We Were Children and

We Are Human Beings:

Tsartlip Indian Day School Student Experiences

By

Thulih'Wul Wut'

XET'XOT'EL,WET

Carolyn Dawn Sampson

B.S.W., University of Victoria, 2000

M.A., Gonzaga University, 2002

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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Abstract

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Storytelling was utilized to capture the experiences of Tsartlip Indian Day School students by telling their stories. Storytelling is a way of living, being, and a way of knowing, while walking with the voices of our ancestors. Storytelling is used to fill in the gap of available resources for Indian Day School students to ensure their experiences are not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. Indian Day Schools were omitted from the Indian Residential School Agreement and their experiences were insidious as teachers, staff, and administration ingratiated themselves into our day-to-day life. It is crucial to fill in the gap of academic information to create awareness and understanding, which can provide the context of one's social history.

The legislation (Indian Act 1868 - 1976) (Venne, 1981), policy, and field manuals created an environment that set the stage for the teacher-to-student violence, staff-to-student violence, and student-to-student abuse to occur first at the residential schools and later at the Tsartlip Indian Day School. The inter-generational violence was perpetuated from 1920 – 1996 in the guise of an educational environment on the W̲SÁNEĆ Peoples, which is the span of either three or four generations. In my family, it is three generations (parental, mine, nieces/nephews).

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Keywords

Indigenous, Storytelling, Indian Day School, Residential School, Intergenerational Trauma.

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Acknowledgements

To my family and friends, I have been absent in your and our lives, as I attained my academics. I appreciate that you allowed me to continue to be a part of your lives and that my absence was both accepted and forgiven. I never really understood the absence until Papa Doug White both showed and told me, oh, how I was lectured, and in my naïveté, I attempted to justify, the lecturing lovingly continued for another ten minutes. My respect, gratitude, and appreciation for each of you was greater because of the unconditional love and support that you have given me through my academic years and the academic absence from being a family member and friend.

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Academic achievement is never attained alone, my community of family and friends, plus the grade school teachers and the faculty at Camosun College, University of Victoria, and Gonzaga University, you were my supports. Mrs. Susan Campbell, my grade four teacher, you were the first schoolteacher, who truly taught me what it was to be a schoolteacher. You were the first teacher that I was not afraid of and I began my true learning in school as a student. I was awed in the kindness and respect that you gave to each student, despite the colour of one's skin. Ms. Margaret Vickers you became the substitute teacher, when Mrs. Campbell went on her maternity leave. I was a young Indian girl who was awed by your beauty, grace, and kindness as

an Indigenous woman and knew that attaining post-secondary education could be attained. The post-secondary faculty who assisted me to improve my academic writing, when I began college; I did not know the difference between “a” and “an” because the education system failed me. While many instructors provided me support through the years, two were significant. I will never forget sitting with Dr. Charles Molnar, a Camosun College science instructor, who in the depth of my despair and truly wanting to quit school, the support and encouragement permitted me to continue completing my degrees. I would have quit and become another Indigenous statistic of being a “drop out.” The other was Dr. Ghira Bhatt, she was the first teacher who lovingly sat with me to discuss my low level of academic writing, and her support and encouragement provided me with the persistence to increase my writing standards.

Dedication

To my mom and dad (Audrey and Tom), who provided a strong foundation for me and were my role models and first teachers. My parent's generosity and selflessness permitted me to be both the youngest child and an only child to Aunty Louise and Uncle Ted. I was truly blessed to have two families. I was blessed to have known one of my four grandparents, Grandma (Alice Sampson) for the first 14 years of my life. To my family and friends who have been a support throughout my personal healing journey, respectively each of you contributed to my healing. You have also been my support during this academic journey.

To the fellow Indian Day School students, the journey to heal can be arduous. To the older students who protected and sheltered the younger students when you were able, you were a true blessing and a hero; this included my siblings and cousins. I am grateful for the protection that I received, both knowingly and unknowingly from my siblings, cousins, and other community members. You saved me from beatings and comforted me when it was safe, in a time that seemed hopeless. As we individually heal we embrace our inherent gifts and ways of life, we contribute to the healing of the W̲SÁNEĆ People as a whole. I am a perfectly imperfect person and I know that I have character strengths and areas to develop.

