, intergenerational trauma, psychological wounds, and the perpetration of the abuses these children suffered are just some of them.

The boys rose at 6:30 a.m., then put in four and a half hours of manual labour, three hours in the classroom, and one hour at religious studies. They had only one hour a day of unsupervised activity and were to go to bed between 8:45 and 9:00 p.m. Along with their manual training, they were required to do housework, knit, launder clothes, cook, bake, and serve meals. Manual training included tailoring, farming, carpentry, painting, printing, and shoe repair. Working in the laundry,

one of the least desirable jobs, was reserved for the newly arrived or those being punished (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.146).

The Government of Canada has been trying to amend their mistake and reconcile with all the damage. Dissimilarly, the United States adopted a clear policy of genocide and killed 97% of their indigenous population. L. F. Baum, before being widely known for writing the Wizard of Oz, he ran a newspaper in South Dakota. In an article of his Sitting Bull editorial, he stated: “The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians”. He used words like “annihilation” and argued that he supported the killing of the entire indigenous population, which was what latter happened in the U.S.

In addition to that, the U.S., has never apologized for its boarding school policies, differently to the Government of Canada who has tried to correct their acknowledged errors in the last few years, giving \$350 million to support survivors of residential schools. On the 13th of February of 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Joseph Harper issued a public apology on behalf of the Canadian Government for the damage perpetuated to the Indigenous population for almost two centuries (June, 2008, p.27). In 2015, the TRC- Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report- declared the residential school system as *cultural genocide*. Dr. Crystal Fraser (see *Appendix Y*) agrees with the TRC asserting that if “we look at the system as a whole, for sure, it was *genocide*”.

Despite this, sadly the ongoing effects continue and will continue for many years. Moreover, now this painful page in history has been reopened again. In 2021, thousands of graves were discovered on the grounds of different residential schools across Canada. Officially, the original records only recorded that 300 children died at residential schools.

The TRC had formerly suggested, without having the records, that the number could be around four thousand. Now the number has rocketed, and the estimate is over 20,000.

## **1.2 Settler Imperialism**

The whole part of the residential school was a part of a bigger scheme of colonization. There was intent; the schools were there with the intent to change people, to make them like others and to make them not fit. And today, you know, we have to learn to decolonize. (Shirley Flowers, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, TRC, 2015, p. 43).

The Canadian residential school system is part of the history of settler colonialism, perpetuated for the past 500 years, and whose influence is still present today (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). The TRC claims that the industrial-boarding school systems were a means of colonial expansion. Nevertheless, in the G20 meeting in 2009, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper claimed that Canada had “no history of colonialism” (Shrubb, 2014, p.3). This affirmation entailed the infuriation of the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in Canada who are still suffering from it.

The Oxford dictionary defines settler colonialism as the system of power that perpetuates the genocide and repression of indigenous peoples and culture. Settler colonial genocide is a phenomenon often related to the United States or Australia, but it is rarely applied to Canada; that is why most of its population does not know it. Moreover, incidents like sexual and physical abuse against the Indigenous women are historically considered a “series of discrete colonial-driven events as a broad legacy of colonialism” (Logan, 2014, p.114). This gives us the hint that the settler cultural genocide is still

unrecognized by many people, as Tricia Logan (2014, p.112) recognizes citing Jill Mahoney:

Settler colonial crimes committed in the pursuit of ‘civilizing’ the ‘Canadian wilderness’ and establishing a powerful, economically viable nation are often erased or ignored, and Indigenous peoples are often instructed to ‘just get over it’ (Mahoney, 2013).

Moreover, settler colonial genocide does not appear in the Canadian museum and neither in the Canadian historical narratives. Canada has achieved to create a “mythology of nation-building and a national narrative that does not correspond to the realities of Indigenous peoples’ experiences” (Logan, 2014, p.113).

As previously stated, the French mission *civilisatrice* and the English Empire—mainly driven by the Protestant and Catholic churches—ran missions so as to enhance their respective Empires; however, their aim was not just an ecclesiastical one as they also wanted to reinforce the colonies, create new roads between them, transfer the land from collective to private property and ultimately civilize what they thought was “the savage” (Logan, 2017 p.78). Missionaries believed that their role was to “Christianize first and then civilize” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.35). In 1993, an Anglican missionary described the All Sain School at Aklavik in the Northwest Territories as the “most northerly residential school in the British Empire” (TRC, 2015, p.1) and thus highlighting the idea that residential schools were part of “an imperial process” between the states and the Christian churches (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.1).

At the beginning of Canada’s history of colonialism, Aboriginal peoples were the ones holding a powerful position, outnumbering the European newcomers who needed them if they wanted to survive (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). This

changed over time, and settlers started to be accommodated while the Indigenous people were separated from their land. It started as an exploitation of their resources and ended in a “permanent migration of agricultural settlers” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.13).

The civilizing mission was based on racial and cultural superiority with Europeans in the center and “in descending order, were Asians, Africans, and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and Australia” (TRC, 2015, p.47), assuming that “the colonizers were bringing civilization to savage people who could never civilize themselves” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.18). All these arguments and ideas lead towards the first policies implemented on Indigenous peoples, and the creation of industrial boarding schools which later arose in the creation of residential schools: “Centuries of forced removals and development of the industrial-boarding school model preceded the Indian residential schools” (Logan, 2017, p.72).

In 1883, Britain’s Lord Rosebery claimed, “It is on the British race, whether in Great Britain, or the United States, or the Colonies, or wherever it may be, that rest the highest hopes of those who try to penetrate the dark future, or who seek to raise and better the patient masses of mankind” (TRC, 2015, p.19). That same year, the Canadian government opened its first industrial residential school for Aboriginal people at Battleford on the Canadian Prairies.

What cannot be denied is that “residential schools were places created to transform Aboriginal children, through assimilation, into a modernizing and colonial society” (Leeuw, 2007. p.1).

### **1.3. Language and culture relationship:**

Embodied in Aboriginal languages is our unique relationship to the Creator, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and the fundamental notion of what is truth ... Language is the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared, and transmitted from generation to generation. The key to identity and retention of culture is one's ancestral language. —Elder Eli Taylor, Sioux Valley First Nation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p.110).

According to Elder Eli Taylor, language is the representation of a culture, and thus of the group of people who feel identified to that culture. A language represents the historical and cultural background of a person, but it also reflects something essential, their life's perspective, as well as their identity.

Historically, anthropologists, linguists, and philosophers have agreed on the influence and interdependence between language and culture. The philosopher J.G. Herder sustained the idea that “language in and of itself contains national (ethnic) culture” (Votruba, 2017, p.95). Similarly, the anthropological linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf stated that a person's language, with its correspondent lexicon, influences and reflects the way they perceive the world, as well as the features of their particular culture and history (Al-Sheikh Hussein, 2012). The linguist Humboldt went even further to say that languages and cultures express “the spirit of a nation” (Bolikulovich, 2020, p.57). Dr. Mahadi and Jafari also reach the conclusion that language is “the symbolic representation of a culture”. He argued that languages are “inextricably embedded” in cultures (Mahadi & Jafari, 2012, p.234).

Thus, it seems that language, culture, and thought present an interdependence. Language and culture shape our identity as individuals and as society members. It cannot

be denied that a particular language is part of a particular culture, characterizing and distinguishing it from other cultures.

It can be argued, therefore, that the language we speak shapes our thoughts and our vision of the world. Lera Boroditsky (2011) tries to clarify and explain this idea by the concept of time. She discovered that depending on the language one speaks, one will think, understand, and express time differently.

People in different cultures or groups have been shown to differ in whether they think of time as stationary or moving, limited or open-ended, as distance or quantity, horizontal or vertical, oriented from left to right, right to left, front to back, back to front, or in cardinal space as an example East to West (Boroditsky, 2011, p.653).

Native Spanish speakers, for instance, are much more flexible when talking about time than native German speakers. Why? The formers have more flexibility to express the concept of time. This entails a certain cultural behavior, which results in Spanish speakers tending to be always late and German speakers, who are thought to always arrive on time:

Everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative. Every language form we use has meanings, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language (Jiang, 2000, p.329).

Therefore, are language and culture intrinsically related? Indeed, they are, and Dr. Jiang (2000) explains this complex concept by a comparison.

If we compare the society to a swimming pool, language is a swimming skill and culture is the water. When both are present, people swim well (communicate successfully). They swim confidently and rapidly when they are familiar with the water (i.e., within their native culture), but cautiously and slowly when it is unfamiliar to them (within a foreign culture).

The three elements are needed: a swimming pool, the skill of swimming, and the water. Without the water (the culture), we do not know how to swim in the swimming pool and feel lost. This is what the residential school system aimed at, to take the water from the swimming pool.

In addition to removing the languages, one of the other common practices of residential schools that the TRC argued as cultural genocide was cutting the children's hair to look like European children. In the indigenous cultures, the hair represents different ideas. For some tribes, for instance, their hair is "the physical extension of (their) thoughts, allows for (their) direction along the Path of Life" (Child Protection Services, Department of Community Services and Seniors and Prince Edward Island's First Nations, n.d., p.74).

In the Mi'kmaq Nation for instance, the hair is considered a sacred extension of their spirit that not anybody can touch. Jeff Ward, a Mi'kmaq and the General Manager at Membertou Heritage Park revealed in an interview that:

Your hair, we're taught from our elders and our teachings, your hair is sacred and it's an extension of your spirit (Reynolds, 2021).

For other communities, to cut the hair is a sign of mourning and thus when the children had their hair cut, they thought a member of their family had died after they were taken away from home into the schools (Miller, 2003). And nobody told them otherwise.

Cutting their hair is just one of the examples of the several violations and humiliations perpetrated in residential schools. They tried to erase their heritage, values, beliefs, practices, and even their physical “Indian appearance”. The residential school system isolated thousands of kids from their families and communities, prohibiting them to speak their native languages, learn about their legacies (Oxall, 2005), and denying them “the basic human right to transmit their traditions and maintain their cultural identity” (Brass, Kirmayer Tait, 2000, p.608).

Many survivors of residential schools argue that, once they were free, they did not identify with their culture and people; they did not feel at home as they could not understand their own language, as well as their traditions. They were aliens in their own home. After her research, Dr. Jiang (2000) claimed that “between language and culture there is always an interactive influence: the two cannot exist without each other. They combine to form a living organism” (p. 339). Therefore, language and culture are a whole; they complement each other and thus, when one is missing, the other will be always affected. And this is what sadly happened.

As Elder Shirley Williams clearly states, “Language and culture cannot be separate from each other—if they are, the language only becomes a tool, a thing ... Our language and culture are our identity and tell us who we are, where we came from and where we are going” (TRC, 2015, p.105).

#### **1.4 Indigenous languages in North America**

The indigenous peoples of North America are the inhabitants, ancestors, and descendants of that continent before the arrival of European settlers in the fifteen century (Muckle, 2012). Around 1500 languages are known to have existed within the North, Central, and South America. In North America- referred to by the natives as the “turtle island” to avoid the imperialistic term “America” (Muckle, 2012, p.4)-, there were approximately 300 hundred languages when Europeans arrived, only 187 have survived and still exist today (Lynn & Mithun, 2012).

John Wesley Powell (Campbell & Bright, 2016) identified 58 language families in the territory that is now North America. North America alone had around 300 native distinct languages, Mesoamerica had 80, and South America 500. European colonization led to the disappearance of many and changed those that survived (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018). Some have become extinct, displaced by English, but others still remain. The first ethnolinguistic map shows the languages in North America before European colonization (see Figure 3 in *Appendix C*). Additionally, the Figure 4 (*Appendix D*) exposes the living and dormant native languages of the United States and Canada. Finally, Figure 5 (*Appendix E*) represents and displays nine of the most important language families in Canada with its respective extension.

In Canada, the Census of Population (2016) reported more than 70 Aboriginal languages (see Table 1, *Appendix M*), divided into twelve main different language families: Inuit, Iroquoian, Algonquian, Athabaskan, Tsimshian, Salisha, and Siouan languages, Wakashan, Tlingit, Michif, Kutenai, and Haida. The three major language families accounting for a 92.6% of Aboriginal language speakers in Canada are Algonquian, Inuit, and Athabaskan.

The Algonquian was reported as the language family with most speakers. Within this family, there is a majority of Cree dialects and speakers<sup>2</sup>, scattered among diverse Canadian territories, while Blackfoot is found in Alberta and Atikamekw in Quebec (see Table 1 *Appendix M*).

The second family with the highest number of speakers is the Inuit, whose speakers are mainly concentrated in Quebec and Nunavut. For the Athabaskan, Dene was the most reported language used in the family, spoken in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Within the three major language families, Statistics Canada (2016, p.6) reported that “the Aboriginal languages spoken by the largest number of First Nations people were Cree languages, Ojibway, Oji-Cree, Dene and Montagnais (Innu)” (see Figure 11, *Appendix N*). If we compare the data between 2011 and 2016, we will notice an increase in the number of speakers of the most commonly spoken languages (see Figure 12, *Appendix O* ).

Iroquoian languages are spoken in Ontario and Quebec, with Mohawk as the most reported language. Siouan languages were found to be primarily spoken in Alberta and Manitoba. Tlingit had few speakers, most of them in Yukon. Michif was a language developed and used by the Métis unifying French nouns and Cree verbs (Métis Nation of Alberta, 2022). Speakers were concentrated mainly in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The other five Aboriginal language families are Salish languages, Tsimshian languages, Wakashan languages, Haida and Kutenai, all located in British Columbia, but with considerably fewer speakers.

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<sup>2</sup> Indigenous people identify themselves according to the ethnolinguistic group they belong to. However, they do not use the terms we use, such as Cree or Blackfoot, as they consider them to be European labels. Instead, they use their own languages to refer to their communities, for instance, they refer to Nehiyawak instead of Cree, or Siksiká'powahsin for Blackfoot.

Figure 6 (*Appendix F*) represents the distribution of the main Indigenous language families in the territory of Canada before the first European contact.

Languages within the same language families were and are still often mutually incomprehensible and unintelligible, similar to German and English, two different languages, and both belonging to the Indo-European family and are both classed as Germanic Languages. *Appendix X* shows the classification of the Indigenous families and languages, from north to south, and east to west that existed and still exists in North America according to Campbell (2000).

There has been an increase in the population of the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit throughout the years, accounting for 1,400,685 (see Table 2, *Appendix P*) in the Statistics Canada 2011, and increasing to 1,673,785- a 4,9 % of Canada's population- in the Statistics 2016. And it is estimated that the number will continue to escalate (see Figure 13, *Appendix Q*), as the percentage of youth, which has also increased in the indigenous communities from 2006 to 2016 (See Figure 14, *Appendix R* ).

Nevertheless, the percentage of First Nations speaking aboriginal languages changes drastically on behalf of their status (see Figure 15, *Appendix S*). Remarkable differences are encountered among the Inuit, the Métis, and the First Nations. Namely, less than a 2 % of the Métis population is able to follow a conversation in an Aboriginal language. Métis seniors are more likely to follow a conversation in their respective native language, and differently to the Inuit and the First Nations tables, they surpass the children from 0- to 24-years (see Table 3, 4, 5 in *Appendix T*, *Appendix U*, *Appendix V* ).

The cultural and linguistic richness that all these linguistic groups have provided are enormous. For instance, Campbell and Mithun (2012, p.8) assert that the term “Canada” comes from the now-extinct Laurentian Iroquois meaning “settlement” or “houses”, or Mississippi which comes from an Algonquian language, probably Ojibwa

or Cree, meaning big river (misi “big” + sipi “river”). Thus, its revitalization and safeguard are of extremely relevance, as many of them are already extinct and impossible to recover again due to the residential school system.

## **1.5 The Residential school system**

### ***1.5.1 Differences across Canada***

Canada is divided among four distinct regions (see Figure 7 and 7.1 in *Appendix G*). The North of Canada is the northernmost region of Canada and geographically refers to Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories. The West includes British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Central Canada is the region that comprises Ontario and Quebec; however, it geographically overlaps with the East- also known as the Maritimes, the Maritime Provinces, or Atlantic Canada. The Maritimes encompasses the provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

The residential school system operated across all Canada (see Figure 8 and 8.1, *Appendix I, Appendix J*) Nonetheless, its administration differed according to the territories where the schools were created, as well as the churches that regulated each school.

The residential school system in the Northwest Territories was unique. Due to its remoteness and location. Canada’s government did not hold any power over them for almost a century, which resulted in a low number of schools created. At the beginning of the twentieth century, only two residential schools operated in the Northwest Territories (TRC, 2015). Dr. Fraser, (See the interview transcript, *Appendix Y*) agrees with the latter idea highlighting the difficulty to reach the Northwest territories on account of the harsh living conditions and climate. Consequently, the residential schools’ missionaries sought

help in the indigenous communities, who were already used to living and surviving in those conditions. Hence, the residential schools in the north are said to have been more flexible. Dr. Fraser also advocates that without the help of the peoples in the North, “they” would have died.

Still, in each story there is a counterpart. On the one hand, northern residential schools were often far from the indigenous communities and children could be hundreds or even thousands of kilometers away from their families. This resulted in difficulties in transportation and the children who were not able to see their families for years (TRC, 2015, p.24). On the other hand, the missionaries who arrived at those remote locations were often the “church outcasts” (See the interview transcript, *Appendix Y*), sent there as a punishment for breaking the rules. Grollier Hall in Inuvik and Turquetil Hall in Igluligaarjuk were two northwest residential schools marked by the perpetuation of sexual, physical, and emotional abuses for many years (TRC, 2015, p.11).

The Northwest was the region that survived longer without residential schools, and in the 1900s, there were just two residential schools. Thus, its history is recent and there are many first- and second-generation school survivors and their descendants still alive. Furthermore, as a considerable number of the indigenous population live in the northern territories, the legacy of the schools, as well as the intergenerational impact are “strongly felt in the North” (TRC, 2015, p.11).

In the eastern Arctic and northern Québec, which are the current Nunavut and Nunavik regions (TRC, 2015, p. 89), a similar situation to the one in the Northwest occurred:

The introduction of residential schooling was part of a series of dramatic and traumatic changes. It was in the homeland of most of Canada’s Inuit population.

The hostel and school system was imposed on them with no consultation, by people who did not speak their language. Few parents had any experience of schools, and the residences were often located thousands of kilometers from their homes. They had no opportunity to see where their children would be living or to keep in contact with them once they left.

The west had “the robust beginnings of a school residential system designed with Euro-Canadian racial assumptions and evangelical objectives, rather than Natives needs and negotiated commitments” (Miller, 1996, p.410). This does not mean that in the North the children’s needs were considered; they were also separated from their parents with no consultation. However, in the west there was no mutual help or negotiation as in the North. Figure 9 (*Appendix K*) shows a map of British Columbia’s residential schools. In Atlantic Canada there were not any residential schools until Shubenacadie school opened in 1930, aiming to “provide for the unprivileged Indian child of the Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces” (Miller, 1996, p.313). It was funded by the federal government and managed by the Roman Catholics (Government of Canada, 2021).

In Central Canada, specifically in Ontario (see Figure 10, *Appendix L*), there were about 15 residential schools. The Mohawk Institute, in Brantford was the first school in Canada to open and was run by the Anglican Church (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2022).

### ***1.5.2 Differences within the churches***

At the beginning, the schools were funded by Canada’s government, who were financially responsible for them, with the support of the different churches who administered them (TRC, 2015). Nonetheless, increasingly the residential schools appeared and were run by churches that had been established without the government support or approval. According to the TRC (2015) “the government constantly struggled, and failed, to assert

control over the churches' expansionary drive to increase the number of schools they operated" (p. 243).

The Settlement Agreement and the Final Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) estimated that approximately 130 residential schools operated in Canada for almost one century. Nevertheless, this might not be the final number as there were some anomalies which hinder this calculation. Namely, some schools were counted as only one, and the schools created in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by Indian Affairs were not eventually included in the Settlement Agreement (see *Appendix H*).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission assured that the federal government did not establish a set of clear educational goals at residential schools. Schools were given freedom regarding their policies. For instance, Alberta was Canada's province with a higher number of residential schools; sixteen were Roman Catholic, three from the United Church and seven Anglican. Each school operated differently regarding the location and their religious affiliation (ARPDC, n.d.). Likewise, the practices used varied significantly among schools. Billy Diamond, who attended the Anglican School at Moose Factory, Ontario, remembers that "in 1950s the punishment for speaking Cree was having one's mouth washed out with soap" (TRC, 2015, p.111). Differently, at the Catholic school in Manitoba, every child who was heard speaking their language or did something considered wrong had their heads shaved (TRC, 2015).

Problems among the churches arose. At first everything was ideal, but gradually the different churches started hiring the members who would work in the residential schools. Apparently, teachers and staff had to belong to different faiths for a more "heterogenous education". Nevertheless, that was not often the case and the schools

“hired members who belonged to their own faith” (TRC, 2015, p.39). After some time, the churches complained about the funding the federal government was providing them. Some found it was not enough compared to other churches. The conflict harshened when churches aimed at enhancing their influence on the different territories. For instance, the Anglican church advocated “the injustice of limiting the Church of England in the Province of Saskatchewan to three Residential Schools for 3904 Anglican Indians while nine Schools of this class were provided for 5637 Roman Catholic Indians” (TRC, 2015, p.246). The federal government then created “zones of influence for each faith” (TRC, 2015, p.247). The problem was that the churches did not want to abandon the territory they consider “theirs” and this resulted in different residential schools, for instance Catholics and Protestants, only a few kilometers away.

Table 6 (see *Appendix W*) shows the number of schools that operated by the different churches between 1923 and 1924. There is a clear majority of Catholic schools, followed by the Anglican Church, the Methodist, and the Presbyterian. This makes us think that the Catholics expanded and held more control over the other faiths.

Finally, there are also differences in the apologies issued by the churches and the Canadian government. The latter, as well as the Anglican, United, and Presbyterian churches have all issued official apologies and dismissed the “Doctrine of Discovery” (Harvard Divinity School, 2018). The doctrine was used to legitimize the colonizations on the basis of culture, origins, religion... considered superior to the ones they were “discovering”. Reid (2010 p.336) defines the doctrine of discovery as the:

Legal means by which Europeans claimed rights of sovereignty, property, and trade in regions they allegedly discovered during the age of expansion. These claims were made without consultation with the resident populations in these

territories – the people to whom, by any sensible account, the land actually belonged.

It is interesting to highlight that the Catholic church, which was the one running the majority of the schools, had expressed regret but until only a few months ago had not yet issued an official apology (Harvard Divinity School, 2018). The 1<sup>st</sup> of April of 2022 the Pope apologized on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, arguing to “feel sorrow and shame”. According to Cassidy Caron, president of the Métis National Council, for some this apology was needed to finally heal.

### **1.6 Intergenerational trauma**

...There is a consensus...that due to residential school education, the current generation of elders and others who survived [endured] the system suffered traumatic losses in the areas of self-esteem, parenting skills, and language; that those losses are both psychological and cultural; and that, consequently those traumatic experiences will be transmitted in some form to the next generations (Ing, 1991, p.86).

To begin with, it is important to distinguish and consider the difference between the intergenerational trauma effects present in war survivors, and the ones from Natives. While in the former, the traumatic experience normally ends within the first generation, in the latter, it is perpetuated from generation to generation due to the repeat exposure “to traumatic experiences of violence, sexual abuse, accidental death, suicide, discrimination, and oppression” (O’Neill, Fraser, Kitchenham, McDonald, 2016, p.177). This trauma is often referred to as “historical trauma” (O’Neill, Fraser, Kitchenham, McDonald, 2016, p.177).

Imagine if someone takes away your culture, your language, and your traditions:

Language is fundamental for a prospering community, and for First Nations people it presents their traditional culture and way of living. It is essential for the ability of their culture to 'continue into future generations' as it 'provides the blueprint for how to live and survive' (Hallett et al., p. 395).

You are also deprived of love, friendship, and kindness. And you continuously hear that you are inferior and a savage. The most probable outcome will be trauma. Quoting Oxaal's words (2005, p.387): "(It) does not constitute a direct physical injury. Rather, it can be a cause of severe mental suffering and other consequent damage".

Florence Sparvier, 80, and former residential school student, alleges: "They made us believe we didn't have souls, (they) were putting us down as people, so we learned to not like who we were".

Logan (2016, p.281), quotes another survivor, and his words leave one downhearted:

I thought my parents were beneath me because they didn't know how to speak English and it was all wrong. From there I turned to alcohol and started drinking. I drank. Oh man, I hid everything for about thirty years. I never told anybody about getting abused in school, sexually abused. I kept my pain to myself. I was suicidal. I don't know how many times I tried to take my life. I figured I was a failure. I can't even do that, take my own life.

They were just kids who needed to play like other kids do, to be shown love, to learn their language and to have a sense of belonging. They were denied that too. Residential schools deeply affected the survivors and their descendance: "We've passed

this down to our children, it's in our genes" argues Doris Rosalyn Ing, sister of N. Rosalyn Ing, a school survivor (2000, p.8).

A survivor who attended Kamloops Residential School argues that attending a residential school has affected her parenting skills.

I can't say "I love you". I hate being held. I hate men. I hate any contact with --- Even my grandchildren, I can't even hold them. We were never taught to love, to care, and to say "I love you", and to say "You're doing a good job", you know. We were always disciplined standing in a corner. To me I feel that what I learned from the Residential School was that I'm just within myself. I don't care. That's the way I brought my children up. I brought my children up the same way I was brought up at Residential School (Logan, 2016, p.291).

Other survivors, like Earl's parents decided to start again, move-forward and "stop the cycle" (Ing, 2000, p. 105), and he remembers books on the bookshelves about parenthood and breeding.

Another survivor from the Dauphin McKay School in Manitoba claims that she is not connected to her family:

I don't feel connected to them. I feel like I'm away from them. I'm not close to them. Other people are close to their families and I'm not because I wasn't there. I left when I was twelve and I've been out ever since. I don't know how to relate to my family. And it hurts. It just makes me feel, you know, where's my home and what happened to my family. It is affecting me. I have a teenage daughter and she asks me: "How come you don't tell me that you love me and how come you

don't give me a hug?" She said, "How come you don't do that?" I didn't know what to tell her. I didn't know what to say. (Logan, 2016, p.292)

Residential schools closed, but its legacy continues thirty years after. The effects and trauma suffered by the children have been transmitted unintentionally generation after generation, becoming sometimes stronger and even extending to a particular culture and society (O'Neill, Fraser, Kitchenham, McDonald, 2016). "Families and communities share the effects of what is now known as post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008, p.29), and recognized by Byers and Gere (2007) as a "chain of pain" (p.388). Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor (see *Appendix BB*) asserts that "the cumulative impact of residential schools is a legacy of unresolved trauma passed from generation to generation". Dr. Crystal Fraser (see *Appendix Y*) compares it to a shoulder injury: "It is like having a shoulder injury. It does not define you, but it is always there".

Rupert Ross, an Assistant Crown Attorney in Ontario, puts into focus "student victims of abuse who became abusers, of family members traumatized by the lengthy removal of their children who do violence to returnees, and of the emergence in some communities of a generation of damaged children who have never been exposed to models of empathetic, pro-social family relationships" (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, p.5).

Most intergenerational and generational survivors have lived and shaped their lives according to the experiences they had to endure (Logan, 2016):

The Residential schools have left a legacy of broken individuals, torn families, a disintegrating culture and a society that is unwillingly dependent on government welfare (Child Protection Services, Department of Community Services and Seniors and Prince Edward Island's First Nations, 2015, p.94).

Due to her work as a resolution health support worker, Arlene Roberts (see *Appendix AA*) also argues that “prohibiting someone to speak their language will result in less security, less self-esteem, [a lack] of sense of belonging, and feeling like an outsider”.

Residential schools also lead to the drug and alcohol use by many survivors (Ross, Dion, Cantinotti, Collin-Vezina, & Paquette, 2015):

To this day I’m still traumatized. I still have PTSD. I still have nightmares. I have anxiety attacks. But I’ve been on my healing journey since 1990, when I sobered up. What I went through at Residential School affected every aspect of my life (p.281).

Similarly, a residential school survivor who attended Chootla Baptist Mission said in an interview:

Q.Are they still with us today? A. No. All my family, my whole family died from alcohol. Q. Did they go to Residential School too? A. Yes, all of them (Logan, 2016, p.288).

The last example that is appalling is from a St. Michael’s Alert Bay school survivor:

My grandparents going to Residential School, my mom going, and me going and my siblings going, and a lot of healing has to take place. If that doesn’t happen well then we stay sick in our soul. I was not happy with my life for so long and then I started seeking outside help. Ever since I started seeking that outside help I feel better about who I am and what I am, because who I was and what I was, they took that away from me in the Residential School. They took away my self-respect, my dignity, me being a human being (Logan, 2016, p.290).

There is still a long way to go, but the indigenous community is healing, everyone at their own pace. The government and the churches are amending their mistakes. Social consciousness has increased, and non-indigenous people have engaged in the fight and since “May 28, 2021, when news broke of the recovered remains of 215 children buried at the site of the former Kamloops Indian Residential School, (they) have been expressing widespread grief in person and across social media” (Jordan-MacGregor, K., personal communication, April 24, 2021).

What cannot be denied is that numerous lives were lost and have not been recorded yet. Many are still trying to forgive; others have already done so in order to continue with their lives. Their resilience is admirable, and for the first time the writer would like to take the liberty to state that the strength they have shown as a community, but also as individuals will eventually defeat the harm sustained for two centuries. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada is categorical on what needs to be done, “restore what must be restored, repair what must be repaired, and return what must be returned” (TRC, 2015).

And finally, time is needed: time to heal what was broken, time to forget, and time to recover.

### **1.7 Objectives of the current study**

The aim of this study is to discover and understand the effects of culture and language suppression, as well as the possible relationship between language and culture on behalf of the residential school system due to colonial imperialism. To assess this, four interviews and a questionnaire have been carried out. The purpose of the interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between language and culture, and the effects of the Canadian residential system on a linguistic, cultural, psychological, and

intergenerational levels. The purpose of the questionnaire was to evaluate undergraduate Spanish/Catalan students' knowledge on the topic, as well as the interrelation between language and culture according to them.

This study, which includes both the responses from the interviews and from the questionnaire, along with the background research, was designed to answer the following questions:

- What is the history of the residential school system in Canada?
- What impact did the residential schools have on the indigenous cultures and languages?
- In which ways are language and culture related?
- Does language loss affect culture loss?
- Do URV students aged 18- to 22-years know what residential schools were and what happened?

The main research questions of this study are:

- a) What impact did residential schools have on indigenous cultures and languages?
- b) Do Spanish/Catalan students aged 18- to 22-years know what residential schools were and what happened?

This led to the two main hypotheses:

- Language loss triggers culture loss and the two are intertwined.
- Students in Catalonia do not know what the residential schools in Canada were.

## **2. Method**

### **2.1. Sample**

This study consists of two parts: a questionnaire and four interviews with experts in the field.

The experimental group for the questionnaire comprises 67 URV students aged 18- to 22-years so as to understand the scope of the topic and discover if URV students know what residential schools were, as well as their impact on Canadian communities.

The questionnaire was created in Catalan to reach a considerable number of students. Moreover, students who might not be fluent in English, could be hesitant of writing their opinions and they would be more comfortable expressing themselves in Catalan.

Regarding the interviews, four professionals in the area were asked for an interview. The first interviewed was Dr. Crystal Fraser, a Gwich'in first nation, awarded the John Bullen Prize for her thesis "By Strength, We Are Still Here". The second respondent was Arlene Roberts, a fourth-generation survivor from the Nisga'a Nation, who works with the IRSS- Indian Residential School Survivor Society. The third interviewee was Lindy Robinson who worked for two communities in Tofino, British Columbia. She experienced firsthand the language loss as well as its current revitalization process. The final interviewee was Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor, a Development Associate at the Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund.

All the interviewees had witnessed firsthand the culture and language loss, as well as other effects of the residential school system, its revitalization process and conciliation. Thus, the knowledge and different perspectives discovered from these interviews were enormous.

## **2.2. Materials**

For the experiment, the researcher created an online format questionnaire through Microsoft Forms that could be easily accessed by the participants' mobile devices, as well as computers. The data from the questionnaire was collected and further analyzed using Microsoft Excel.

Regarding the interviews, one was carried out through Microsoft Teams, recorded, and later transcribed, while the three others were carried out through email due to scheduling conflicts.

## **2.3. Procedure**

### **2.3.1. Questionnaire Procedure**

Regarding the questionnaire, the researcher requested the participants to complete the questionnaire, which followed two main guidelines:

- a) The students' knowledge of the history of the Canadian residential school system
- b) The students' personal beliefs on the relationship between language and culture.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, a brief explanation about residential schools was added to introduce the topic to the students who did not know it, and give them context so that they could understand what happened and answer the questions afterwards.

The questionnaire included sixteen questions divided into the history of the Canadian residential schools and the relationship between language and culture (see *Appendix CC*)

The results were compared to determine whether students have a basic knowledge of the residential school system in Canada or not, comparing the different answers and beliefs, while taking into consideration:

- a) the rate of responses for each question
- b) remarkable differences among the answers

The questionnaire was created to be qualitative research rather than a quantitative to focus on the participant's attitudes, and the way of expressing their opinions rather than on the data. Consequently, for all the questions, except for two in which the answer was a yes or a no (see question 1 and 3 in *Appendix CC*) and one in which the participants either knew the answer or not (see question 2 in *Appendix CC*), the participants used long

answers to express their opinions. The researcher gathered and classified the opinions drawn from their responses and formatted this data into column in Excel focusing notably on the quantitative data drawn from the qualitative questionnaire.

Nevertheless, there are three questions that were not converted into numerical data as the responses were highly qualitative. These responses are explained in the results section to demonstrate the students' beliefs and opinions.

### ***2.3.2. Interview Procedure***

After exhaustive research about the experts on the area, organizations, museums, teachers, researchers, and elders, several emails- approximately fifty- were sent with the hope that some of the emailed would answer. Some did, specifically four, Dr. Crystal Fraser, Lindy Robinson, Arlene Roberts, and Kayleigh Jordan MacGregor. All the interviews, except for the one with Dr. Crystal Fraser were done via email.

For each of the interviews, the interviewees were asked questions specific to their backgrounds and personal experience. The background information of each of the interviewees was found online after a comprehensive Google research, and the questions were formatted based on their biographical information (see *Appendix Y, Appendix Z, Appendix AA, Appendix BB*) for the full transcriptions of the interviews). The interviewees were also asked question concerning the interdependence between language and culture, the effects of culture loss, the reconciliation process, as well as questions regarding their own opinions and experiences.

Dr. Fraser's interview was carried out through Microsoft Teams, recorded, and later transcribed. Its considerable length, one hour approximately, as well as the fast and colloquial language used hindered its transcription. The rest of the interviews were prepared in Word documents and sent to the respective interviewees, Lindy Robinson,

Arlene Roberts, and Kayleigh Jordan MacGregor. The turnaround time for the responses was quite short, once the questions were sent, the average response time was of a few days.

The researcher asked the questions formerly prepared, and the interviewees answered them, developing them in detail. For Dr. Fraser’s interview, the tutor Marni Lynne Manegre also attended the interview, making relevant contributions to it.

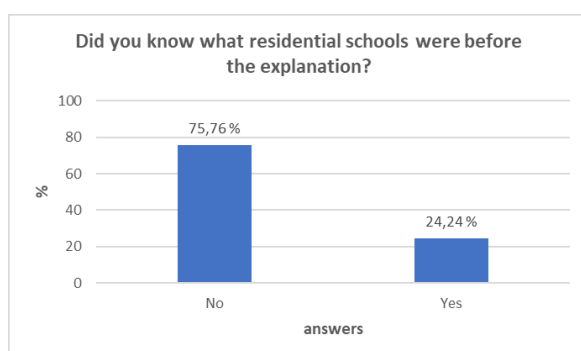
### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Questionnaire Results

The researcher analysed thirteen questions of the questionnaire and inserted the respective data in Excel, which were then transformed into the bar charts used in the figures below. The remaining three questions, which were not quantitatively analyzed are discussed after the quantitative analysis.

The results from the first question regarding whether the participants knew what residential schools were show that 76% of students did not know what residential schools were, while a 24% did (see Figure 16).

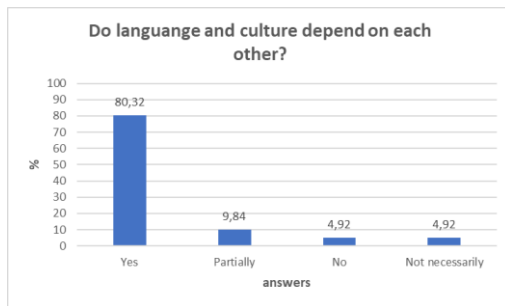
**Figure 16.** *The responses to whether the participants knew what the residential schools were.*



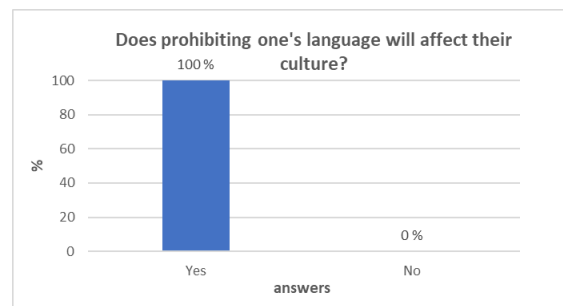
Regarding the relationship between language and culture, 100% argued that prohibiting someone’s language will affect their culture, but when asked other questions

about this relationship the responses changed a bit, and for instance 80% argued that culture and language depend on each other, while 10 % claimed they had no relationship and 10 % alleged they hold a partial relationship (See Figures 17 and 18 below).

**Figure 17.** *The responses to whether the participants think that language and culture depend on each other.*



**Figure 18.** *The responses of the participants to whether prohibiting someone to speak their language will affect their culture.*

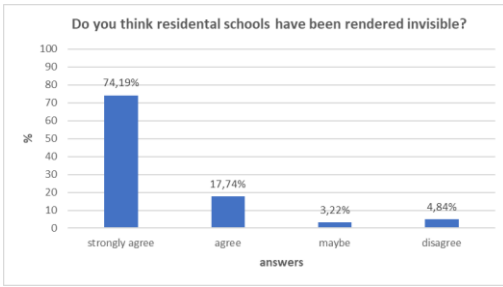


The following graphs reflect the other questions asked and analysed:

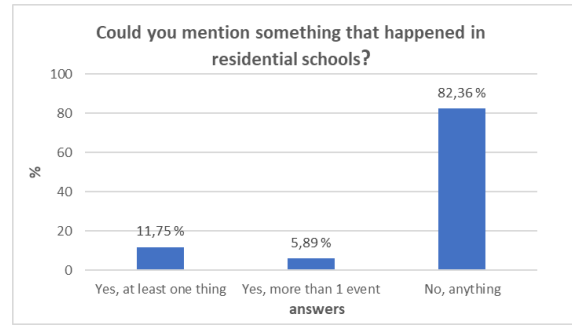
### 3.1.1. *Questions regarding the history of residential schools*

**Figure 19.** *The responses to whether the participants thought that residential schools have been rendered invisible.*

**Figure 20.** *The participants responses to whether they could mention something that happened in residential schools.*



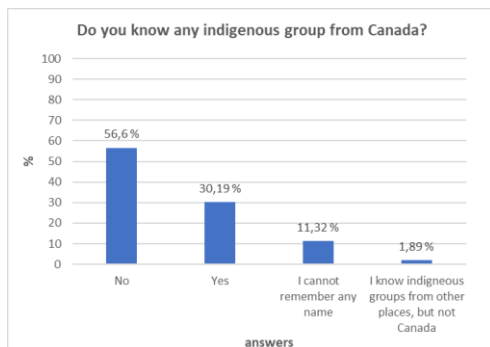
Almost a 92% agreed on the fact that residential schools have been made invisible, a 3 % were not sure about it and almost a 5 % disagreed. (see Figure X).



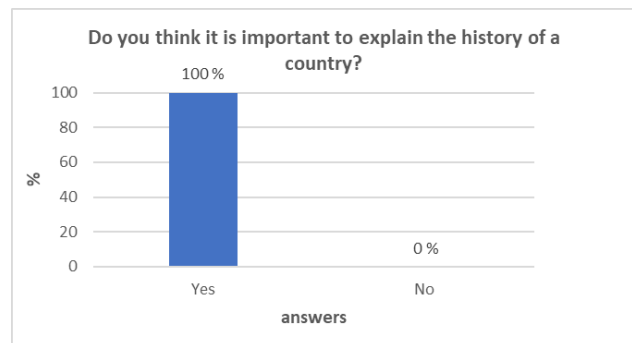
82% claimed to not know anything that happened at residential schools, 12% argued to know at least one thing and 5% to know more than one event (see Figure X).

**Figure 21.** *The participants’ responses to whether they knew any indigenous group from Canada.*

**Figure 22.** *The responses to whether the participants thought explaining a country’s history is important.*



In this question the responses varied. 57 % did not know any indigenous group from Canada, whereas 30 % did. 11% did not remember any names and 2 % knew other indigenous group outside Canada.



For this question, 100% agreed on the importance to explain a country’s history.

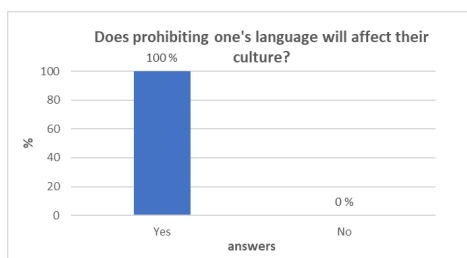
**Figure 23.** *The responses to whether the participants considered what happened a genocide.*



95 % of students considered what happened to be a genocide, whereas the other 5 % were divided among the ones who did not know what happened, the ones who were not sure and the ones who thought that probably it was a genocide.

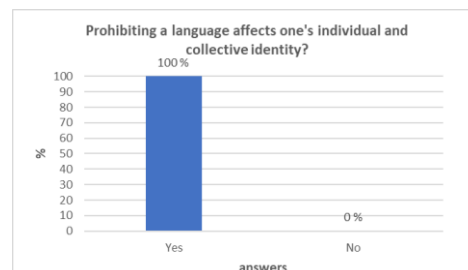
### 3.1.2. *Questions regarding the relationship between language and culture according to students*

**Figure 24.** *The responses to whether the participants thought that prohibiting someone to speak their language will affect their culture*



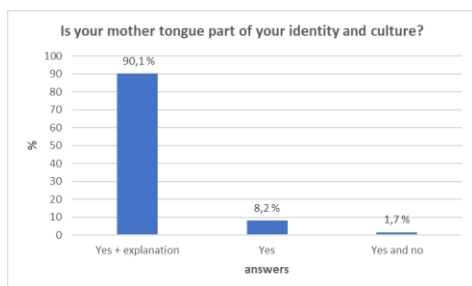
100% argued that prohibiting someone to speak their language will affect their culture.