To the Indigenous people of the world, who have lived through the macroaggressions, microaggressions, systemic oppression, racism, discrimination, and general hatred because we are different from mainstream society, you understand my journey. As you do your personal work, you contribute to your personal healing, which contributes to the familial healing and then to the community healing. As we heal, we create a different path for our respective descendants.

Preface

I was hurt when I phoned the Residential School Hotline to inquire if the Tsartlip Indian Day School was included in the Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. The staff person advised me that Indian Day School students, were not included in the Agreement since we had not been harmed, because we went home every day (date unknown). The experiences of the Indian Day Schools were omitted from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada and these stories are yet to be told. This naïveté and ignorance required action, which eventually came about with the Federal Indian Day School Class Action, which began in 2009 and the Federal Court approved on August 19, 2019. The abuses that were suffered were inhumane and inflicted upon children in the guise of an educational environment and under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the Mennonite United Church, the Anglican Church, and the Methodist Church. Each religious organization had a contract with the Federal Government of Canada, Indian Affairs who had jurisdiction of Indian education under the Indian Act 1868 – 1976 (Venne, 1981). The sadness of the abuses inflicted and endured at the Tsartlip Indian Day School is that it was done with intent and cruelty. The Indian Act 1868 – 1976 afforded power and authority, which set the stage for the abuses to be inflicted upon students in a school environment. I eagerly embraced being a part of filling in the "academic gap" of Indian Day School resources and as such, this thesis is in part my attempt to address the silences and omissions.

The resources produced by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada are greatly appreciated. I respect and appreciate all the information that has been written about the residential school experience, but it is not truly or fully reflective of the Indian Day School

experience. However, this information is foundational for me. It is critical to capture the Indian Day School experiences to ensure mine and our perspectives are not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. Additionally, it is crucial to see the uniqueness of the Indian Day School experiences from the context of a former student sharing their personal story.

Storytelling was a natural fit for me, as I grew up with storytelling as a way of being and a way of learning. Storytelling is a way of knowing that can be used across the generations and in many situations to create awareness and transfer the knowledge across the generations in a single moment and with one story, to all who are present. Storytelling is a mechanism that can plant a seed that the listener nurtures throughout their life. Each listener is able to the learning that is required for him or her in that moment of his or her life.

From my childhood, as students, we knew each other's Tsartlip Indian Day School experience and through the years, I had discussions with former classmates and students. Two of the five Storytellers completed the process, my story complemented their student experiences, and I became Storyteller Six. The COVID-19 Pandemic changed the interview process and health and safety precautions were necessary.

Completing my own application for the Federal Indian Day School Class Action provided me with a new and different perspective of being a Storyteller and required me to be both subjective and objective in writing. I appreciated the five Storytellers from a whole new perspective. Writing the thesis became a different journey because at times, the depth of my own pain seemed insurmountable. Self-care and accessing supports and services was critical during these times.

In addition, I have always had a concern about the power and influence of people in authority positions and how it can be misused to both normalize and perpetuate verbal violence,

ignorance, and hatred. In attaining my undergrad, a post-secondary teacher said to me, “What do you mean; you people get everything for free!” I was shocked and mortified because I was there to get assistance with a statistics assignment, which had nothing to do with race and/or services. My survival told me, “You need the help, she has the expertise. Do not respond! Do not engage! She has power and influence within the institution; she can affect my getting the degree!” I ignored the comment and acted as if she did not make the statement. I got the academic help that I needed.