**Figure 25.** *The responses to whether the participants thought that prohibiting a language affects one's prohibiting a language affects one's individual and collective identity?*



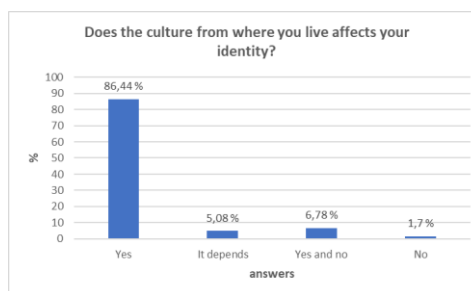
100% agreed on the fact that prohibiting someone to speak their language will also affect one's collective and individual identity.

**Figure 26.** *The participants' responses on whether their mother tongue is part of their identity and culture.*



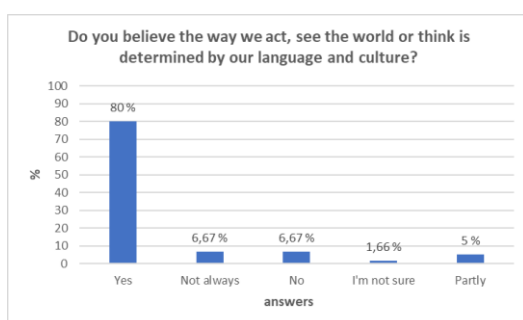
90% claimed that their mother tongue is part of their identity and culture, explaining it, while 8 % just answered yes and 2 % said no.

**Figure 27.** *The participants' responses on whether the culture from where they live affects their identity.*



86% asserted that the culture from where you live affects your identity, 5 % stated that it depends, 7 % claimed it depends (“yes and no”) and 2 % maintained it had no relation.

**Figure 28.** *The participants' responses to whether they believe the way we act, see the world or think is determined by our language and culture.*



80% agreed that the way we act, think and see the world is determined by our language and culture. 7% argued that this is not always the reason, another 7% disagreed. 5% agreed partly and 1% claimed not to be sure.

As mentioned above, there were three questions that were not quantitatively analysed.

The first of these questions is

- What can be the effects of banning a language?

The responses to this question were complex and varied. Most of the students agreed on the language disappearance as the main consequence. Others argued that this would result in the division of communities, the violation of the freedom of speech, identity genocide, the loss and extinction of traditions, beliefs, religions, and culture that are inevitably linked to the language.

The second question showing a complex set of responses is as follows:

- If a child is deprived of his or her language and culture for years, how do you think this will influence his or her integration into society?

Regarding the integration into the society, the answers were diverse. Some argued that the child would feel like an outsider within their own culture and family as they would not be able to speak their own language. Others defended that they would feel inferior and would have an inferiority complex. A few claimed that they would feel rejected and thus would try to integrate in the major culture- which is precisely what happened in some cases-. One student talked about resilience, a highly important word for this research, arguing that human resilience will help them to heal, even if they suffer from trauma as our mother tongue is the base of our society. I find it important to highlight the response of a student: “The child will drift aimlessly, neither feeling part of their own culture, nor from the colonizer’s one”.

The third question not included in the quantitative analysis is as follows:

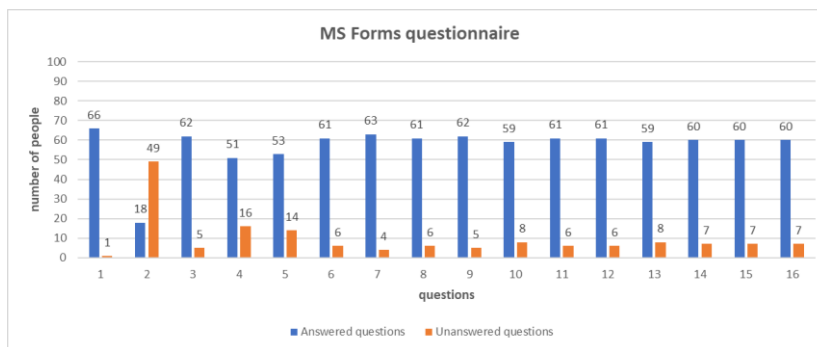
- What, in your opinion, shapes a culture?

Most of the students agreed the following shapes a culture: the language, the traditions, the religion/s, the life perspectives, the beliefs, the food, the histories, the

songs, the territory, and the values. One even argued that the weather is also a part of our culture, and it is true, when you think about the Spanish culture, you think about the sun for instance. The answers were extremely long, showing that everything one can think of, shapes a culture and it is indeed part of it.

The researcher also created a chart to demonstrate the rate of responses for each question (see Figure 29 below).

**Figure 29.** *Rate of responses from the participants for each question.*



There is a flow among the answers and thus, the answers do not present the same number of responses, but rather a rate of around sixty participants for each question. Include that none of the participants skipped all of the questions.

The second question seen in Figure 29 above is the only one with a clear number of participants who did not answer. In this question, the participants were asked about the residential school system’s responsible and affected. The fact that most students did not answer strengthens the belief that the majority of URV students did not know what residential schools were or what happened.

### 3.2. Interview Results

Regarding the interviews, the researcher finds it important to state what she learned from each of the respondents on the impact of language loss on one's culture and identity. These interviews are summarized below.

### ***3.2.1. Interview with Arlene Roberts***

Arlene Roberts was asked questions about her job in the IRSS, and the relationship between language loss and culture loss as an effect of residential schools. Due to her experience in the IRSSS, she argues that prohibiting someone to speak their language results in less security, self-esteem, and sense of belonging.

### ***3.2.2. Interview with Lindy Robinson***

Lindy Robinson organized and taught the literacy and numeracy portion of the youth summer camp in two indigenous communities in Tofino, Canada. She was asked questions about language loss and the revitalization languages processes in the two communities she worked.

Lindy witnessed first-hand the process of revitalizing an indigenous language in two different communities. Therefore, she claims that language loss due to government colonial policies has already affected the two communities in different ways. According to her, as language is so closely connected to one's culture and identity, inevitably the loss of language will have ripple effects on one's culture and identity.

### ***3.2.3. Interview with Dr. Crystal Fraser***

Dr. Crystal Fraser provided an inside perspective on the northwestern territories, being herself a Gwichyà Gwich'in, as well as an intergenerational survivor of residential schools whose task is extremely important in giving voice to Indigenous histories during

the second half of the twentieth century and highlighting the uniqueness of Northern Canada.

When Dr. Fraser was asked in which ways a language being taken away would affect one's culture and identity, she alleged that language defines your worldview, your epistemology. Suicide, high incarceration rates, and poor health are just some examples of the effects of residential schools.

#### ***3.2.4. Interview with Kayleigh Jordan MacGregor***

Finally, Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor explained Gord Downie's aim to build a better Canada. Inspired by Chanie's story, Gord Downie, together with his brother Mike Downie and in collaboration with the Wenjack Family, decided to create the Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund. DWF aims to build cultural understanding and create a path toward reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor maintained that the cumulative impact of residential schools is a legacy of unresolved trauma passed from generation to generation, which has had a profound effect on the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. She argued that many of their Indigenous team members do not speak the languages of their ancestors.

All the interviewees, even if their opinions differed slightly, agreed on the importance of building awareness of the past, a mutual respect between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous community, acknowledging the harm, and acting to change behaviours to create a path towards reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, and described it as a journey of collaboration.

## 4. Discussion

The first hypothesis of this study was that language loss triggers culture loss and the two are intertwined. Based on the responses from the questionnaire and the interviews, there appears to be a strong relationship between language loss and culture loss. This can be seen specifically from the responses to question 9 and 10 from the questionnaire (see *Appendix CC*) that has 100% indicating that prohibiting someone to speak their language will affect them both individually and collectively, but also in question 11 in which 80 % acknowledged that language and culture depend on each other. Questions 12, 13 and 14 also proved this point. In question 12, 90% claimed that their mother tongue is part of their identity and culture. In question 13, 86% asserted that the culture from where you live affects your identity, and in question 14, 80% agreed that the way we act, think, and see the world is determined by our language and culture. Additionally, the responses to the interviews indicate that language defines your world, and it is so intricately connected to one's culture and identity that quoting Lindy's words "inevitably the loss of language will have ripple effects on one's culture and identity" (see *Appendix Z*). Therefore, based on the questionnaire information and the interview responses, the first hypothesis for this study is accepted.

The second hypothesis was that students in Catalonia do not know what the residential schools in Canada were. From the questionnaire responses, specifically from question 1 and 2 (see *Appendix CC*), it appears that a majority of URV undergraduate students do not know what residential schools were or what happened, and consequently the second hypothesis has also been accepted.

Nevertheless, the researcher has some considerations that she would like to comment on. According to the responses from the questionnaire, many students who answered it were history or journalist students, arguing the importance to be taught the

history during their education and the journalistic importance they entail. These students were also the ones whose answers were more complete and knew more about the topic. Several English students also knew about this topic and provided appealing answers, arguing that they are taught this topic in the third year of their degree. It could be argued that they were the ones who showed more interest and highly developed the answers that were later analysed.

The other resolution is the tendency students had in associating the Canadian history with the Catalan one. For instance, when they were asked if they considered their mother tongue part of their identity and culture, many people answered referring to the Catalan and Spanish, which reinforces the idea that many people feel closely related to their language, traditions, and history. This occurrence happened in most of the questions, which is interesting considering the questions were regarding a completely different cultural context. One potential reason for this is the difficulty to separate one's cultural and linguistic history. In summary, both the student's particular attitudes towards their language and culture, as well as their previous knowledge about the topic affected the results and responses.

Concerning the interviews, even if they could definitively prove that language loss entails culture loss, there were responses from the interviewees that complemented their opinions. Dr. Fraser for instance, focused on the importance of moving on without forgetting the trauma or colonialism, but "by showing our strength and how we can grow as a community" (see *Appendix Y*). However, when Arlene Roberts was asked if having her language taught to people from outside her community would help others to better understand their culture, her answer was a straightforward, "no," arguing that it "devalues our traditional family process" (see *Appendix AA*). Lindy Robinson was concerned about the possible outcomes of talking about her experience, as she did not feel welcomed by

some First Nations in the community she worked with, stating that “She seemed skeptical of an outsider of the community coming into her classroom and helping” (see *Appendix Z*). Finally, Kayleigh (see *Appendix BB*) quoted Gord Downie’s words, declaring that “The next hundred years are going to be painful as we come to know Chanie Wenjack and thousands like him — as we find out about ourselves, about all of us — but only when we do, can we truly call ourselves, ‘Canada’.”

In view of these results, it could be argued that there are different opinions and arguments on this complex issue, which can also be seen in the reconciliation process, some are able to do it, some are still not. The different participants showed diverse ways of thinking and acting; however, the four interviewees agreed and reinforced the idea that language loss entails culture loss.

#### **4.1 Limitations of this study**

This study presents some limitations relevant to remark on. The first constraint observed is that the researcher focused on a specific target group at the University Rovira i Virgili, in Catalonia. Thus, the results should not be extrapolated to the population outside of this region of Catalonia, as different results might be expected in other parts of Catalonia, Spain and the researcher believes that highly different results would be found if this study had been carried out in Canada. For this reason, it would be interesting to verify the results with different samples of participants.

The second limitation detected was the impossibility to contact any first-generation residential school survivors. Consequently, personal opinions on intergenerational trauma, culture and language loss, and reconciliation -which is still a controversial topic for many- from someone who experienced it could not be added to complement the research.

## 5. Conclusions

The experiment of this study was conducted to enlighten the researcher's thoughts about the Canadian residential school system history, as well as the relationship between language and culture. Due to the constant information going public in the media these past few months, we can anticipate that there will be more reports and statements from Canada's residential schools' history and survivors. Concerning culture and language, we now know that they are intrinsically and inextricably related.

The Indigenous population has endured so much pain for more than two centuries, it is time to finally heal, restore what was taken away, and work together towards reconciliation. The researcher has started this study with a quote by Nelson Mandela and will end it likewise. After being incarcerated for eighteen years, he issued an inaugural speech on May 10, 1994 where he said (Rosalyn, 2000, p.9):

The time for healing of the wounds has come

The time to build is upon us...

We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people

From the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation,

Suffering, gender and other discrimination...

There is no easy road to freedom...

None of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people,

for reconciliation, for nation building,

for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all (1994, p.541).

I hope this study will help in comprehending. In understanding and embracing difference. In healing the injuries. To all the broken families and children who lost their childhood and adulthood due to residential schools. *All my relations*<sup>3</sup>. I honor you with all my respect.

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<sup>3</sup> “All my relations” is at first a reminder of who we are and of our relationship with both our family and our relatives. It also reminds us of the extended relationship we share with all human beings. But the relationships that Native people see go further, the web of kinship to animals, to the birds, to the fish, to the plants, to all the animate and inanimate forms that can be seen or imagined. More than that, “all my relations” is an encouragement for us to accept the responsibilities we have within the universal family by living our lives in a harmonious and moral manner (a common admonishment is to say of someone that they act as if they had no relations) — Thomas King, *All My Relations* (Learn Alberta, n.d., p.1).

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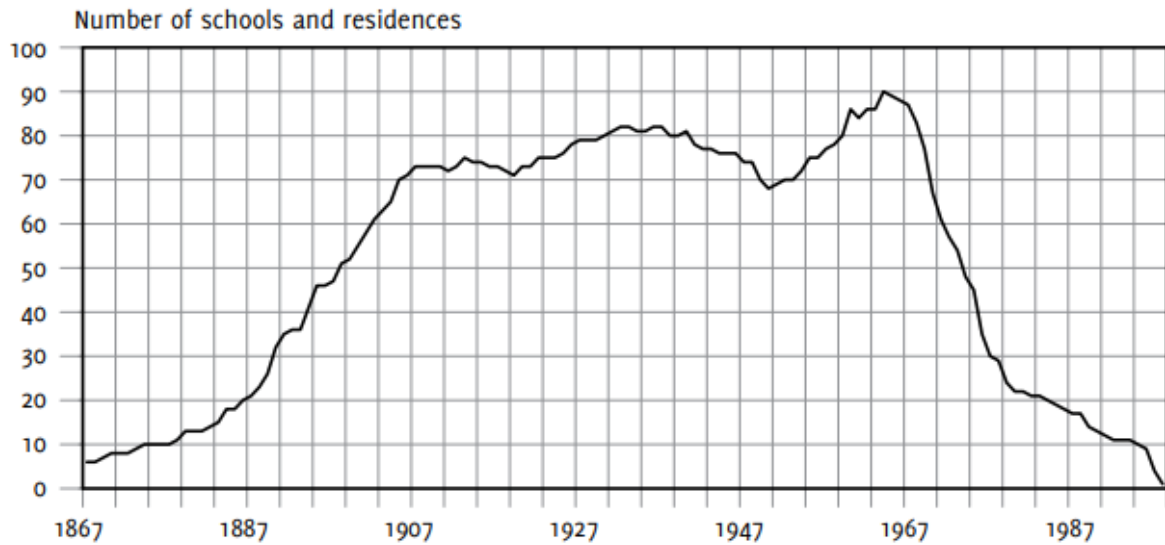
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## Appendix A

**Figure 1**

*Number of residential schools and residences, 1867- 1998. From the TRC (2015) Honouring the Truth. Reconciling for the Future.*  
[https://irsi.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Executive\\_Summary\\_English\\_Web.pdf](https://irsi.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf)

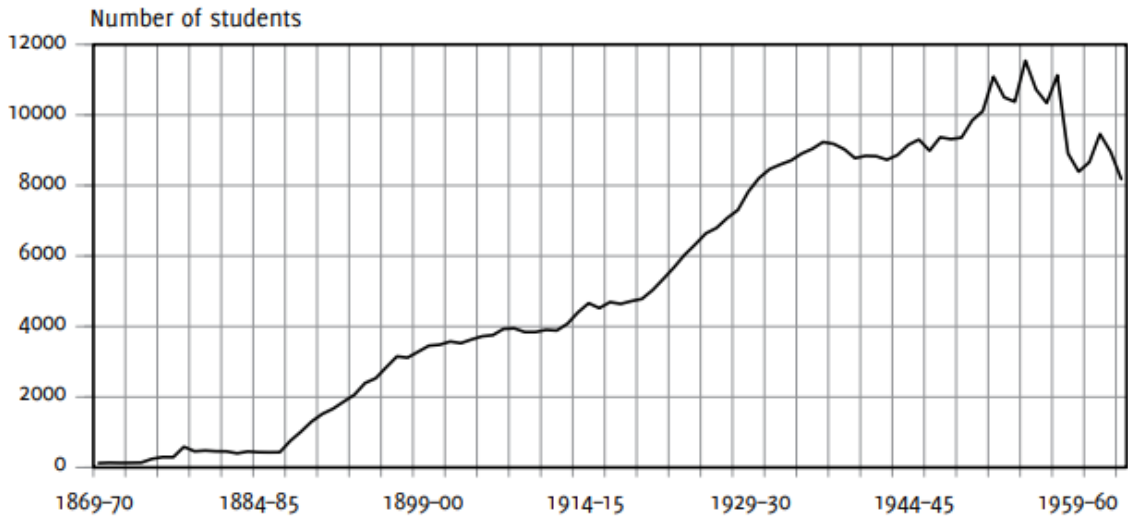


Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Residential Schools of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement 2011.

## Appendix B

**Figure 2**

*Residential school enrolment, 1869-70 to 1956-66.* From the TRC (2015). *Honouring the Truth. Reconciling for the Future.* [https://irsi.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Executive\\_Summary\\_English\\_Web.pdf](https://irsi.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf)



Source: Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs annual reports. After the 1965-66 school year, Indian Affairs stopped reporting on annual residential school enrolment.

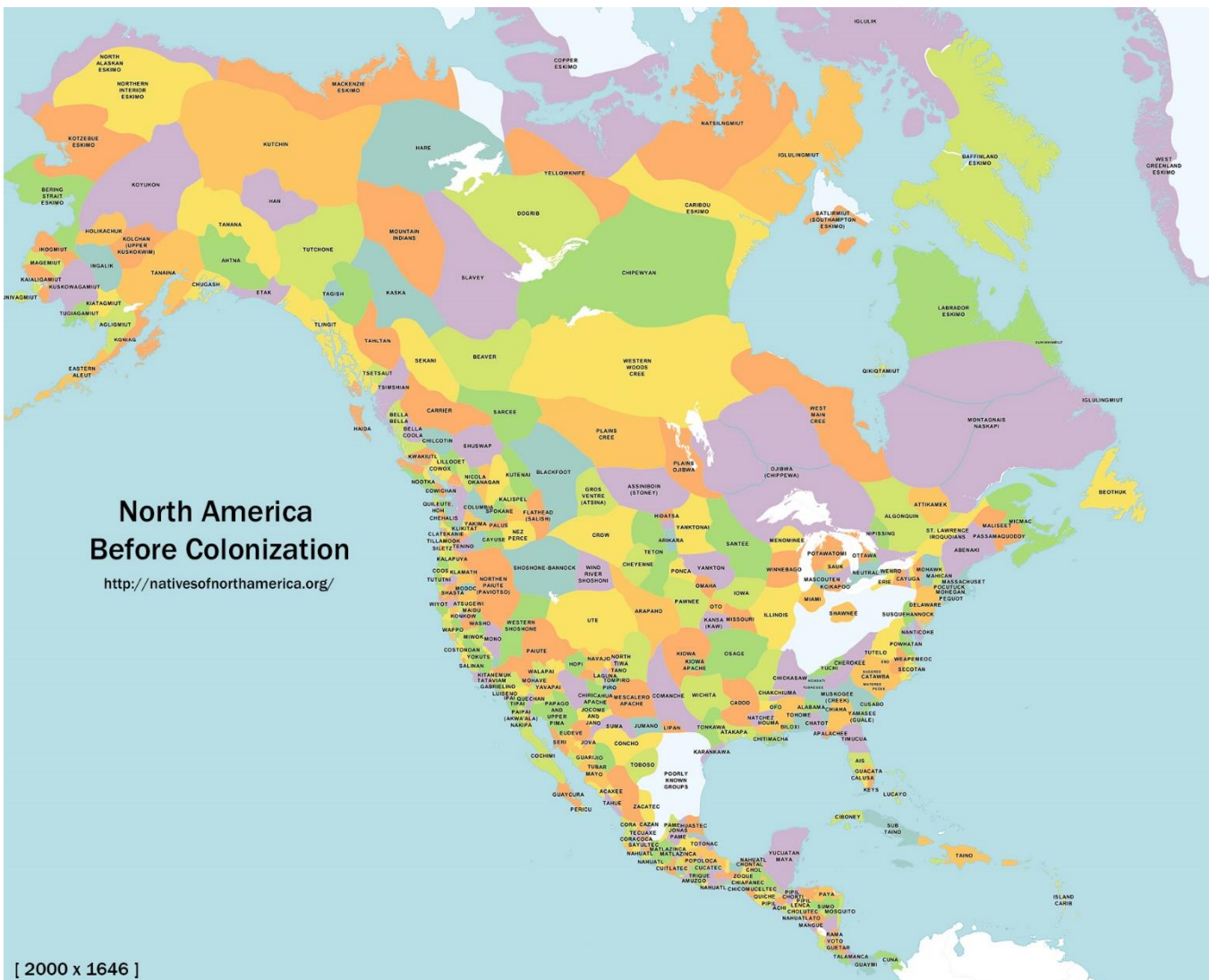
# Appendix C

**Figure 3**

*Languages in North America before the European colonization. From Vividmaps (n.d).*

*Languages of North America, before European colonization.*

<https://vividmaps.com/languages-of-america/>





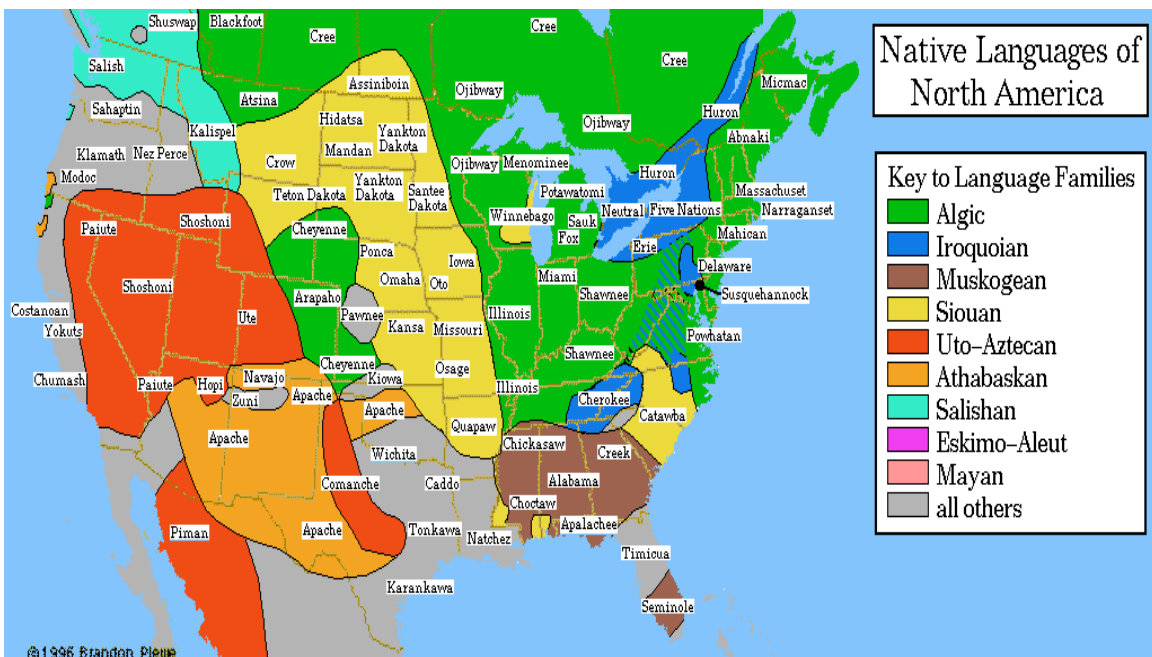
## Appendix E

**Figure 5**

*Nine of the most important language families in Canada with its respective extension.*

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## Appendix F

**Figure 6**

*Approximate distribution of language groups at time of first European contact (adapted from Goddard 1999)<sup>4</sup>. Canadian language museum. Oxford, W (2019). Indigenous languages in Canada.*

[https://www.language-museum.ca/sites/language-museum.ca/files/indigenous\\_languages\\_in\\_canada\\_0.pdf](https://www.language-museum.ca/sites/language-museum.ca/files/indigenous_languages_in_canada_0.pdf)



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<sup>4</sup> In this image, Na-Dene is used instead of Athabaskan as a broader family group which includes the Athabaskan, Eyak, and Tlingit languages. That is why The Dene language is also known as Dene, Na-Dené or Athabaskan (Asch, 2017).

## Appendix G

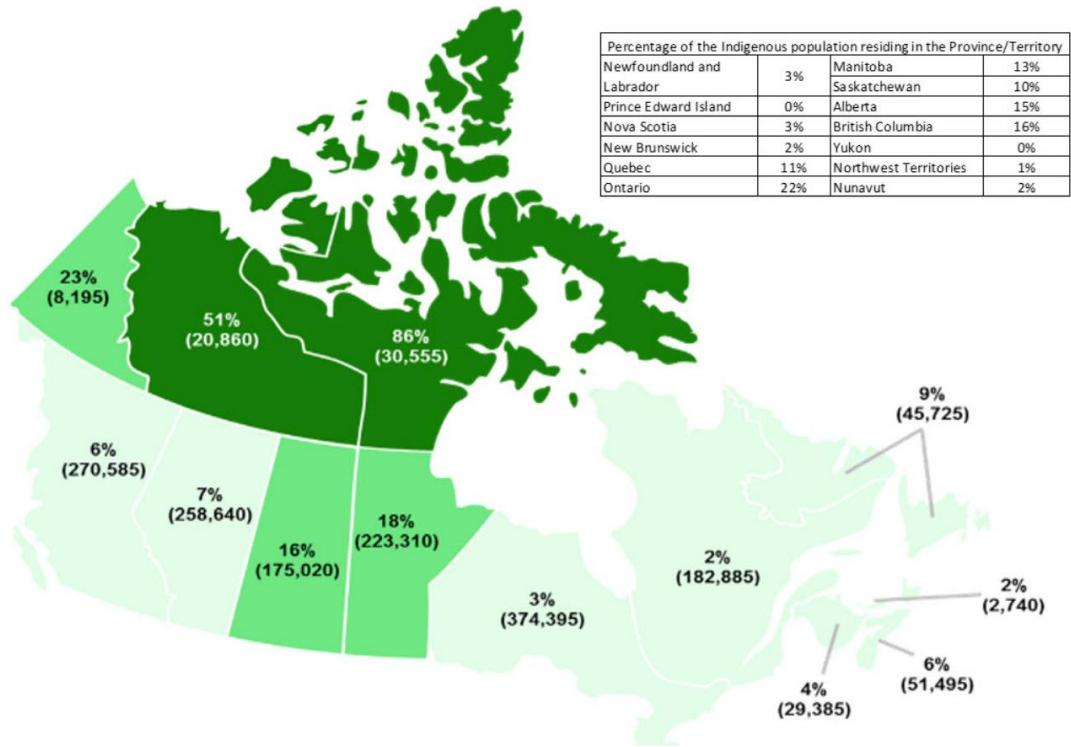
**Figure 7**

*Canada's division of territories. From Wikimedia Commons (2022). Provinces and territories of Canada.*

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces\\_and\\_territories\\_of\\_Canada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_and_territories_of_Canada)



**Figure 7.1 Indigenous Peoples across Canada.** From the Annual Report to Parliament 2020. <https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1602010609492/1602010631711>



## Appendix H

**Table 7**

*Residential schools and residences included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (TRC, 2015).*

### Alberta

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<b>Assumption</b>	<b>Grouard</b>
Our Lady Assumption, Assumption, Hay Lakes Roman Catholic Opening: 1951 Closing: 1973	St. Bernard's, Grouard, Lesser Slave Lake Roman Catholic Opening: 1886 Closing: 1961
<b>Brocket</b>	<b>High River</b>
Sacred Heart, Brocket Roman Catholic Opening: 1887 Closing: 1961	St. Joseph's, High River, Dunbow Roman Catholic Opening: 1884 Closing: 1922
<b>Brocket</b>	<b>Hobbema</b>
St. Cyprian's, Queen Victoria's Jubilee Home, Peigan Anglican Opening: 1890 Closing: 1961	Ermineskin Roman Catholic Opening: 1895 Closing: 1975
<b>Calais</b>	<b>Joussard</b>
Sturgeon Lake, Calais, St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Opening: 1907 Closing: 1961	Joussard, St. Bruno's Roman Catholic Opening: 1913 Closing: 1969

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**Cardston**

St. Mary's, Blood, Immaculate Conception  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1898  
Closing: 1988

**Lac La Biche**

Lac La Biche, Notre Dame des Victoires  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1863  
Closing: 1898

---

**Cardston**

St. Paul's, Blood  
Anglican  
Opening: 1891  
Closing: 1975

**Lesser Slave Lake**

Lesser Slave Lake, St. Peter's  
Anglican  
Opening: 1894  
Closing: 1932

---

**Cluny**

Crowfoot, St. Joseph's, St. Trinité  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1900  
Closing: 1968

**Morley**

Morley, Stony  
Methodist, later United Church of Canada  
Opening: 1922  
Closing: 1969

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**Desmarais–Wabasca**

Desmarais (Wabisca Lake, St. Martins,  
Wabisca) Roman Catholic  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1901  
Closing: 1973

**Red Deer**

Red Deer  
Methodist  
Opening: 1893  
Closing: 1919

---

**Edmonton (St. Albert)**

Edmonton (Poundmaker)  
Methodist, later United Church of  
Canada  
Opening: 1924  
Closing: 1968

**Saddle Lake (later St. Paul)**

Blue Quills, Saddle Lake, Sacred Heart  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1898  
Closing: 1990

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**Fort Chipewyan**

Holy Angels, Fort Chipewyan, École des Saints-  
Angeles  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1874  
Closing: 1974

**St. Albert**

St. Albert, Youville  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1863  
Closing: 1948

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**Fort Vermilion**

Fort Vermilion, St.  
Henry's  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1900  
Closing: 1968

**Smoky River**

St. Augustine, Smoky River  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1898  
Closing: 1908

---

**Gleichen**

Old Sun (Old Sun's)  
Anglican  
Opening: 1886  
Closing: 1971

**T'suu Tina**

Sarcee, St.  
Barnabas  
Anglican  
Opening: 1892  
Closing: 1922

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**Whitefish Lake**

St. Andrews, Whitefish  
Lake  
Anglican  
Opening: 1903  
Closing: 1950

**Wabasca**

Wabasca Anglican, St. John's, John's  
Mission Wapuskaw  
Anglican  
Opening: 1894  
Closing: 1966

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**British Columbia**

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**Ahousat**

Ahousat, Ahousat  
Presbyterian, later United  
Church  
Opening: 1904  
Closing: 1940

**Alert Bay**

St. Michael's, Alert Bay Girls' Home,  
Alert Bay  
Boys' Home  
Anglican  
Opening:  
1894  
Closing: 1974

---

**Anahim**

Anahim Lake  
Non-  
denominational  
Opening: 1968  
Closing: 1977

**Chilliwack/Sardis**

Coqualeetza  
Methodist, later United  
Church  
Opening: 1894  
Closing: 1940

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**Cranbrook**

Cranbrook, St. Eugene's,  
Kootenay  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1890  
Closing: 1970

**Fraser Lake**

Lejac, Fraser Lake  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1922  
Closing: 1976

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**Kamloops**

Kamloops  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1890  
Closing: 1978

**Kitamaat/Kitimaat**

Kitamaat (Elizabeth Long Memorial Home for  
Girls)  
Methodist, United Church after 1925  
Opening: 1905  
Closing: 1941

---

**Kuper Island**

Kuper Island  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1890  
Closing: 1975

**Lower Post**

Lower Post  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1951  
Closing: 1975

---

**Lytton**

St. George's, Lytton  
Anglican  
Opening: 1902  
Closing: 1979

**Meares Island/Christie/Tofino**

Christie, Clayoquot, Kakawis  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1900  
Closing: 1983

---

**Mission**

St. Mary's, Mission  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1863  
Closing: 1984

**North Vancouver/Squamish**

St. Paul's, Squamish, North Vancouver  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1899  
Closing: 1959

---

**Port Alberni**

Alberni

**Sechelt**

Sechelt

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---

Presbyterian, United Church after  
1925  
Opening: 1893  
Closing: 1973

Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1904  
Closing: 1975

---

### **Williams Lake**

Cariboo, St. Joseph's, Williams  
Lake  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1891  
Closing: 1981

### **Port Simpson/Fort Simpson**

Port Simpson, Crosby Home for  
Girls  
Methodist, later United Church  
Opening: 1879  
Closing: 1948

---

## **Manitoba**

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### **Birtle**

Birtle  
Presbyterian  
Opening: 1888  
Closing: 1970

### **Brandon**

Brandon  
Methodist, United Church after 1925 (1929?),  
Roman Catholic (1970–1972)  
Opening: 1895  
Closing: 1972

---

### **Churchill**

Churchill Vocational  
Centre Non-  
denominational  
Opening: 1964  
Closing: 1973

### **Cross Lake**

Cross Lake, St. Joseph's, Norway House,  
Notre Dame Hostel, Jack River Hostel  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1912  
Closing: 1969

---

### **Dauphin**

McKay Anglican  
Opening: 1957  
Closing: 1988

### **Elkhorn**

Elkhorn, Washakada  
Anglican  
Opening: 1889  
Closing: 1918  
Reopening: 1923  
Closing: 1949

---

### **Norway House**

Norway House  
Methodist, later United Church

### **Pine Creek**

Pine Creek, Camperville  
Roman Catholic

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Opening: 1898  
Closing: 1969

Opening: 1890  
Closing: 1969

---

**Pine Falls**

Fort Alexander  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1905  
Closing: 1969

**Portage la Prairie**

Portage la Prairie  
Presbyterian, later United Church  
Opening: 1891  
Closing: 1975

---

**Sandy Bay**

Sandy Bay  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1905  
Closing: 1970

**The Pas**

McKay  
Anglican  
Opening: 1915  
Closing: 1933

---

**The Pas/Clearwater Lake**

Clearwater, Guy Hill, Clearwater  
Lake  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1952  
Closing: 1979

**Winnipeg**

Assiniboia  
Roman  
Catholic  
Opening:  
1958  
Closing: 1973

---

**Northwest Territories**

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**Aklavik**

Aklavik, Immaculate  
Conception  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1926  
Closing: 1959

**Aklavik**

Aklavik, All  
Saints  
Anglican  
Opening: 1936  
Closing: 1959

---

**Fort Franklin**

Fort Franklin  
Hostel  
Non-  
denominational  
Opening: 1967

**Fort  
McPherson**

Fleming Hall  
Anglican  
Opening: 1958  
Closing: 1976

---

---

Closing: 1972

---

**Fort Providence**

Fort Providence Boarding Home (Sacred Heart)  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1867  
Closing: 1960

**Fort Resolution**

Roman Catholic  
Fort Resolution Residence (St. Joseph's)  
Opening: 1903  
Closing: 1957

---

**Fort Simpson**

Lapointe Hall, Deh Cho Hall  
Roman Catholic/Non-denominational  
Opening: 1974  
Closing: 1986

**Fort Smith**

Breynat Hall  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1958  
Closing: 1975

---

**Fort Smith**

Grandin College  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1964  
Closing: 1985

**Hay River**

St. Peter's  
Anglican  
Opening: 1895  
Closing: 1937

---

**Inuvik**

Grollier Hall  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1959  
Closing: 1997

**Inuvik**

Stringer Hall  
Anglican  
Opening: 1959  
Closing: 1975

---

**Yellowknife**

Akaitcho Hall  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1958  
Closing: 1994

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**Nova Scotia**

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**Shubenacadie**

Shubenacadie, St. Anne's  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1930

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Closing: 1967

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## Nunavut

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### Arviat

Federal Hostel at Eskimo Point/Arviat  
Arviat (Eskimo Point)  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1962  
Closing: 1967

### Cambridge Bay

Federal Hostel at Cambridge Bay  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1964  
Closing: 1996

---

### Chesterfield Inlet

Chesterfield Inlet, Turquetil Hall  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1955  
Closing: 1969

### Coppermine

Coppermine Tent  
Hostel Coppermine  
Anglican  
Opening: 1955  
Closing: 1959

---

### Igloolik/Iglulik

Federal Hostel at Igloolik/Iglulik  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1962  
Closing: 1969

### Iqaluit

Federal Hostel at Frobisher Bay (Ukkivik)  
Frobisher Bay  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1971  
Closing: 1997

---

### Qamani'tuaq/Qamanittuaq

Federal Hostel at Baker Lake/Qamani'tuaq  
Baker Lake  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1961  
Closing: 1967

### Qikiqtarjuaq

Federal Hostel at Broughton Island/Qikiqtarjuaq  
Broughton Island  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1962  
Closing: 1966

---

### Sanikiluaq

Federal Hostel at Belcher Islands  
Belcher Islands

### Pangnirtung/Panniqtuuq

Federal Hostel at Pangnirtung (Pangnirtang)  
Non-denominational

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Non-denominational	Opening: 1964
Opening: 1963	Closing: 1967
Closing: 1964	

---

## Ontario

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### Brantford

Mohawk Institute

Anglican

Opening: 1832

Closing: 1970

### Chapleau

Chapleau, St.  
John's

Anglican

Opening: 1907

Closing: 1948

### Cristal Lake

Cristal Lake  
Northern Light Gospel  
Mission

Opening: 1976

Closing: 1986

### Fort Albany

St. Anne's, Fort  
Albany

Roman Catholic

Opening: 1902

Closing: 1976

### Fort Frances

Fort Frances, St. Margaret's  
Roman Catholic

Opening: 1905

Closing: 1974

### Fort William

Fort William, St.  
Joseph's

Roman Catholic

Opening: 1870

Closing: 1968

### Kenora

St. Mary's, Kenora  
Roman Catholic

Opening: 1897

Closing: 1972

### Kenora/Shoal Lake

Cecilia Jeffrey, Kenora, Shoal  
Lake

Presbyterian, United Church  
briefly,

Presbyterian

Opening: 1902

Closing: 1976

### McIntosh

McIntosh

Roman Catholic

Opening: 1925

Closing: 1969

### Moose Factory Island

Bishop Horden Hall, Moose Fort, Moose  
Factory

Anglican

Opening: 1855

---

Closing: 1976

---

**Muncey (Munceytown)**

Mount Elgin, Muncey, St. Thomas  
Methodist, later United Church  
Opening: 1851  
Closing: 1946

**Poplar Hill**

Poplar Hill Development School  
Northern Light Gospel Mission  
Opening: 1962  
Closing: 1989

---

**Sault Ste. Marie**

Shingwauk Home  
Anglican  
Opening: 1873  
Closing: 1970

**Sault Ste. Marie**

Wawanosh Home  
Anglican  
Opening: 1879  
Closing: 1894

---

**Sioux Lookout**

Pelican Lake, Pelican Falls  
Anglican  
Opening: 1926  
Closing: 1978

**Spanish**

Spanish Boys' School, Charles Garnier, St.  
Joseph's  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1913  
Closing: 1958

---

**Spanish**

Spanish Girls' School, St. Joseph's, St. Peter's, St.  
Anne's  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1913  
Closing: 1962

**Stirland Lake**

Stirland Lake, Wahbon Bay Academy  
Northern Light Gospel Mission  
Opening: 1973  
Closing: 1991

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**Québec**

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**Amos**

Amos, Amos Student Residence, St-  
Marc Residence,  
St-Marc-de-Figuery  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1955  
Closing: 1973

**Fort George**

Fort George, St.  
Phillip's  
Anglican  
Opening: 1932  
Closing: 1975

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**Fort George**

Fort George, St. Joseph's Mission,  
Residence Couture, Sainte-Thérèse-de-  
l'Enfant-Jésus

**Fort George**

Fort George Hostels

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Roman Catholic Opening: 1931 Closing: 1978	Non-denominational Opening: 1975 Closing: 1978
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### **Inukjuak**

Federal Hostel at Port Harrison,  
Inoucdjouac, Inoucdouac  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1971

### **Kangirsualujjuaq/Fort George**

Federal Hostel at George River  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1960

### **Kangirsuk**

Federal Hostel at Payne Bay,  
Bellin  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1962

### **Kuujjuaraapik/Whapmagoostui**

Federal Hostel at Great Whale River, P  
oste-de-la- Baleine, Kuujjuaraapik  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1970

### **La Tuque**

La Tuque  
  
Anglican  
  
Opening: 1963  
  
Closing: 1978

### **Mistassini**

Mistassini Hostels  
Non-denominational  
Opening: 1971  
Closing: 1978

### **Pointe Bleue**

Pointe Bleue  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1991

### **Sept-Îles**

Sept-Îles, Seven Islands, Notre Dame,  
Maliotenam  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1952  
Closing: 1971

## **Saskatchewan**

### **Balcarres**

File Hills  
Presbyterian, later United Church  
Opening: 1889  
Closing: 1949

### **Battleford**

Battleford  
Anglican  
Opening: 1883  
Closing: 1914

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**Beauval**

Beauval, Lac la Plonge, Île-à-la-Crosse  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1860  
Closing: 1995

**Delmas**

Thunderchild, Delmas, St. Henri  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1901  
Closing: 1948

---

**Duck Lake**

St. Michael's, Duck  
Lake  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1894  
Closing: 1996

**Gordon's Reserve, Punnichy**

Gordon's,  
Punnichy  
Anglican  
Opening: 1888  
Closing: 1996

---

**Grayson**

Marieval, Cowessess, Crooked  
Lake  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1898  
Closing: 1997

**Kamsack**

Cote Improved Federal Day School  
United Church  
Opening: 1928  
Closing: 1940

---

**Kamsack**

Crowstand  
Presbyterian  
Opening:  
1889  
Closing: 1915

**Kamsack/Fort  
Pelly**

Kamsack, St.  
Phillips  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1928  
Closing: 1969