The week before the graduation ceremony, I phoned up the teacher and requested an appointment, which she granted. Upon my arrival, I restated my name and reminded her of who had referred me to her for assistance and guidance with an assignment. In preparing for the appointment, she went through five years of classes to see if I was a student because she could not remember my name. I confirmed that I was not a student, and then I told her the statement that she had said to me in her office, two years before. She was mortified by what she had said to me and then defended and justified her behaviour. Her apology was all about her and nothing to do with an apology of how she treated me as both a student, but most importantly, as a human being. Diangelo (2018) would refer to her behaviour as, “white fragility in action” and her inability to talk about her overt racism and verbal violence, as she was unable to see herself in racial terms and she was positioning herself as the one being treated unfairly. I was disappointed in her behaviour, in both instances, as a teacher who has power and influence in a post-secondary institution and in her self-centered apology that had nothing to do with me. Her behaviour reminded me of the quotes, “You can’t fix stupid!” Plus the infamous quote from the *Forrest Gump* movie, “Stupid is as stupid does!” (Zemeckis, 1994). In 1999, I never expected a post-

secondary teacher with tenure to be spouting the same verbal violence to me that I experienced as a student at the Tsartlip Indian Day School in 1971.

Chapter One: Introduction

"We Were Children and We Are Human Beings: Tsartlip Indian Day School Student Experiences" captures the unique experiences of the Tsartlip Indian Day School students by telling their stories. Indian Day Schools were omitted from the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement and there is a need to create awareness of their experiences. To fill in the gaps in available resources for Indian Day School students to ensure their experiences are not minimized, disregarded or misunderstood. Research of this type is important because Indian Day Scholars are similar, yet different from Residential School students. The experiences of the Indian Day School were insidious, as the school staff and administration had ingratiated themselves into the parents' lives, for example, the person who was violent with you during the school hours, could be sitting at the dinner table or at a cultural/community function in the evening. The school staff and administration attended community and cultural functions. Indian Day Schools were operated by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and fell within the mandate of the *Indian Act*, whose legislation, policy, and directives did not consider or include academic certification and accreditation. This meant that the Indian Day students were not academically prepared when they moved to a provincially run school because of the failure to educate.

To illuminate the experiences of Day School students, I use storytelling as a method to add to our understanding of these experiences. Storytelling is an Indigenous methodology that has been utilized since time immemorial (Chapter 2) and is what my parents utilized with me from a young age to transfer knowledge and to teach. Florence (2016) reinforces that "Oral traditions served not only to entertain, but also to teach children moral lessons and proper behaviour" (p. 36). Storytelling in action was used in the immediacy to address behaviour that

could later be regretful and to guide one towards a behaviour that allowed one to be their best self. A story can be heard multiple times through one's life, which can permit the listener to extract the required learning needed on that specific time and place.

The use of storytelling allowed each of the Storytellers (participants) to share their personal experience of being a Tsartlip Indian Day School student and permitted me to be a witness to their lived experiences. I am of WSÁNEĆ heritage, I have had a lifetime bond with the community members, and a pre-existing relationship existed with each of the Storytellers. Furthermore, my relationship with each of the Storytellers will exist beyond the research period; we are all of WSÁNEĆ heritage. I am closely related by the Indian Names or by blood to each of the Storytellers. There is a shared lineage. My background in interviewing (academics, volunteer, and work) provided me the skills, ability, and confidence to be prepared to interview the Storytellers. Due to the complexities and limitations of the COVID-19 Pandemic, I was required to complement the Storytellers' stories with my own story (autoethnography). Appropriate protocols were in place to protect the privacy and anonymity of the Storytellers who chose to be identified by a number. However, the Tsartlip Indian Day School students have a shared and lived experience with others who attended at the same time and as such, may be able to identify a person by what is shared in the research. I gifted each of the Storytellers with traditional medicines to support their overall well-being and appropriate COVID-19 Pandemic protocols were followed to ensure their safety.

WSÁNEĆ history and the relationship of the Tsartlip Indian Day School students (Chapter 3) is critical to understanding how the Day School experience is unique. Government policies and jurisdictional gaps influenced our daily lives (parenting, housing, and food security) to set the stage for the residential school, and later the Day Schools. Three of my four

grandparents attended Canadian residential schools and my mom's family (generation) did not attend residential school because my maternal grandfather was the interpreter for the Indian Agent and he told them, "You cannot take my children!" The Indian Agent did not take my mom and her siblings, by this time, two Indian Day Schools were on the Cowichan Reserve, and they attended Day School.