---

**Lac La Ronge**

All Saints School, Lac La  
Ronge  
Anglican  
Opening: 1906  
Closing: 1947

**Lebret/Qu'Appelle**

Lebret, Qu'Appelle, St. Paul's,  
Whitecalf  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1884  
Closing: 1998

**Muscowequan**

Lestock, Muscowequan,  
Muskowekwan, Touchwood  
Roman  
Catholic  
Opening:  
1889  
Closing: 1997

**Onion Lake**

St. Barnabas, Onion Lake  
Anglican  
Opening: 1893  
Closing: 1943

---

**Onion Lake**

St. Anthony's, Onion Lake, Sacred Heart  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1892  
Closing: 1974

**Prince Albert**

Prince Albert, St. Alban's, All Saints,  
St. Barnabas, Lac La Ronge  
Anglican  
Opening: 1951  
Closing: 1997

---

**Prince Albert**

Saint Alban's  
Anglican  
Opening: 1944  
Closing: 1951

**Regina**

Regina  
Presbyterian  
Opening: 1891  
Closing: 1910

---

**Round Lake**

Round Lake  
Presbyterian, later United Church  
Opening: 1884  
Closing: 1950

**Sturgeon Landing**

Sturgeon Landing  
Roman Catholic  
Opening: 1927  
Closing: 1952

---

**Yukon**

---

**Carcross**

Carcross IRS (Chooulta)  
Anglican  
Opening: 1903  
Closing: 1969

**Dawson  
City**

St. Paul's  
Hostel  
Anglican  
Opening: 1920  
Closing: 1953

---

**Shingle  
Point**

Shingle Point  
Anglican  
Opening: 1929  
Closing: 1936

**Whitehorse**

Coudert Hall  
Roman  
Catholic  
Opening: 1960  
Closing: 1971

---

**Whitehorse****Whitehorse**

---

Whitehorse Baptist Mission (Baptist Indian School) Baptist Opening: 1947 Closing: 1959	Yukon Hall Non-denominational/Protestant Opening: 1960 Closing: 1985
---	---

*Residential schools identified in Indian Affairs that were not included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (TRC, 2015).*

## Alberta

<b>Calgary</b>	<b>Morley</b>
St. Dunstan Anglican Opening: 1896 Closing: 1907	McDougall Orphanage Methodist Opening: 1886 Closing: 1908

<b>Stony Plains</b>	<b>Vermilion Lake</b>
Stony Plains Presbyterian Opening: 1892 Closing: 1894	Irene Training Institute at Vermilion Lake Anglican Opening: 1885 Closing: 1894

## British Columbia

<b>Fort St. James</b>	<b>Metlakatla</b>
Fort St. James (Stuart Lake) Roman Catholic Opening: 1917 Closing: 1922	Metlakatla Anglican Opening: 1872 Closing: 1908

## Northwest Territories

<b>Fort Resolution</b>	<b>Yale</b>
	All Hallows School

---

Fort Resolution	Anglican
Anglican	Opening: 1884
	Closing: 1918
Opening: 1891	
Closing: 1892	

---

## Manitoba

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<b>Middlechurch</b>	<b>St. Boniface</b>
St. Paul's, Middlechurch (Rupert's Land)	St. Boniface
Anglican	Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890	Opening: 1890
Closing: 1906	Closing: 1905

---

### Water Hen

Water Hen

Roman Catholic

Opening: 1890

Closing: 1900

---

## Ontario

### Wikwemikong

Wikwemikong (Manitoulin Island)

Roman Catholic

Opening: 1868

Closing: 1911

---

## Saskatchewan

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<b>Muscowpetung</b>	<b>Muskeg Lake</b>
Muscowpetung Agency Boarding School	Roman Catholic
Presbyterian	

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---

Opening: 1888	Opening: 1892
Closing: 1894	Closing: 1892

---

**Prince Albert**

Emmanuel College

Anglican

Opening: 1879

Closing: 1909

**Standing Buffalo**

Standing Buffalo

Presbyterian

Opening: 1889

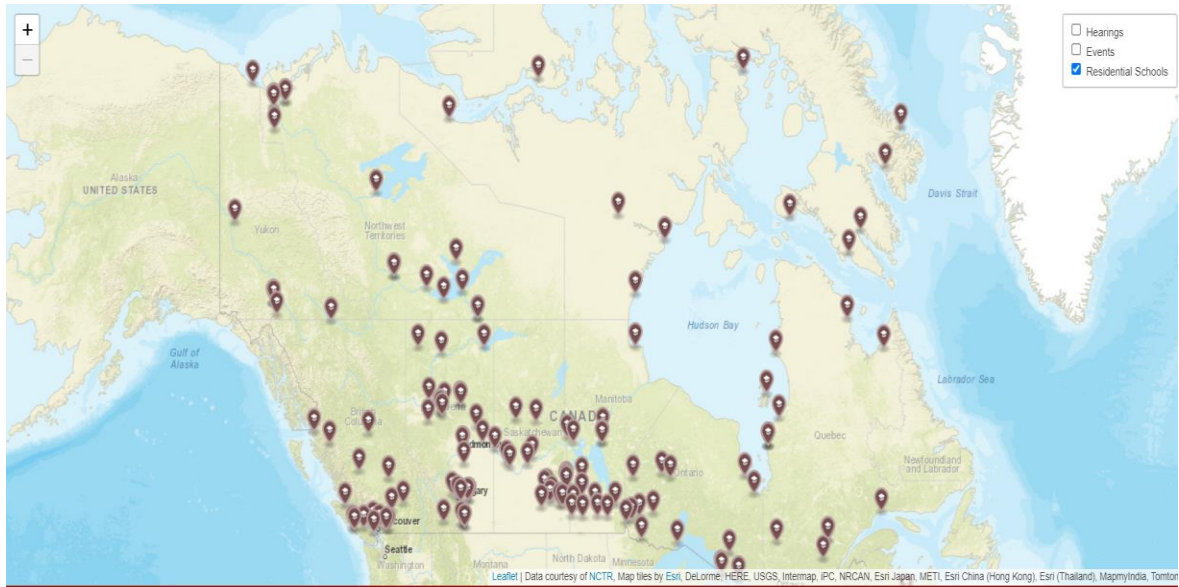
Closing: 1893

---

# Appendix I

**Figure 8**

*Spatial view of residential schools in Canada.* From NCTR Interactive map.  
<https://nctr.ca/records/view-your-records/archival-map/>

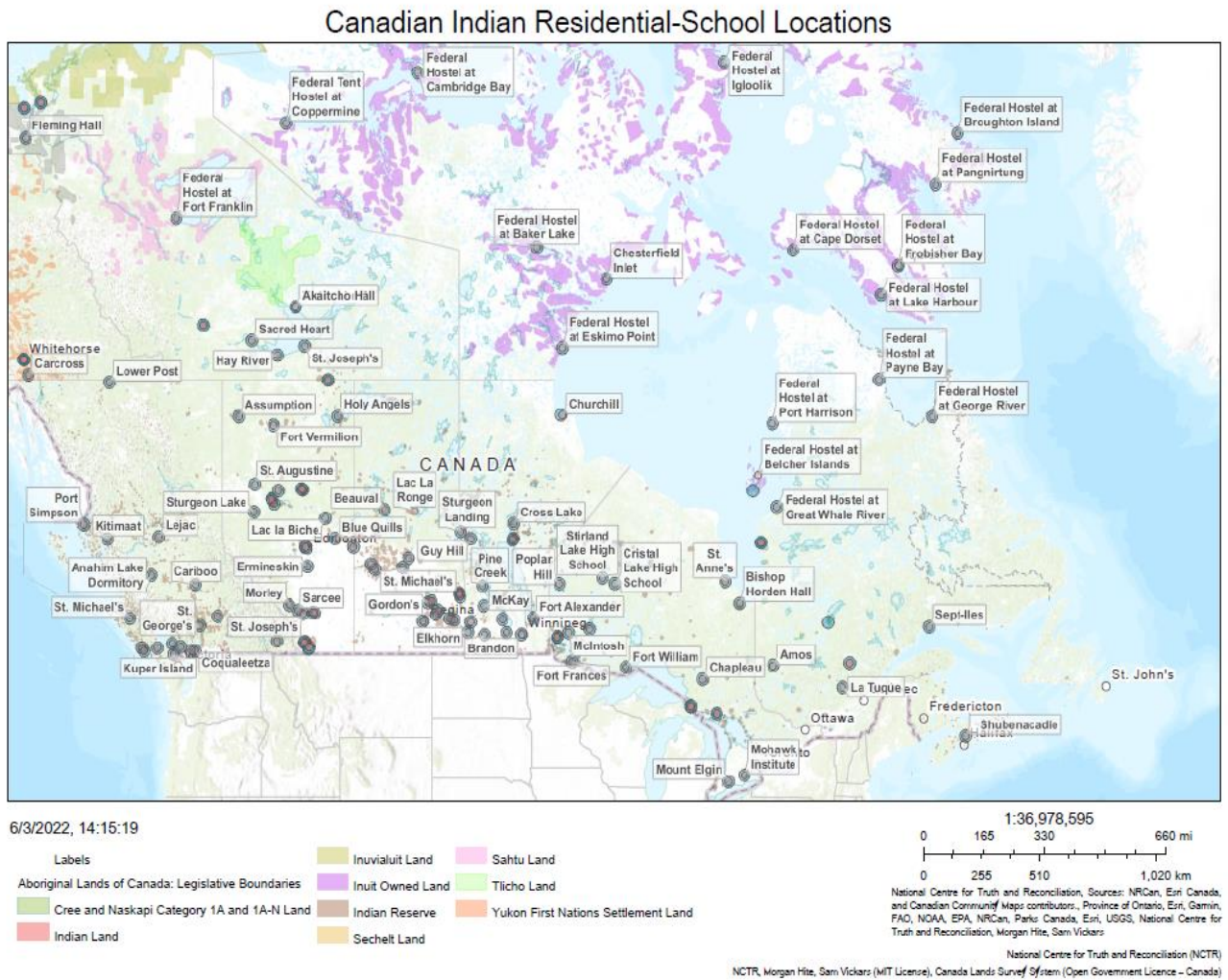


# Appendix J

**Figure 8.1**

*Closer view of Canadian Residential-School locations. Canadian Indian Residential Schools (n.d.).*

<https://www.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=fa8bfb39a6304453ae2ea079849f4c9e>

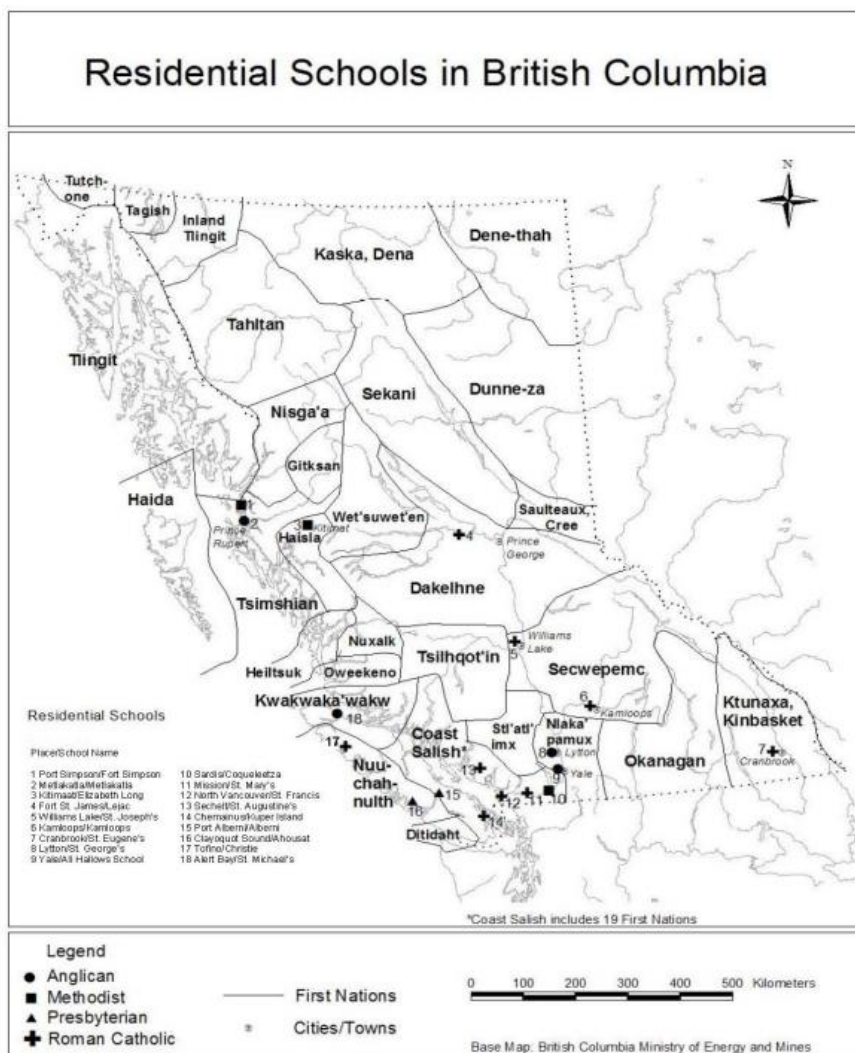


# Appendix K

**Figure 9**

*British Columbia residential schools. De Leeuw, S. (2007). Artful Places: Creativity and Colonialism in British Columbia's Indian Residential Schools.*

[https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/bitstream/handle/1974/870/de\\_Leeuw\\_%20Sarah\\_Naomi\\_200709\\_GPHY\\_PHD.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/bitstream/handle/1974/870/de_Leeuw_%20Sarah_Naomi_200709_GPHY_PHD.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)

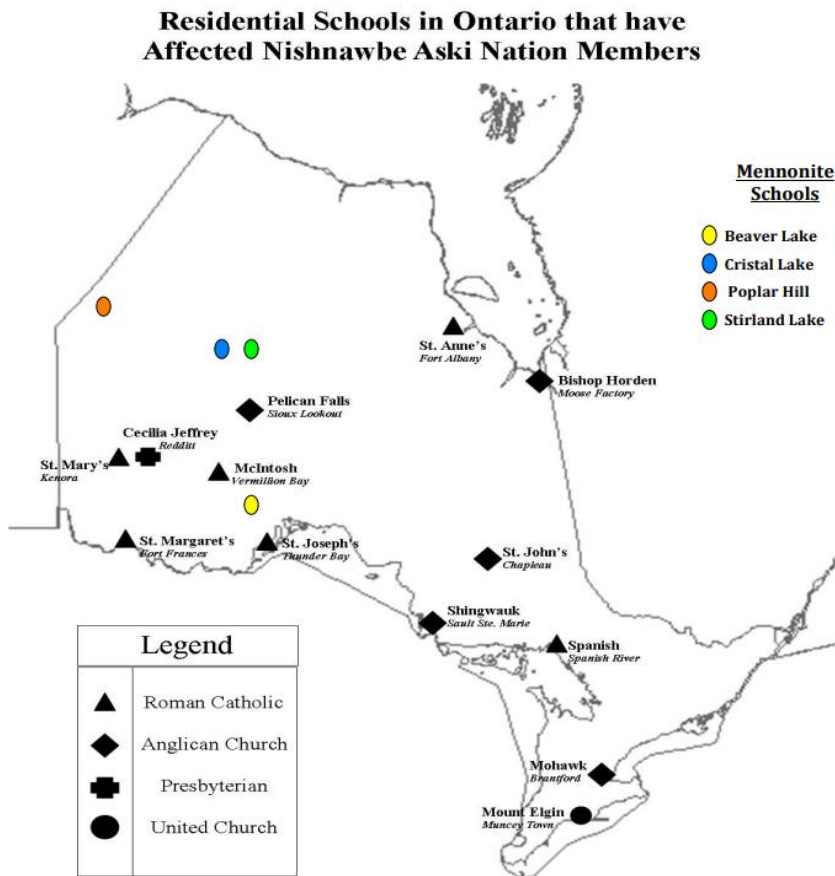


**Figure 6.a** Map of British Columbia's Residential Schools and the denominational affiliation of each school

## Appendix L

**Figure 10**

*Residential schools in Ontario. Nishnawbe Aski Nation. (2002). Ontario residential schools. <http://rschools.nan.on.ca/upload/documents/section-2/ontario-residential-schools.pdf>*



## Appendix M

**Table 1**

*Aboriginal identity population who can speak an Aboriginal language, by language family, main languages within these families, and main provincial and territorial concentrations, Canada, 2016.* From Statistic Canada, Census of Population (2016).

<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016022/98-200-x2016022-eng.pdf>

Aboriginal language families and main languages	Population 1	Main provincial and territorial concentrations
<b>Algonquian languages</b>	175,825	Manitoba (21.7%), Quebec (21.2%), Ontario (17.2%), Alberta (16.7%), Saskatchewan (16.0%)
Cree 2	96,575	Saskatchewan (27.8%), Alberta (24.0%), Manitoba (21.6%), Quebec (18.0%)
Ojibway	28,130	Ontario (56.6%), Manitoba (34.1%)
Oji-Cree	15,585	Manitoba (51.6%), Ontario (48.2%)
Montagnais (Innu)	11,360	Quebec (86.0%)
Mi'kmaq	8,870	Nova Scotia (61.9%), New Brunswick (24.6%)
Atikamekw	6,600	Quebec (99.9%)
Blackfoot	5,565	Alberta (98.7%)
<b>Inuit languages</b>	42,065	Nunavut (64.1%), Quebec (29.4%)
Inuktitut	39,770	Nunavut (65.0%), Quebec (30.8%)
<b>Athabaskan languages</b>	23,455	Saskatchewan (38.7%), Northwest Territories (22.9%), British Columbia (18.4%)
Dene	13,005	Saskatchewan (69.7%), Alberta (15.3%)
<b>Salish languages</b>	5,620	British Columbia (98.8%)
Shuswap (Secwepemctsin)	1,290	British Columbia (98.4%)
<b>Siouan languages</b>	5,400	Alberta (74.9%), Manitoba (14.2%)
Stoney	3,665	Alberta (99.3%)

<b>Iroquoian languages</b>	2,715	Ontario (68.9%), Quebec (26.9%)
Mohawk	2,350	Ontario (66.6%), Quebec (28.9%)
<b>Tsimshian languages</b>	2,695	British Columbia (98.1%)
Gitksan (Gitksan)	1,285	British Columbia (98.1%)
<b>Wakashan languages</b>	1,445	British Columbia (98.6%)
Kwakiutl (Kwak'wala)	585	British Columbia (98.3%)
<b>Michif</b>	1,170	Saskatchewan (41.9%), Manitoba (17.5%)
<b>Haida</b>	445	British Columbia (98.9%)
<b>Tlingit</b>	255	Yukon (76.5%), British Columbia (21.6%)
<b>Kutenai</b>	170	British Columbia (100.0%)
Total Aboriginal language speakers	260,550	Quebec (19.3%), Manitoba (15.5%), Saskatchewan (14.5%), Alberta (13.8%), Ontario (12.7%)

**Note**

1 Counts for languages within a language family do not add up to the total for the family because only the main languages are shown. Main languages are the 10 languages with the most speakers. If a language family did not have a language in the top 10, then the most spoken language in the family is displayed.

2 Cree languages include the following categories: Cree not otherwise specified (which refers to responses of "Cree"), Plains Cree, Woods Cree, Swampy Cree, Northern East Cree, Moose Cree and Southern East Cree. To obtain counts for these seven specific language categories, please see Catalogue no. [98-400-X2016159](#).