Federal Indian Day Schools were operational from 1920 to 1996. Unfortunately, the majority of the academic research is on the logistical information of the Indian Day Schools. 699 schools were across Canada, 112 were in BC, with twenty-one on Vancouver Island, with three being in the Greater Victoria area that included the Tsartlip Indian Day School that was officially known as West Saanich School, Tsartlip Consolidated, and Tsartlip Elementary. The literature review does not include the student experiences, rather it covered the policy, practices, field manuals, and the legislation contained within the *Indian Act*; this created an environment for widespread and unmonitored/unchecked abuses to be inflicted upon the Tsartlip Indian Day School students.

I am the youngest of five children and I was eager to go to school. Prior to being able to attend, I was in awe of my siblings and cousins who were able to go to school each day. I never imagined the abuses that occurred at the school and my naïveté was shattered on the first day of school. The abuses were normalized and promoted by the residential school and later at the Day Schools, beginning in 1920. School was not an environment of learning; it was a day of witnessing teacher-to-student violence, staff-to-student violence, and finally the student-to-student abuses. Vicarious trauma was pervasive and unavoidable, and many were subject to direct abuses (physical, psychological, spiritual, and sexual) and because we all knew each other, witnessing the violence was just as bad as enduring the violence directly. Castellano and

Archibald's (2007) Risk Pile up (Figure 4: colonization, historic trauma and violence, reserves, residential schools/day schools, poverties, resilience) succinctly summarize government influences that contributed to the abuses that occurred at the Tsartlip Indian Day School. It is important to note that the authors describe these factors, while ensuring that Indigenous resilience is positioned in the most inner core. For Castellano and Archibald (2007) Indigenous resilience was instrumental to the making of protective factors. The protective defences or factors (Figure 5) the authors identify are: resilience; detachment; reinterpretation; accommodation; resistance; and oral tradition/example -- which is directly correlated to Storytelling. Bombay et al. (2014a) Contributing Factors of Student-to-Student Abuse (Figure 3) was adapted for the Indian Day Schools, the diagram captures the taboo of talking about the student-to-student abuses, but was the lived experience at the Tsartlip Indian Day School. When I learned to protect myself, it was accidental, but was effective and it stopped the abuse from continuing, but for the remainder of the school year, I endured the threat of physical violence.

The legacy of being a Day School student is unique for each person (Chapter 4). While I shared the stories of three Storytellers, I, and we do not speak for all Day School students. However, documenting these stories is critical to closing the gap of available resources on Indian Day Schools. The relationships that we each had/have to the Tsartlip Indian Day school, the ways in which we each contributed to and were victims of the direct violence, and effects of the vicarious trauma we endured and at times continue to endure, are entangled and inseparable from our interconnectedness as W̲SÁNEĆ Peoples. The legacy of being an Indian Day School survivor is unique and complex.

The Storytellers stories addresses the academic gap of available resources on the Indian Day School experience, the Tsartlip Indian Day School specifically to ensure the experiences are

not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. I do not purport to talk for all the children who endured the student-to-student abuse(s); this is my perspective and my perception of witnessing the longer-term effects of when abuse(s) occur in the same community and/or in the same family. This portion of the thesis was a part of my personal healing as I was required to be both objective and subjective when writing, personal healing is a lifetime journey and as I do my personal work, I contribute to the healing in my family, which contributes to the healing of the WSÁNEĆ Peoples.

Chapter Two: Storytelling as a Methodology

Voices of the Knowledge Keepers

Mom

When I was a young teenager, mom and dad had a gathering at the house. Mom and dad called extended family, friends, cultural leaders, and a speaker; they wanted the people to know their wishes for the house, for it to remain a family home, open for all. I remember giggling because they were talking about me having a husband and family and I was not even dating yet…After mom and dad passed into the spirit world, they did not want us fighting about the family house. This was why no name was ever put onto a CP (Certificate of Possession).

Dad

Look at the water, the way it is moving. The way the leaves are blowing in that tree. The tide is coming in and it is a north wind. Today would be a good day to go fishing over there, the lures will dance and attract the fish.

Grandma

This is how you do this…You keep going until the wool looks like this. Those pieces go in here and those go in there. Put in this amount to begin again. After this is all done, then I will start to spin the wool. Grandma is talking to Jackson [dog] in Nez Perce, he gets up and goes farther away. *I don't want his fur to get caught up with the wool. What are you going to make? I have an order for a sweater.*

Introduction

What is storytelling? Is it the Knowledge Keepers reminiscing? Or is storytelling a way of being, a way of knowing as an Indigenous person and from an Indigenous perspective. For me, storytelling is a way of living, being, and a way of knowing.

These stories were from over 50 to 70 years ago. Mom is teaching me to call witnesses to ensure grandma and grandpa's wishes for the family home are respected after they died. Mom is telling me who to call upon, when there is a disagreement about the family home. Mom is telling me to honour the oral/verbal wishes of my maternal grandparents. Mom is reinforcing that when you are called upon as a witness, you are a witness for the rest of your life, it is a lifetime responsibility and not to be taken lightly. Mom is teaching me Coast Salish Indian Family Law and Coast Salish Indian Laws. Mom is teaching me the value of oral history, a way of being, and a way of walking with the natural rhythms of the ancestors.

Dad is teaching me to read the land and the water and showing me how to be successful when going fishing. Dad is teaching me safety. Dad is teaching me to be efficient and effective when going fishing. These same principles can be applied to hunting. Dad is teaching me a way of being, a way of learning.

Grandma is teaching me how to cart wool with paddles, this began when I was only four years of age. Mom and dad always sent me to help grandma when she teased and carted her wool. My parents are teaching me, "Many hands makes light work." My parents are teaching me to help my family elders and elders in general. When I began to go to the longhouse, mom and/or dad would "give me the look" and "nod their head in the direction of an Elder," non-verbal cues to go and assist an Elder. This one-to-one time permitted me to spend more time with the Elder I was assisting and sometimes these were "teachable moments" where the Elder would share teachings. Assisting an Elder provided more time for relationship building, connection, and

belonging. Most importantly, it was mostly treasured one-to-one time with my grandmother as I was 1 of 68 grandchildren. I am being taught across generations by Grandma, a way of being, a way of learning, and a way of knowing.

Upon reflection, it was cool that Grandma's dog understood English, SENĆOŦEN, and Nez Perce. I was awed at her ability to knit without referencing the pattern; this came from her skill of beading. As an adult, I am awed at her ability "to add on" the wool because she made it look easy, and I am humbled because at times, it can take me a couple of tries to make it look seamless. Grandma was skilled at beading and knitting. I am a baby knitter who has knitted a few times in my life. When I have knitted, it has been as a part of a project of giving. When I knit, my elbows slowly rise, as high as my shoulders, and I notice because my shoulders are getting sore and I am intently focusing on the art of knitting. I chuckle at myself and continue knitting. My teachers have always been respectful and they do recall their early knitting days. This is teaching me humility and respect, in being gentle with myself as I learn. The humility and respect of the teacher, to permit each knitter to learn, in their way of knowing, and at their own pace; a way of being, a way of knowing.

Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Methodologies, Systemic Oppression, and Discrimination

Indigenous knowledge has been shared across generations since time immemorial, as we lived and practiced our Indigenous way of being. Across the generations, family members, elders, and mentors have been role models for my Indigenous way of being and my Indigenous way of knowing from the Coast Salish and Nez Perce perspectives. My foundation in the Coast Salish and Nez Perce cultures have permitted me to see similarities across other Indigenous cultures.

Kovach (2018) asserts,

> There are four distinct aspects associated with Indigenous methodologies that I would like to comment upon. First, there can be no doing of Indigenous methodologies without having a comprehension of tribal knowledge systems and how Indigenous *epistemology* fits within it. Second, within the philosophical parameters of Indigenous methodologies are *Indigenous theory-principles*. They outline the teachings, laws, and values inherent within an Indigenous belief system. Third, I offer thoughts on *relational actions*, which are the strategies and methods of Indigenous methodologies. Relationships are how we do Indigenous epistemology. Finally, I draw your attention to *re-storying* or interpretation within Indigenous methodologies (p. 218).