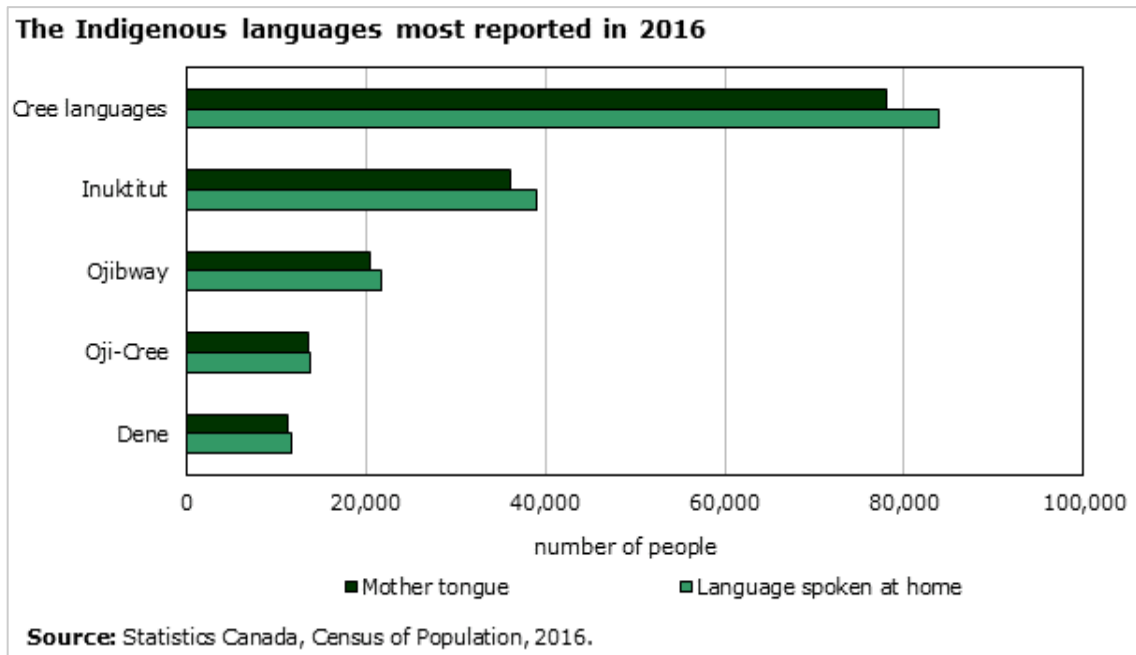
Note: 'Aboriginal identity' refers to whether the person identified with the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. This includes those who are First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit) and/or those who are Registered or Treaty Indians (that is, registered under the *Indian Act* of Canada), and/or those who have membership in a First Nation or Indian band.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

## Appendix N

**Figure 11**

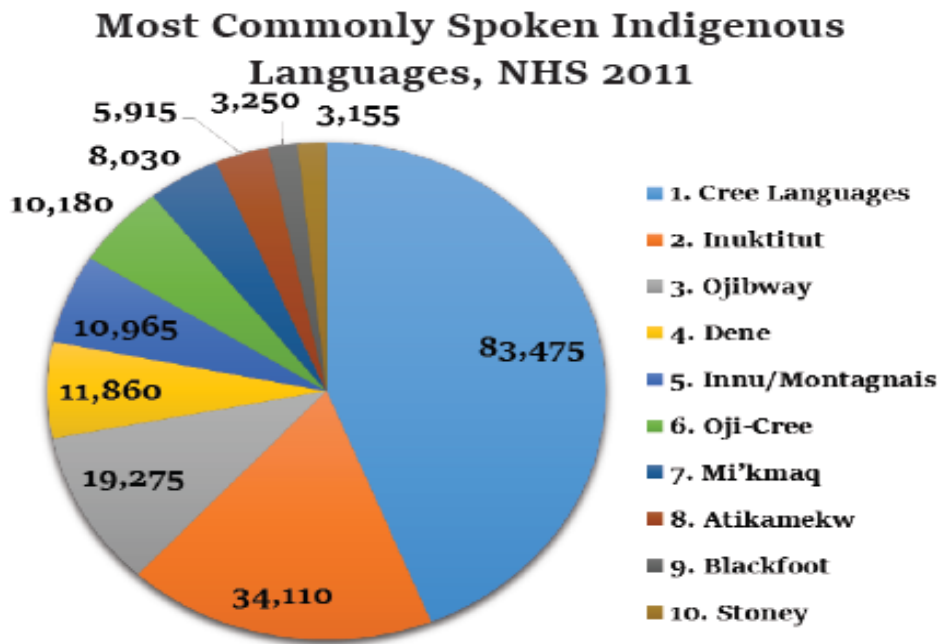
*Indigenous languages most reported in 2016.* From Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016). <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-659-x/89-659-x2018001-eng.htm>



## Appendix O

**Figure 12**

*Most commonly spoken indigenous languages, NHS 2011. Canadian Heritage. (2017). Indigenous languages in Canada.*  
[https://www.itk.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2017/06/TableauFiP\\_EN.pdf](https://www.itk.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2017/06/TableauFiP_EN.pdf)



## Appendix P

**Table 2**

*Aboriginal identities in Canada.* Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016).  
<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.pdf>

### Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: First Nations People, Métis and Inuit

**Table 1 Aboriginal identity population, Canada, 2011**

Aboriginal identity	Number	Percent
Total Aboriginal identity population	1,400,685	100.0
First Nations single identity	851,560	60.8
First Nations single identity (Registered or Treaty Indian)	637,660	45.5
First Nations single identity (not a Registered or Treaty Indian)	213,900	15.3
Métis single identity	451,795	32.3
Inuit single identity	59,445	4.2
Multiple Aboriginal identities	11,415	0.8
Aboriginal identities not included elsewhere	26,475	1.9

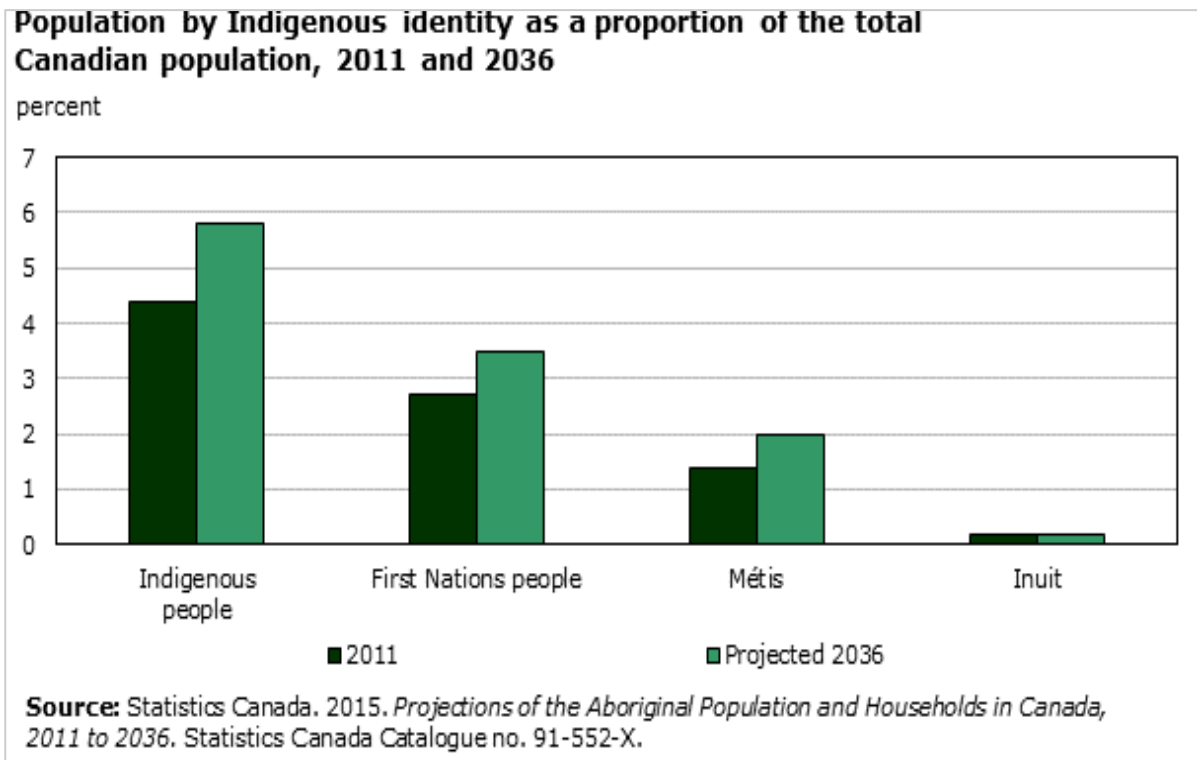
**Note:** Please refer to [Box 6: Concepts and definitions](#) at the end of the document for concepts and definitions.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

## Appendix Q

**Figure 13**

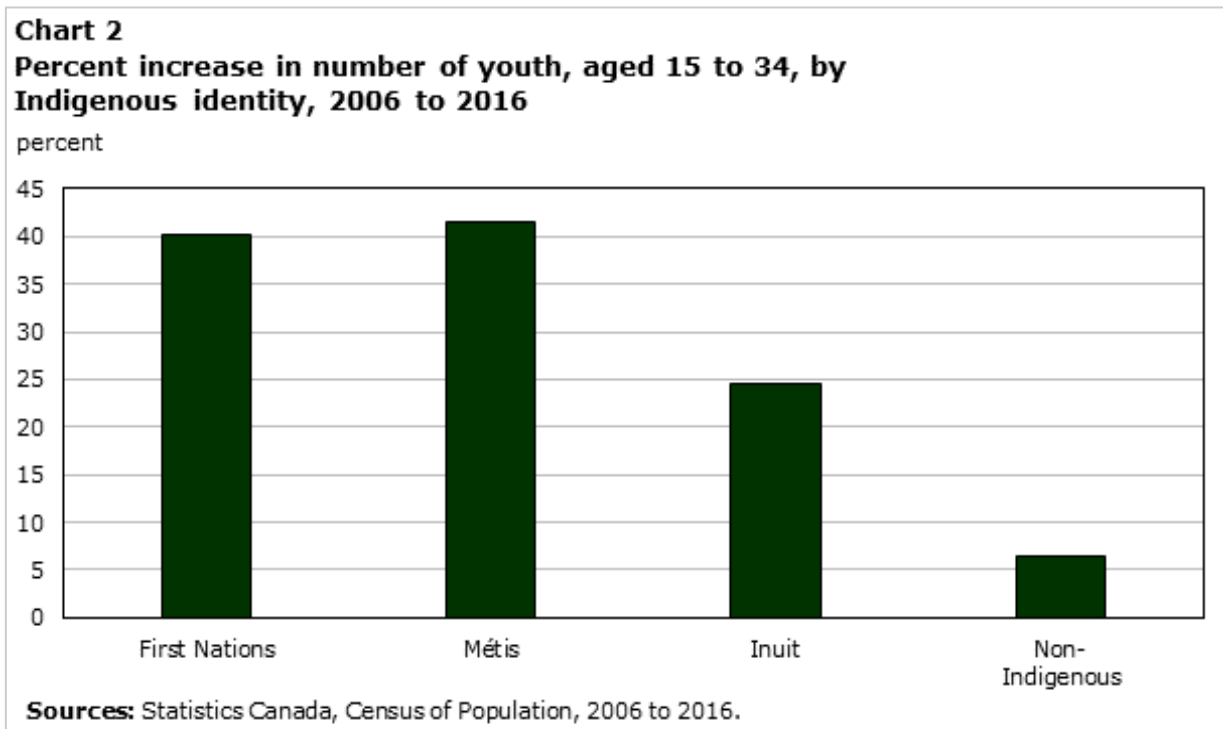
*Indigenous population in Canada from 2011- 2036* (Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2016). <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-659-x/89-659-x2018001-eng.htm>



## Appendix R

**Figure 14**

*Percentage of youth Indigenous population from 2006 to 2016.* Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016). <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-659-x/89-659-x2018001-eng.htm>

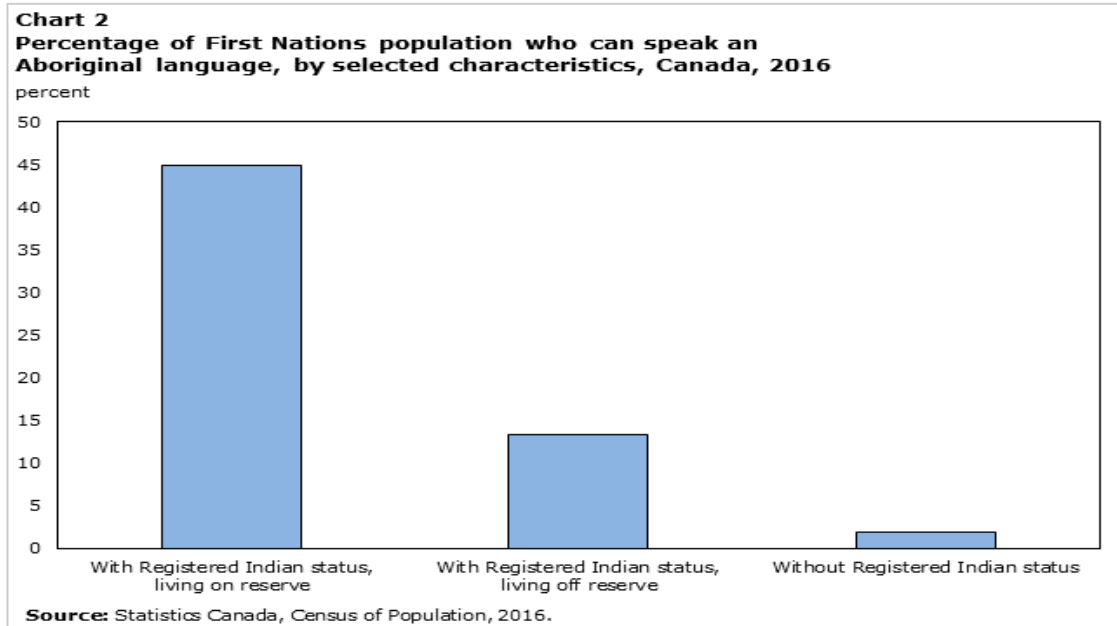


## Appendix S

**Figure 15**

*Percentage of First Nations who can speak an aboriginal language according to their status. Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016).*

<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016022/98-200-x2016022-eng.cfm>



### ▼ Data table for Chart 2

	<b>Percent</b>
With Registered Indian status, living on reserve	44.9
With Registered Indian status, living off reserve	13.4
Without Registered Indian status	1.9

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

## Appendix T

**Table 3**

*Inuit population; age and language.* Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016).  
<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016022/98-200-x2016022-eng.cfm>

Age group	Total Inuit identity population	Can conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language		Has an Aboriginal mother tongue	
	number	number	percent	number	percent
Total	65,030	41,830	64.3	37,260	57.3
0 to 14 years	21,495	14,010	65.2	11,990	55.8
15 to 24 years	11,990	7,725	64.4	6,830	57.0
25 to 64 years	28,480	18,220	64.0	16,605	58.3
65 years and older	3,060	1,875	61.3	1,855	60.6

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

## Appendix U

**Table 4**

*First nations, identity population, by age and selected language characteristics.* Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016). <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016022/98-200-x2016022-eng.cfm>

Age group	Total First Nations identity population	Can conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language		Has an Aboriginal mother tongue	
	number	number	percent	number	percent
Total	977,230	207,755	21.3	164,060	16.8
0 to 14 years	285,825	45,135	15.8	30,540	10.7
15 to 24 years	170,700	28,155	16.5	20,880	12.2
25 to 64 years	458,635	112,340	24.5	91,990	20.1
65 years and older	62,070	22,125	35.6	20,645	33.3

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

## Appendix V

**Table 5**

*Métis identity population, by age and selected language characteristics.* Statistics Canada, Census of Population (2016). <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016022/98-200-x2016022-eng.cfm>

Age group	Total Métis identity population	Can conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language		Has an Aboriginal mother tongue	
	number	number	percent	number	percent
Total	587,545	9,710	1.7	6,700	1.1
0 to 14 years	130,990	1,255	1.0	680	0.5
15 to 24 years	94,105	780	0.8	490	0.5
25 to 64 years	311,340	5,640	1.8	3,780	1.2
65 years and older	51,115	2,035	4.0	1,725	3.4

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

## Appendix W

**Table 6**

*Residential schools 1923-1924 according to the faiths.* The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939. Volume 1* (2015).  
[https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2015/trc/IR4-9-1-1-2015-eng.pdf](https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-9-1-1-2015-eng.pdf)

**Table 11.3. Residential schools by faith in 1923-24.**

Church	Number of schools
Roman Catholic	39
Church of England	21
Methodist	6
Presbyterian	7

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1924*, 16.

## Appendix X

**Classification of American native languages with the information of Lyle Campbell (2000).** *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America.* <https://amerindias.github.io/referencias/cam00americanindian.pdf>

- **Eskimo-Aleut.** “Eskimoan extends from Northeast Asia across North America and into Greenland” (Campbell, 2000, p.108). Aleut has two main dialects, the Eastern and Western Aleut.
- **Eyak-Athabaskan.** The Atabaskan family covers an exceptional distance, from Alaska to Mexico. Differently, Eyak was spoken on the South Coast of Alaska and became extinct when her last speaker, Marie Smith Jones, died in 2008.
- **Tlingit,** which means “human being”. Spoken in Canada and Alaska. It is often associated with Eyak- Atabaskan and together are sometimes called Na-Dene.
- **Haida** (British Columbia, Alaska). Its two main varieties are close to extinction, and they are as different as German and Dutch.
- **Tsimshian** (British Columbia, Alaska).
- **Wakashann.** Its original homeland is found in mainly Vancouver Island, but also a part of the mainland to the east and north.
- **Chimakuan** (Olympic peninsula of western Washington)
- **Salish(an):** It is a large family that extended “southward from the coast and southern interior of British Columbia to the central coast of Oregon and eastward to northwestern Montana and northern Idaho” (Campbell, 2000, p.116).
- **Kutenai/Kootenay** (British Columbia, Idaho, Montana): Considered a language isolate, not belonging to any bigger family group.
- **Chinookan** (Oregon and Washington)
- **Alsea(n)** (Oregon): It is an isolate too and today an extinct language.
- **Siuslaw** (Oregon): Extinct
- **Coosan** (Oregon): Small family of two related languages: Hanis (became extinct in 1972) and Mulik, which was spoken on the Coquille River and also became extinct in 1939 after the death of Annie Miner Peterson, who was a Coos.
- **Takelman/Takelma-Kalapuyan** (Oregon, spoken along the Rogue River)
- **Sahaptian** is encountered from the Washington State to the Bitterroot Mountains in Idaho.
- **Klamath-Modoc** (southeast Oregon, California).
- **Molala/Molale** (Oregon): Extinct.
- **Cayuse** (Oregon, Washington): Extinct and with very few records.
- **Shasta:** “Aboriginally inhabited the area that includes a part of the Rogue River in southern Oregon and the Scott Valley, Shasta Valley, and a portion of the Klamath River in northern California” (Campbell, 2000), now it is extinct.
- **Chimariko/Chimalakwe** (Northwest California): Extinct language.
- **Karuk/Karok** (Northwest California and recently in Scott Valley): It has less than 20 speakers.

- **Palaihnihan** (Northeast California): Family composed from two languages: Achomawi and Atsugew.
- **Yana** (North Central California): Extinct language.
- **Pomoan** (North Central California): Composed of seven mutually unintelligible languages. It has fewer than 100 speakers, but more than 10.
- **Washo/Washoe** (East Central California, Western Nevada). Isolate language with no relatives. It has few than 100 speakers, but more than 10.
- **Esselen** (northern Monterey County, California): Extinct. First Californian natives to lose their traditional culture in the nineteenth century.
- **Salinan** (California): Extinct language.
- **Chumashan** (Southern California): Now extinct, earliest Californian natives encountered by Europeans.
- **Cochimí-Yuman**: Located in the southern part of California, northern part of Baja California along the Colorado River, as well as part of Arizona and adjacent areas of Sonora, Mexico.
- **Wintuan/ Wintun** (North Central California)
- **Maiduan** (South Central California): Today, it has less than 10 speakers.
- **Miwok-Costanoan** (Central California)
- **Yokutsan** (South Central California): less than 100 speakers
- **Yukian** (North Central California)
- **Uto-Aztecan (from Oregon to Panama)**: It is one of the biggest families regarding numbers of languages that belong to this family, the speakers, and its geographical extension. In addition, it is one of the oldest families.
- **Keresan** (New Mexico): Family that comprises seven varieties considered to be dialects, but that different among them.
- **Kiowa-Tanoan** (Southwestern “pueblos” in New Mexico)
- **Zuni/Zuñi** (New Mexico)
- **Siouan/Siouan-Catawban** (Central and Southeastern North America): Catawban and Siouan are related families and languages.
- **Caddoan**: Spoken in the heart of the Great Plains, from South Dakota to northeastern Texas and eastward in Arkansas and northwestern Louisiana. Of this family, Caddo is the most different language.
- **Adai/ Adaize**: Has been related to Caddoan, but became extinct and was poorly documented, it was last reported in 1805.
- **Tonkawa** (Texas): Extinct, first mentioned in 1719 but first data from 1828-1829.
- **Karankawa/Clamcoches/Clamcoëh** (Texas): Extinct, it came from Spanish, French, as well as American explorers, missionaries, and soldiers who encountered some indigenous groups.
- **Coahuilteco/ Pajalate** (Texas, northeast Mexico): “Area between the Guadalupe River east of San Antonio and the middle course of the lower Rio Grande near Laredo, principally in Texas, extending slightly into present-day Mexico” (Campbell, 2000, p.144).
- **Cotoname/Carrizo de Camargo** (Rio Grande delta area in Northeast Mexico): extinct

- **Aranama-Tamique/Jaranames** (Texas): Extinct, this language remains unclassified genetically. Language known for a 2-word phrase from a Tonkawa speaker in 1884.
- **Solano** (Northeast Mexico): Genetically extinct too, unclassified family that was known for a twenty-one-word vocabulary list found at the end of the book of the San Francisco Solano mission (1703-1708), thought to belong to the indigenous peoples from that mission.
- **Comecrudan** (Northeast Mexico): Comecrudo, Mamulique, and Garza belonged to this family, but the three became extinct.
- **Atakapan (Louisiana, Texas)**: Now extinct.
- **Chitimacha (Louisiana)**: It was an isolate, now extinct language. Some scholars have considered a possible relationship between Chitimacha and Atakapan (Swadesh 1946, 1947).
- **Tunica (Louisiana, Mississippi)**: Isolate.
- **Natchez (Louisiana, Mississippi)**: Extinct, considered an isolate, with no relatives or connections, but it needs further study since there could be a connection with Muskogean (Haas 1979; Swanton 1917, 1919; Kimball 1994).
- **Muskogean (origins in the middle Mississippi region)**: Subgrouping controversy due to an “‘areal’ or ‘diffusional’ phenomena in which overlapping isoglosses cloud the genetic picture” (Campbell, 2000 p.148).
- **Timucua (northern Florida and Gulf of Mexico)**: Extinct, no single origin but similarities with other languages such as the Amazonian languages.
- **Yuchi (Georgia, Oklahoma)**: Yuchi is an isolate, and it currently has fewer than 100 speakers.
- **Iroquoian** (From Quebec to Georgia, and from the coasts of Virginia and Carolina to Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Ontario): It was probably the first Native American language recorded by Europeans in North America (Campbell, 2000, p.150).
- **Algonquian-Ritwan**: From the Northern California Coast in the West to the Atlantic seaboard in the east, and from Labrador and the Subarctic in the North to northern Mexico (the Kickapoo) and South Carolina in the south” (Campbell, 2000, p.152). This family is extremely rich and provides many diverse languages.
- **Beothuk: extinct**, “First natives of the New World with whom Europeans had contact with” (Campbell, 2000, p.154). Tradition of covering in red, which later gave the name “Red Indians” “used when referring to the Native Americans (Campbell, 2000, p.154). Extinct language and very poorly documented, since it was documented in “chaotic English spelling” and the natives did not know enough English. There are hypotheses that support that Beothuk may be related to the Algonquian family, but there is not enough information yet.

## **Appendix Y**

### **Interview with Crystal Fraser**

I: interviewer

P: participant

M: Marni Lynne Manegre

**I: You are from the Northwest Territories. Why did you choose to go to the University of Alberta?**

**P:** Yes, so I am originally from Inuvik and Dayton Choke, which is my family's fish camp on the Mackenzie River in the Northwest Territories. You had asked about why I chose to go to Alberta's University. Is that right? Yes, so I applied to a few different places. UBC was probably the worst financial offer that I received. But because it was the only one A flight away from home, and the closest geographically. Besides, I would not have a brand-new foreign supervisor, it was someone that I had worked with in the past, so it was comfortable, and it was close to home.

**I: And how did it feel? What were your first impressions when you moved to Edmonton?**

**P:** I moved to Edmonton like back in 2004 when I was starting my Bachelor of Arts. That was probably a pretty intimidating and scary time. I was a high school dropout and I had finished high school at twenty-three and was encouraged by an English teacher to apply to university. I had no intention and I had also lived in the north for most of my life, in Yellowknife. The capital is the biggest city in the Northwest Territories and even then, we're looking at twenty-two thousand people. So, yes, I mean, it was big and scary, and I also had zero guidance or support of what university looks like. None of my relatives had gone. There was not any kind of institutional knowledge entrenched in the family.

Honestly, I did not even know what a Bachelor of Arts was when I registered in the program. It was eye-opening and there were many, many times where I just wanted to go home to what I knew, to my comfortable zone.

UAB is also the biggest campus in Canada. There is a lot to take in. But I just had decided that, you know, if I can just show up. That was the aim I set for myself, just to show up and give it a chance. And I managed to do that almost every day for four years in a row, until I got my bachelor's.

**I: After your bachelor's degree, you choose to focus on indigenous studies, why did you choose to work in this field?**

**P:** Yes, well, you know, a lot of people don't know that my B.A. was actually in history and religious studies, I was actually interested in witchcraft in 16th century England and that was something that introduced me to feminist studies. It introduced me, you know, to the concept of the other. It introduced me to colonialism. Some would say you have to know your enemy to dismantle it. That was fun. That was a lot of fun. That was my idea.

I kind of knew that I was on a lifelong project. Besides, at that time, I was learning more about my ancestors. I was learning more about my culture. And then I decided to switch over to Canadian history. I actually took a fifth year of undergraduate courses. They call it a qualifying year, and then I was able to start my master's program in Canadian history at that time. There were not necessarily strong master's programs in indigenous studies. There was not a Ph.D. in indigenous studies in Canada. I used Canadian history as a vehicle to study indigenous studies. Now there are all kinds of programs, and there are many things going on.

I think that I wanted to find more meaning to my life, added to someone who is indigenous. When I started my B.A., I was I was actually a political scientist student, I wanted to become a lawyer so I could work for my nation and community. And I found

that, you know, when I started learning about women's history and religious studies, I kind of lost that interest little bit. And so, I was looking for a way to recenter my focus on my community and actually do work that is going to be helpful and beneficial to them. And yes, I think that was really my path to indigenous studies. And when I started my master's degree at the University of Victoria, the theory was something that really was enticing. You know, things by Edward Said, things by Laura and Stoller looking at empire and colonialism, post-colonialism and transnationalism, the work of Adele Perry and Elizabeth Fien's. All those things were very appealing. And they also helped me to make sense of my family. They helped me to answer questions about what happens in my own life.

**I: Thank you. From what I understand, northern Canada is different from the rest of Canada. What makes it unique in your opinion and how were the residential schools different in the north when compared to the to the other residential school across Canada?**

**P:** That is a huge, huge question. I could probably talk for a very long time on that, but I will try to be brief. Most practically, the North is different due to the climate and the environment. When we talk about colonialism in Canada, there are different types of colonialism and most of the Indian history has been characterized by settler colonialism. The influx of massive amounts of people in the north does not share that characteristic. As I mentioned, the capital city Yellowknife does not even have 25,000 people. That happens for certain reasons. There is certainly a link to the environment and climate, but also to the state development and the kinds of opportunities that are available.

Additionally, we did not have the first Indian residential school in what is now known as the Northwest Territories until 1867, which means that the residential school system started a bit late. And of course, that is tied to history and developments. The fur

trade was very strong, and missionaries had had elephants through fur trading posts and networks. However, it showed up a little bit later in the north than the rest of Canada. As the network of residential schools grew in the north, and again coming back to climate and environment, it was not the same as residential schools in the south because you did not have 500 acres to farm. You were living in a closet where you know you could garden for maybe two months a year. You were living in a climate where you could not have extensive houses or other livestock. That was different for sure.

When we talk about the management of Indian residential schools, the Arctic is very far away from Ottawa, therefore they operate with little oversight. If you had an inspector or an Indian agent show up, it was maybe once every couple of years. You did not really have anyone to answer to. That meant a couple of different things. Residential schools weren't bound by the policies and rules that other residential schools were bound to, which allowed them some flexibility and creativity. And this is one of the unique things, as they established more relationships with indigenous communities and peoples in the North because they literally they could have died without the help from indigenous folks. From harvesting wood to harvesting ice, to the availability of food that was reduced. You know, they hired indigenous families to go out hunting. They taught them how to survive on the lands. So, I think there was more flexibility.

Having said that, you know, the children could have suffered in ways that they did not. And compared to southern schools, in the north, you do not have medical doctors who are able to come and do checkups. You do not have the same kind of available treatments. Additionally, if you have a strong understanding of Christianity, basically, you know, the outcasts of the church, the outcast missionaries, the ones who have gotten in trouble or broken the rules, they are always the ones who are sent to the least desirable place, right? So, we had, you know, a bunch of people in in the Arctic who obviously

were really unique. They were criminals, but of course, still under the Catholic Church or the Anglican Church, those two being the Christian denominations in the North, So I think there is a ton of difference, yes. And we do not see a lot of state oversight until the postwar years. So nearly a century goes by where the government is not involved, hardly at all.

**I: Which churches had moved up into the Northwest Territories. Are the churches popular now in the Northwest Territories? Or has the desire to attend the church dissipated?**

**P:** Yes, it was mostly the two churches, the Church of England, now known as the Anglican Church of Canada, and then the nuns under the Catholics You can also find kind local exceptions where some priests or ministers are willing to be flexible and smudging the church and other kind of indigenous forms of spirituality.

Yes, there is, for sure a lot of nuances there, because of the widespread sexual abuse and violence. Because of the institutionalization of these children and because of all the trauma and harm that has been done there, there is definitely like a lot of anti and high organized religious folks.

But there is also in many communities, very strong dedication to Christianity, even among residential school survivors. I interviewed some of them for my own projects, they are very spiritual Christian people.

We have beliefs about reincarnation, about the spiritual world, about our relationship with land and animals because those are also our ancestors. And once it became unsafe to practice our own ways, a lot of people went all in Christianity. We definitely have a history of that. But even the people who are very religious and Christian, they frame their experience in a way that just because they are Christians and go to church

does not mean what happened to them in residential school was okay or by any means right.

That is kind of the contemporary context, however, you know, when children in the past came home and disposed to their parents that they had been abused or sexually assaulted, there are definitely stories of disbelief of the parents, who overwhelmingly believed in the goodness of the church, and thinking that obviously something like that couldn't have happened to their child. I think that according to the time period, things have definitely evolved and changed. But I would say currently there is probably a pretty even mix.

**I: Dr. Fraser, you have been explaining us a bit about some residential school survivors' stories, and you did research on the history of students experience at Indian residential schools between 1959-1996. What can you tell us about what you discovered?**

**P:** Yeah. In a nutshell and particularly with the unmarked graves that have come to light in the media over the last eight months or so, historians have become more willing to frame what happened in Canada as genocide.

Indigenous people would have told you that a long time ago, historians are just kind of catching up here. When we look at the system as a whole, for sure, it was genocide. It meets all those criteria, however, as the system was so bad because it operated for such a long period of time over a hundred and fifty years, and because there are many different regions in Canada, this diffculted its analysis. Many schools are unique in their own ways. And I cannot say this with entire certainty, but in the north, we haven't found the massive graves of indigenous children and babies as in the south. There are a few different reasons for that. The residential schools in the North were built in the communities. They were not like this distant institution, there was community oversight.

There are parents who were repeatedly checking in on their children. Its institutions also operated, you know, in tune with the second half of the 20th century, meaning that more medical supplies and treatments were available for children. We just do not see the same death rates in the North Dakota than in the South. I will qualify that, however, that it was still a cultural institution. It was still oppressive under, you know, three different bodies of legislation. Attendance was mandatory. That would have been under the Indian Act, under the Family Allowance Act and then under the N.W.T. School Ordinance Act. Parents could be fined or imprisoned if they did not, you know, consent to have their child taken away. I do not think you can actually consent to that.

With those punishments, I never want to downplay the gravity of the system and how much harm and violence it has done. What we do find in the North, though, particularly because these institutions were open longer, is a sense of strength and resilience. And you might find other institutions in Canada that also have those attributes. But again, when we talk about how the North was different, the residential schools were right in town, meaning that some children could be signed out over the weekend to go home. Some children, you know, went home for four holidays like Easter and Christmas and summer times and they were immediately right back in their culture. They were going to fish camp. They were going to whale camp. They were speaking their indigenous languages at home over Easter, they were on the top line. Now I will say that local children were privileged in the sense that they could do that. But you also had hundreds of children coming from the eastern Arctic, and they were Inuit children. The same network of Indian residential schools did not exist in the eastern Arctic, so they had to fly thousands of kilometers to the western Arctic. Those children could be at the schools for years, because it was too expensive to fly them back and forth. When they were going by

boat, they could not make that round trip in time. Some kids were still able to access their culture.

Additionally, you know, particularly into the 50s, the 60s, the 70s in Canada, more broadly, we see indigenous peoples become more politicized. So, we have during the past four years, things like the white paper, other sort of landmark commissions such as the Berger inquiry. We are engaging with this system more in in my own work. I have parents who continually wrote letters wanting their child's experience improved. We have strong indigenous women who were going south for language training, so they would know how to teach their indigenous languages in the schools. Beginning in the 70s, this is like one of the super ironic things about this system is that children were still being punished for speaking their indigenous languages, like in residential schools. Yet, they could go to the day school and take courses in their own indigenous language. Things are very well looked at in relation to strength and resilience-wise, extracurricular activities and recreation.

I am not sure if you've heard of the twins Shirley and Sharon Firth. They both attended residential schools, and are actually four time, four-time Olympians for cross-country skiing and they were a part of the program at the residential school. This ski program was designed to assimilate them. It was designed to introduce them to Canadian sports. It was just not aimed to give them a certain discipline. It was designed to make them use their bodies in certain ways. Ironically, it got them to the Olympics four times. Ironically, they traveled six months a year in training, so they did not have to be at residential school. Ironically, it connected them right back to the land in ways that you know, you talked to Sharon Firth today, and she compares running her dad's trap line at five years old to cross-country skiing at residential school that for her, being on the land was just so special. And so, yeah, I mean, I guess going back to your question, I never

want to downplay the gravity of the kinds of harms that have been done and in the bigger context, seen a system for what it is, which is genocide. But then, of course, you know, and this is where my history comes in. I am an intergenerational survivor. My mother and grandmother were institutionalized and just working with communities so intensely that no one ever wants to be defined by our worst moments. Nobody ever wants to think of our communities as broken. And this is where I used the work of indigenous education scholar Eve Tuck. She even wrote an article calling for a moratorium on damage centered research and particularly for people who are indigenous. We need to start bringing good things to community and that does not mean, forgetting the trauma or colonialism. But that also means talking about how we can exercise our strength and how and how we can grow as a community.

**I: I think that this is really important, because that was another question, I wanted to ask you. I have been looking at different videos and I saw that many survivors of residential schools said that once they were free, they did not feel at home. They did not identify with their own culture. So, I was thinking, how can you recover from that? But you have been answering to that, with their strength?**

**P:** Yes, and I mean, I guess the follow up on is that, sometimes you do not recover. We, you know, in Canada, we have, about 40 percent incarceration rates of indigenous people. And, when you look at the population of Canada, we are six percent. And so how is it that 40 percent are in prisons? And, that goes into all other kinds of conversation, including Black Lives Matter, including the treatment of police. I heard we are still losing people to French schools today. And that would be through suicide. That would be through poor health outcomes such as diabetes because they were never had a proper diet while they were institutionalized. And, you know, we're still really feeling all of the effects, especially given, you know, the last two institutions closed twenty-five years ago,

or I suppose twenty-six years ago, now in nineteen ninety-six. And I think there definitely is this movement to get beyond our trauma, to do the healing that we can do that in all kinds of ways, but also not leave our family behind who are struggling still.

**M:** My ex-husband's father was a survivor of residential schools and his sister had committed suicide while being in the school. They were plains Cree. He just passed away a couple of years ago, and I am not entirely sure if he did fully recover. He was very quiet, and he often looked at the ground when I was talking to him as his daughter in law.

**P:** Yes, so he did not ever really.

**M:** You could see that there was something that just sort of traveled with him. That never left. They were deemed as squatters. My ex-husband's grandparents were put into native housing downtown Edmonton, and they had to rent off the government and they never owned land. Right. And because they were deemed as squatters, they did not really have any rights. So especially with their family, there were a lot of people in that family that it became very intergenerational, and they did not survive very well through it in a mental capacity. It stuck with them for a very long period of time.

**P:** Yes, exactly. If you think back to the intent of these schools, there is a famous quote from Duncan Campbell Scott in the 1920s- who was basically the superintendent of Indian affairs-, and he said the whole point was to kill the Indian in the child. The whole point was to eliminate that identity. That happened in very visceral, visceral ways, through death, but also in very mental and cognitive ways. And the fact that he could not look you in the eye after so many years, is it just surprising, I suppose that when somebody tells you that that every, every cell in your body is wrong, every thought that you have is evil, that the person that you were meant to be is worthless and useless, it becomes one of your core beliefs.

I was actually talking to my sister about trauma, and I was talking about my own scenario and the way I explained it was that I've done years of psychology aid, I've done all kinds of work and I'm pretty okay now. But you know, it is like having a shoulder injury. It does not define you, but it's always there. Sometimes it is going to hurt a little bit or sometimes will flare up. And then there is going to be that one day where you carry the groceries the wrong way and you fall back into that injury. And I do everything in my power to only carry one bag of groceries at a time. But sometimes I forget and then that injury reappears, and I am going to have to nurse that injury for a few weeks or, however long it takes. So, while it does not define you, it is still always kind of there. Right?

**M:** And that is actually a really good analogy. There is something about the age of 32 or 33 where any injury you had as a child all of a sudden reappears and comes back. It happens the same with trauma, you have kind of put into the back of your mind of something that traumatized you as a child. And then when you get into a situation as an adult, it does come back up. And it does become difficult to deal with.

**I: Related to that, in which ways the language being taken away affect the culture and one's identity?**

**P:** There are a number of different ways. I would argue that language defines your worldview. It defines your epistemological. It really can define every aspect of your life. And, in particular, there are certain concepts in in English that we just don't have in my language. For instance, we do not have "retirement" because retirement was never a thing. You had to hunt, and you had to eat. You had to do like all of these things. And when you are in age for retirement, that is actually when you transition into an elder. And if anything, as an elder, you are doing more work or more work that is deeper than you have ever done in your entire life.

All of our ancient legends, ancient oral histories, and dictated systems of governance and politics, those are all in our original languages. When we lose that, we lose the ability to understand ancestors. You lose the ability to understand really our rich history. Language was used as a justification for violence. That child did not show up at that institution knowing English, French or Latin. And it was also a way to divide families.

At residential schools, there were a number of different ways to segregate kids. The most obvious would be Anglicans over here, Catholics over there. But then once you got into the school, it was boys over here, girls over there, and then it was by age. So senior girls over here, junior girls over there, senior boys, junior boys. That was done for a number of different reasons. It removed an older child's ability to stand up for their younger siblings. It divided the family. It created competition. And when you cannot speak your language to other children, it also not only removes your identity, but it instills it. That colonial concept of individualism, that you are on your own, that you are no longer a part of a united group, you no longer can communicate. Yes, and so I think those are a few examples.

It is so hard because Google search will show you that language was such a big scratch that some children had needles put in their tongues. There was a school in Ontario that used an electric chair when a child spoke their language. So, a lot of harm.

But interestingly, and this is another example of how maybe the Arctic is unique, is a girl in the schools who was the only one being able to speak any dialects of her language. This school was so remote in the Arctic, that missionaries and RCMP needed this eight-year-old child to translate for them. And it was literally the only time she was a loudspeaker and when she was not forced to engage in labor and was useful for the church or the state. It is interesting because when you talk to her, she really cherished

those moments and she said; OK, I understand that I was helping. The bad guy is through my language, but I still have my wish today, and that is the only reason why.

**M:** I have a question here. Do you know of any cases where when they were teaching their children either French or English, that was also offered to the parents at the same time?

**P:** I do not know any cases, but that does not mean it did not happen. When you look at the records, there is always this goal that children are going to go home, and they are going to continue to assimilate their parents. They are going to go home with all these beliefs around whiteness, around indigenous city. And hopefully the work that happens at residential schools will continue when they go home for summer.

And I think one example of this is when children were basically taught to scrub their skin as much as they could in order to make it lighter. And this resulted in a lot of skin irritations and even injuries. But then the schools would send them home with, 20 bars of sunlight<sup>5</sup> so they could go home and show their parents how to do this. And you know, in many cases, the child would come back to school in the fall. Some did not pass on these teachings, but others came back to school and said: “Yes, my parents are dirty Indians because they did not make me wash in the way that I did”. So not necessarily teaching their parents did not happen, but there was an exercising of the racism they were taught while they were institutionalized, yes.

Another clarification is stereotype of a dirty Indian. It is something very derogatory particularly present in 19th and 20th century discourse, basically. It is almost the worst thing you can call someone who is indigenous.

**I: Thank you both. Dr. Fraser, how many indigenous languages exist nowadays in Canada and how many of them are endangered as a result of residential schools?**

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<sup>5</sup> “Sunlight” is a brand of soap in North America.

**P:** I do not have a precise number for you. I think it is in the 70s. There are six hundred and thirty-four First Nations that the government recognizes. But then you have Métis groups, you have Inuit, among others. The last count I saw, languages were in the 70s. My language is endangered. We have less than 400 fluent speakers. Eighty percent of the speakers are over the age of 70.

**I: You have just said your language is endangered. I am aware that in 2001, the linguistic department at the University of Alberta started this project to transcribe and preserve Cree Dene in Blackfoot. And this has also become a focus in other universities in western Canada. So why these projects are important to help the different languages that are endangered?**

**P:** I would say that any language work is positive. I know that the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta offers regular language classes. I would probably argue that we need to be looking to New Zealand for models, particularly around developing these language nests, where children can basically have full immersion, whether from preschool, kindergarten, and then carry that on towards their three years. You know, as someone who has been trying to learn my language, like for about a decade, you know, we were talking about it in my thirties. But now in my 40s, just like this brain is not going to learn another language. I do what I can, especially with my daughter. She is five. Our nation has a language app. They also have a mentorship program, and we have been paired with a mentor. We have like social media campaigns that will focus on pronunciation and stuff. And you get a lot of support for that through the federal government through indigenous programming. But I think that is protocol's like, if fluent, if we are going to have widespread success, we need to be putting less money into transcribing and more money into programs to avoid the oblivion our languages on a daily basis.

**I: Yes, because at the end, you have to transmit the language to the future generations, right?**

**P:** I have just shared the hashtag for my language in our social media (#gwichin), which shows you the language work in my nation. And that actually came from our work at an international conference where we saw somebody using it to speak Sami. I think there's a lot of collaboration going on and there's a lot of enthusiasm to try and learn from each other, which is just fantastic.

Do you have one more question or comment?

**I: What direction do you think needs to be followed to move forward and recover from all the damage done by the residential school system?**

**P:** This is another big question. I think that what I would like to see is actually government action, the legislation is still very oppressive. The Indian Act of 1867 is still in place. We need to get rid of the Indian Act.

We need to bring funding for education and health care on reserves for every indigenous community to possess clean drinking water. That was an election promise, a failed election promise. Make clear who actually supports the sovereignty of our indigenous nations.

All of this is pretty nasty. I mean, for the record, in my opinion, there is no post colonialism. Canada is a settler colonial country, and I do not think we are going to get there in in my lifetime. But, you know, things like the RCMP and missing and murdered indigenous women and girls. And so, what can we do around policing? There is tons like this events. And then, like you said, at the individual level, we are all going to get there. I mean, we have our own networks. We have, you know, our relationships with elders, we have MLP. We have, you know, indigenous addiction treatment centers. We are going to get there.

**I: Thank you so much, Dr. Fraser, for your time and your knowledge. Your contribution has helped me enormously. It's been an honor to talk with you.**

**P: It is absolutely my pleasure. If either of you have like follow ups over e-mail, I am happy, go back and forth and do like, let me know how it goes.**

**I: Have a good day!**

**P: You too. Thank you. Bye.**

## **Appendix Z**

### **Interview with Lindy Robinson**

#### **I. Why did you choose to take indigenous courses? Was there a particular reason?**

P. In my adolescence, I spent several summers in Tofino, B.C. I was always very interested in learning about the culture of the local Indigenous communities. In my first year of university at Vancouver Island University in Nanaimo, B.C., I therefore decided to take a few Indigenous studies courses as my option courses. These courses were highly impactful on my worldview. In my K-12 schooling, I never really learned about Indigenous cultures, colonialism, or residential schools. Almost all of what I learned in these university courses, therefore, was new to me. Through completing reflective project work, studying meaningful literature, and hearing firsthand stories about intergenerational trauma, my perception of Canada and my place within it changed. I was very grateful to have the opportunity to learn from the mentors I had including Laura Cranmer, Allyson Anderson, and Auntie Delores, the Elder-in-resident.

When I transferred to the University of Calgary the following year to pursue a Bachelor of Arts degree in International Relations, I continued taking Indigenous studies courses. I had the opportunity to take many interesting courses that covered a range of topics, such as Blackfoot Ways of Knowing, a comparison of Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia, and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Education.

#### **I. Which were the 2 indigenous communities you worked with?**

P. I completed a service-learning project in 2015 through the University of Calgary at an elementary school on the Tsuut'ina First Nation in southern Alberta. This was a very short project. I did not live in the community but drove there and spent a few hours there once per week. This project only lasted a few months. It was part of a research study carried

out by a university professor in the Education department. I was studying my Education degree at the time.

Last summer (2021), I worked for the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation in Tofino, B.C. Together with another teacher, I co-created and delivered the literacy and numeracy components of the Tla-o-qui-aht Youth Summer Camp. This experience lasted about five to six weeks. I learned a lot from the community members and youth participants with whom I was fortunate to work.

**I. Are they related?**

P. No, the two communities are not related. The Tsuut'ina Nation is in southern Alberta while the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation is in Tofino, B.C.

**I. In which ways are they similar and in which different?**

P. I do not know enough about each culture to comment fully on this. There are cultural differences which are in part linked to geography (living on the plains versus by the ocean).

**I. Could you tell me a bit about your experience and work with them?**

P. The service-learning project at the Tsuut'ina elementary that I took part in was part of a study carried out by a professor at my university (University of Calgary). The project involved Education students being placed in a local First Nations school, helping in the classroom, and reflecting on the experience. I was required to write brief weekly reflections and submit them to the professor conducting the study. I was not at the school for very long but really enjoyed the experience and learned a lot from the teacher under whom I was placed. She taught Grade 3.

My work with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation was a valuable experience. For four days of the week, another teacher and I taught literacy and numeracy in the mornings. In the afternoons, students would do various fun activities in the community (e.g., going to

the skatepark, visiting the lake, going on nature walks, etc.). Sometimes the other teacher and I would take part in these as well. This literacy/numeracy component of the program was created out of a need to fill in some gaps in literacy and numeracy among children in the community. It is my understanding that these gaps were exacerbated by the pandemic.

**I. In Tofino, how you experienced the loss of language, as well as its revitalization process? Do you remember something that struck you?**

P. As someone with experience studying Spanish as a foreign language and teaching English as a second language, I had a distinctly different feeling when observing and participating in some of these language classes. On the one hand, it was exciting that the children were learning their traditional language and were so keen to do so. On the other hand, it felt unjust that they had to learn what was their grandparents and great grandparents first language in this way—in the same way that I learn a language that is truly foreign to me. Instead of learning a language for travel, immigration, or academic purposes, they are having to learn a language that was once their own—one that was forcibly taken away from them through government policies.

In the summer program, the children had language classes. These classes focused on vocabulary acquisition and forming basic sentences. The students were all very eager to participate in the classes and learned a lot from them. Outside of the classroom, students would use some of the words they were taught as they were playing games or participating in their afternoon activities. The community leaders in the program would also try to incorporate some of the vocabulary terms when talking to the children throughout the day.

Aside from the program, there is additional evidence of language revitalization in the community. For example, in the grocery store (Co-op), they have put up some signs for different departments in the Nuu-chah-nulth language. Similarly, there are signs

throughout the public elementary school in Nuu-chah-nulth. The school prayer is also in Nuu-chah-nulth. I imagine there is a lot more being done but unfortunately do not know very much about it.

**I. What do you know about the Nuu-chah-nulth language and the traditional dialects used in the two communities?**

P. I unfortunately do not know much about the traditional dialects used in the two communities. I apologize!

**I. Are the dialects of this language disappearing? If so, are they trying to be recovered?**

P. I am unsure the extent to which the dialects are being spoken less. I think someone from the communities may be in a better position to comment on this. If I recall correctly, I believe they had language classes in the Tsuut'ina elementary school (though it has been six years since I participated in the service-learning project, so I am not entirely sure!). I am not sure about the secondary school on the nation. There are likely a lot more efforts than this, but I think it would be best to talk to someone from the community. In Tofino, as I mentioned, there is evidence that there are language revitalization efforts. Again, it might be better to talk someone from the community to find out more specifics if possible.

**I. How do you think the loss of the language would affect the two communities you stayed with?**

P. This is a complex question. I think the loss of language due to government colonial policies has already affected the two communities in different ways. As language is so closely connected to one's culture and identity, inevitably the loss of language will have ripple effects on one's culture and identity. I can't comment on the extent of the loss of their languages as I truly do not know. I also do not know a lot about their revitalization efforts.

Just as a point of clarification, I never stayed or lived with the communities. I would just drive to Tsuut'ina for part of the school day once per week for a few months. In Tofino, I lived in the community of Tofino but not within the Indigenous communities (sometimes referred to as bands/reserves). The summer camp was held at the local elementary school.

**I. Is there anything you would like to add?**

P. Feel free to ask me more questions if you would like. I apologize as it has been many years since I completed my degree in which I took Indigenous studies courses. I also did not learn a substantial amount about language loss or revitalization, either in my formal university studies or in the above experiences I describe.

## **Appendix AA**

### **Interview with Arlene Roberts**

#### **I. Could you introduce yourself?**

P. Arlene Roberts, Nisga'a Nation, Beaver Clan., grandmother of 6.

#### **I. Can you describe your current job position and your background?**

P. Resolution health support worker., 4<sup>th</sup> generation survivor.

#### **I. Why did you choose to work for the IRSS?**

P. They actually asked me., I was just finishing up my internship with the Nisga'a Valley Health Board and was a support person for the first lawsuit against the government of Canada and church.,

#### **I. What can you tell me about your work with the IRSS? What is its focus and aims?**

P. Working with survivors & their families: Healing and truth telling; utilizing traditional healing tools and workshop. Teaching and training families, organizations, colleges, universities, villages and social workers, schools and those in the social services.

#### **I. Which services does the IRSSS provide to residential school survivors?**

P. [www.irsss.ca](http://www.irsss.ca) (here's our awesome website).

#### **I. If I understand correctly, you have met many residential or intergenerational school survivors. Can you explain to me a bit the process of recovery, as well as the intergenerational trauma?**

P. Recovery begins when there is a safe place for individual truth telling., Healing tools are understanding non-first nations issues; PTSd., history of residential schools, generational anger/frustration., etc., as long as the healing tools consist of traditional healing tools; drums, rattles, regalia, songs, dance, arts.,

#### **I. In which ways do you think that prohibiting someone to speak their language affects their culture, heritage, and identity?**

P. Less security., less self-esteem., not really having that sense of belonging., feeling like an outsider.

**I. Which language(s) did your ancestors speak? Are you fluent in this language? Did you have the opportunity to learn this language, and if so, how?**

P. Nisga'a., I can interpret but do not speak (silent speaker) because of residential school., some language teachers teach the old fashion strict way so many of us have not completed the classes because of their teaching (much like residential school – strict strict strict).

**I. Do you believe that it's important for the children in your area to learn this language?**

P. They are learning., but need to retain., hard to learn at school and don't say anything at home., it used to be the other way around – learning at home and then going to school., there needs to be strong happy support for family members., learning needs to be a happy time., so far, it's not.

**I. What are your views on having this language taught to people from outside your community? Would this help others to better understand your culture?**

P. No., it devalues our traditional family process.

**I. How do you plan the healing sessions?**

P. Dependent on what the family wants and needs.

**I. You mentioned that you were preparing the Highway of Tears march. How did it go? Do you believe people is aware of its importance?**

I. Went well., awareness is rising slowly.

**P. In your biography, you mention that through cultural knowledge and teachings, healing will prevail. Can you explain this to me a bit further?**

I. It strengthens our souls and nourishes our children and grandchildren., we have a place on earth – a safe place for healing and trusting.

**I. How does the indigenous population feel towards reconciliation?**

P. 50/50.

**I. Would you like to add anything else?**

P. Let me know if you need anything else., my daughter in law Dr. Mique'l Dangeli teaches Tsimshian language at University.

## **Appendix BB**

### **Interview with Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor**

#### **I. Could you introduce yourself?**

P. My name is Kayleigh Jordan-MacGregor, and I am a Development Associate at the Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund.

#### **I. Why did Gord Downie, together with his brother Mike and in collaboration with the Wenjack Family, decide to start this organization?**

P. Mike Downie first learned the story of Chanie Wenjack through a radio documentary, and through his research, he found an article called *The lonely death of Chanie Wenjack*. He shared the article with Gord, and it was difficult for the brothers to comprehend the conditions at residential schools, and the fact that they had not learned about these institutions earlier in their life. Gord wrote ten poems about Chanie, which became ten songs, which became an animated film and a graphic novel that we use as educational tools in our work.

#### **I. Has it been difficult to keep the legacy he started? Why or why not?**

P. We find that many educators are drawn to our programming, or register as Legacy Schools educators, because they want to honour Gord's memory and his call to action. However, as time goes on, many people are becoming more familiar with Chanie Wenjack's story. As Gord said, "The next hundred years are going to be painful as we come to know Chanie Wenjack and thousands like him — as we find out about ourselves, about all of us — but only when we do can we truly call ourselves, 'Canada.'"

#### **I. What is the organization's main focus?**

P. Inspired by Chanie's story and Gord's call to build a better Canada, the Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund (DWF) aims to build cultural understanding and create a path toward reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Through

programs like Legacy Schools and Legacy Spaces, we provide education on the true history of Indigenous Peoples in Canada and the lasting impact of residential schools. DWF encourages participation in reconciliation through our programming, partnerships and events that build awareness, education, connections. Reconciliation is not just an Indigenous issue.

**I. Do you believe your work and commitment is important in preserving Canada's history, healing, raising awareness and creating a path towards reconciliation?**

P. Our work is based on the pillars of Awareness, Education, Action + Connection. Through the support of our donors, we can:

- Empower youth to lead the movement through education and awareness.
- Provide free educational materials for educators so they can bring this subject matter into the classroom in an age-appropriate and culturally sensitive way.
- Develop tools and resources to better help businesses, educators, and community-based organizations to work with Indigenous communities at a local level.
- Support Indigenous artists through events like DWF LIVE which highlight the diversity of Indigenous art and culture.
- Ensure that the unique interests, rights, and perspectives of Indigenous peoples are recognized and heard.
- Provide opportunities for all people in Canada to begin their reconciliation journey.

**I. In your website, you mention your aim is to improve the lives of Indigenous people by building awareness, education, and connections between all peoples in Canada.**

How do you accomplish this set goal, and by which means?

P. Through our programming and events. Our free, national programs like Legacy Schools and Youth Ambassadors are especially crucial to reaching the next generation of

people in Canada and empowering them to create a more equitable future. We can only move forward and create this change if everyone has access to education on our true history as a country and the harm caused by the residential school system and other colonial institutions.

**I. In which ways do you think the residential school system affected the culture, heritage, and identity of the indigenous population?**

P. For more than 100 years, from 1831 to 1996, Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families and sent to institutions called residential schools. The government-funded, church-run schools were located across Canada and established with the purpose of eliminating parental involvement in the spiritual, cultural, and intellectual development of Indigenous children. The last residential school closed in 1996. More than 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children were forced to attend these schools, many of which were hundreds of kilometres from their homes. The cumulative impact of residential schools is a legacy of unresolved trauma passed from generation to generation and has had a profound effect on the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

**I. Does someone from your team experienced the loss of language? In case someone has, how has this affected or changed their lives?**

P. Many of our Indigenous team members do not speak the traditional languages of their ancestors or only know certain words and phrases. In most cases, this leads to a separation or divide between generations but there has been a resurgence of language education over the last few years and we hope to see many people reclaiming this skill.

**P. DWF possesses many different programs; legacy spaces and schools, youth and artist ambassadors, the Secret Path website and reconciliACTIONs. Could you tell**

**me a bit about the program’s achievements? Why do you think all these programs are key?**

I. ReconciliACTIONs are meaningful actions that move reconciliation forward and aim to bring Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples together. Through our programs, DWF aims to reach and inspire a wide range of peoples across Canada to join us on the path towards reconciliation, whether they are just starting or continuing their journey.

The Legacy Schools program is a free, national initiative to engage, empower and connect students and educators to further reconciliation through awareness, education and action. All schools (daycares, K-12 and post-secondary), clubs and groups that work with youth throughout Canada are encouraged to join us by signing up. We provide educational resources and program development for Legacy Schools to help ensure that the unique interests, rights, and perspectives of Indigenous peoples are recognized and implemented in schools and communities throughout Canada.

The Artist Ambassador program brings Indigenous and non-Indigenous musicians and other artists into high schools across Canada to inspire student leadership and forward the journey of reconciliation in school communities. Artists share their art, music and stories through workshops and/or performances, and engage students in learning and conversations about reconciliation. High schools hosting Artist Ambassadors are also encouraged to have students share their own stories, art, and ReconciliACTIONs with their guests.

The Youth Ambassador supports Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in becoming champions of ReconciliACTION within their schools and communities. Through a 4-week leadership training program, participants engage in online, part-time work and are given the chance to make lasting change through our new volunteer Youth Ambassador Committee. The program is led by DWF staff, with various Artist

Ambassadors and other community representatives providing support as guest speakers and mentors.

The Legacy Spaces program provides an opportunity for all organizations to create a safe, welcoming environment for their employees, guests, and community to engage with our collective journey towards reconciliation. They also serve as symbols and reminders of the important work each of us needs to undertake if the promises of this country and the TRC's Calls to Action are to be fulfilled.

**I. Would you like to highlight something about the events DWF holds?**

P. Secret Path Week is a national movement commemorating the legacies of Gord Downie and Chanie Wenjack, and takes place annually from October 17-22. This is a meaningful week as October 17th and 22nd respectively mark the dates that Gord Downie and Chanie Wenjack joined the spirit world. We call on all people in Canada to use Secret Path Week to answer Gord Downie's call to action, to "Do Something" by creating a reconciliACTION and furthering the conversation about the history of residential schools.

One of the easiest ways to commemorate Secret Path Week is by participating in a Walk for Wenjack. Organized by a dedicated team of volunteers and champions, Walk for Wenjack is a grassroots event that started in 2016. The first walk retraced the steps of Chanie Wenjack, starting at the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School in Kenora, ON, and continued to Redditt, ON for a ceremony representing Chanie's final resting spot near Farlane, ON. Since then, Walk for Wenjack has provided Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada with the opportunity to participate in Secret Path Week in a meaningful way.

**I. Have you seen any change over the past years regarding the population's awareness, as well as their contribution to the fund or the outcomes achieved by your programs and organization?**

P. Since May 28, 2021, when news broke of the recovered remains of 215 children buried at the site of the former Kamloops Indian Residential School, both Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians have been expressing widespread grief in person and across social media. The announcement of these 215 children was a starting point for many who are learning about this part of our history, based on the stories shared for years by Survivors of residential schools, we know this is only the beginning. Since then, DWF has been fortunate to connect with more individuals, educators, families, and organizations than ever before.

**I. How does the indigenous population feel towards reconciliation? Do you believe it is close?**

P. We cannot speak for the entire Indigenous population, and there cannot be one answer that reflects how each of us feel. According to the Truth & Reconciliation Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. In order for that to happen, there must be awareness of the past, an acknowledgement of harm, and action to change behaviour.

**I. What direction do you think needs to be followed to move forward and recover from all the damage done by the residential school system?**

P. DWF recognizes that reconciliation is not easily defined. It is not linear and does not have a clear endpoint. To us, reconciliation is a continuous process, a journey, that leads to improved outcomes for Indigenous Peoples.

**I. What are DWF next steps or future goals? Is there something else you would like to accomplish in a near future?**

P. With the recent increase in awareness and support for our work, we have focused on diversifying our resources and ensuring that Indigenous perspectives can be represented

and celebrated in classrooms and workplaces throughout the country. In honour of Indigenous History Month, we are pleased to present a series of four events in celebration of the diversity of Indigenous Peoples across Canada.

The themes of this year's events are honour, commitment, and reflection. Throughout the month of June, we will be featuring Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers, artists, and allies from Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick, and conclude with a special Canada-wide episode. We invite you to join us by subscribing to our newsletter and following DWF on social media @DownieWenjack

## Appendix CC

### Questionnaire

#### Escoles residencials canadenques

Les escoles residencials van ser internats per "civilitzar" i europeïtzar la població indígena d'entre 4 a 16 anys. Aquest sistema va operar a Canadà des de 1880 fins a 1997. En aquestes escoles, es prohibia als nens/es parlar la seva llengua materna per erradicar "el salvatge" dins seu. Molts nens/es van ser abusats, física i sexualment durant anys, a més de sofrir càstigs diàriament si parlaven la seva llengua o no obeïen. Altres van morir per les pèssimes condicions en les que vivien (com per exemple, per la insuficient ingestanutricional), intentant escapar per tornar a casa, o altres es van suïcidar. Quan per fi eren lliures al 16 anys, arribaven als seus poblats i ja no entenien la seva llengua ni la seva cultura, ja que durant molts anys se'ls hi havia ensenyat que ser indígena era un fet del qual s'havien d'avergonyar.

#### HISTÒRIA

1. Sabies el que van ser les escoles residencials canadenques abans de l'explicació?

Sí

No

2. Si la resposta anterior és sí: Qui van ser els afectats? I el/s responsable/s?

3. Creus que és un fet que s'ha invisibilitat?

4. Sabries mencionar al menys algun fet que no s'hagi mencionat a l'explicació que va ocórrer en aquestes escoles?

5. Coneixes algun grup indígena de Canada? Si la resposta és sí, quin/s?

6. Consideres que el que va ocórrer va ser un genocidi cultural? Per què?

7. A Canadà s'explica el que va ocórrer als llibres d'història, trobes que és important que s'expliqui la història d'un país?

## LLENGUA I CULTURA

8. Quins poden ser els efectes de prohibir una llengua?

9. Creus que si a un infant se li prohibeix parlar la seva llengua, això afectarà a la seva cultura? De quines maneres?

10. I a la seva identitat individual i col·lectiva?

11. Quina creus que és la relació entre llengua i cultura? Depèn una de l'altra?

12. Penses que la teva llengua materna forma part de la teva identitat?  
I de la tevacultura? Per què?

13. Penses que la cultura del lloc on vius forma part de la identitat de cadascú? Per què?

14. Creus que la nostra manera d'actuar, de veure el món o de pensar venen determinats per la nostra llengua i cultura? Per què?

15. Si a un nen li priven de la seva llengua i cultura durant anys, com creus que influenciarà aquest fet a la seva inserció a la societat?

16. Què, segons tu, conforma una cultura?

### **1. Brief explanation**

Residential schools were boarding schools to "civilize" and Europeanize the indigenous population aged 4-to 16- years old. This system operated in Canada from 1880 to 1997.

In residential schools, children were forbidden to speak their mother tongue in an attempt to eradicate "the savage". Many children were abused for years, physically and

sexually, and suffered daily punishments if they were heard speaking their own language or did not obey.

Others died because of the terrible conditions in which they lived (for example, insufficient nutritional intake), trying to escape to return home, and others committed suicide.

When they were finally free at the age of 16, they arrived at their villages and no longer understood their own language and culture, since for many years they had been taught that being indigenous was something to be ashamed of.

## **2. Questions**

### *2.1. Canada's residential school history*

- Do you think residential schools have been rendered invisible?
- Who were the affected and the responsible?
- Could you mention something that happened in the residential schools?
- Do you know any indigenous groups from Canada?
- Do you consider what happened a genocide?
- Do you think it is important to explain the history of a country?

### *2.1.2 Language and culture relationship*

- What can be the effects of banning a language?
- Does prohibiting one's language affect their culture?
- What about their individual and collective identity?
- Do language and culture depend on each other?
- Is your mother tongue part of your identity and culture?
- Does the culture from where you live affect your identity?
- Do you think that the way we act, see the world, or think is determined by our language and culture?

- If a child is deprived of his or her language and culture for years, how do you think this will influence his or her integration into society?
- What do you think is the relationship between language and culture? Does one depend on the other?
- What, in your opinion, shapes a culture?