Storytelling as a way of being, a way of learning has been utilized since time immemorial by the Elders, regretfully, within the academy, ethnocentricity still exists, "Because Indigenous methodologies are still in a state of becoming" (Kovach, 2018, p. 227). Indigenous Peoples have been able to attend a post-secondary institution for 60 years. Under the *Indian Act*, from 1876 to 1961, compulsory enfranchisement occurred for any Indian who was admitted into a post-secondary institution.

> Any Indian who may be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, or any other degree by any University of Learning, or who may be admitted in any Province of the Domination to practice law either as an Advocate or as a Barrister or Counsellor or Solicitor or Attorney or be a Notary Public, or who may enter Holy Orders or who may be licensed by any denominations of Christian as a Minister of the gospel, shall *ipso facto* become and be enfranchised under this Act (Venne, 1981, p. 47).

Until 1961, Indians were not permitted to attend post-secondary institutions and the non-Indians had command of how research was done in Indigenous communities. My mom would have been 25 years of age and my dad 26, when this prohibition was lifted. Mom attended Sprott-Shaw College in her adulthood, while dad attended Camosun College, and several cousins (my generation) attained post-secondary degrees. Dad is 1 of 12 children with a 26 year span amongst them. Some of the younger siblings attended post-secondary and his two youngest siblings are the same age as my two oldest siblings.

As a result of non-Indians conducting and controlling research in Indigenous communities, our storytelling methods were re-written and re-told by non-Indians, hence, losing the essence or the 'real' account of Indigenous lives.

Storytelling: A Way of Being, A Way of Learning

Storytelling is the sharing of inherent wisdom and knowledge across the generations, through culture and tradition, while walking with voices of our ancestors. Mihesuah (1998) states, "Indians are not satisfied with the manner in which they have been researched or with how they and their ancestors have been depicted in scholarly writings" (p. x). Initially, Indigenous trailblazers (Mishesuah (1998); Wilson (1998); Allen (1998); Deloria Jr. (1998, 2006); Fixico (1998); Cook-Lynn (1998); Whitt (1998); Jojola (1998); Champagne (1998); Swisher (1998), among many others.) had to attain their credentials by abiding by western standards of academia. These leaders utilized their education and knowledge to cultivate an understanding for others how Indigenous people have learned. Indigenous scholars have also provided the academic structure for Indigenous people to adopt what has always been an inherent way of being, within the structure of the academy. Indigenous cultures around the world utilize storytelling as a powerful way of teaching and learning across many generations. The use of storytelling, as a way of education, cultivates a sense of knowledge that generationally can be inherited.

The Knowledge Keepers pose structure for storytelling. Archibald (2008) coined the term, "Storywork" from her work with the Sto:lo Elders and she wanted to legitimize it through the academy by writing her book. "The Elders taught me the seven principles related to using First Nations stories and storytelling for educational purposes, what I term storywork: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, inter-relatedness, and synergy" (p. ix). While,

Maynes et al. (2008) purport, “Stories that people tell about their lives are never simply individual, but are told in historically specific times and settings and draw on the rules and models in circulation that govern how story elements link together in narrative logics” (p. 3). For example, some stories and traditional teachings can only be shared in the morning, while others can be told at any time of the day. In addition, some songs can only be song at specific times, the song; “Soldier Boy” can be song at a memorial or on Veteran’s Day. I grew up listening to stories as a method of teaching and learning on day-to-day life lessons, which prepared me for the years ahead.

King (2003) utilizes storytelling as the method to teach, to name, and to identify, “For Native storytellers, there is generally a proper place and time to tell a story” (p. 153). Culture and tradition provide rules and/or protocols for when stories can be shared, for example, some can only be shared at specific time of the day or a time of the year or under a specific circumstance; to share outside of those parameters is considered taboo. Within the context of the story, is the boundary of when the story can be shared, and the boundary needs to be respected and protected because it is related to the teaching of the story.

I grew up with Storytelling as a way of living, knowing, and being, the academy gave academic terminology to my inherent way of knowing. The terminologies (paradigm, ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology) was confusing and overwhelming to me. If you were to open any of my academic books (Wilson, 2008, Kovach, 2009, etc.), you will see the handwritten and diagrams notes reframed into day-to-day language. The translation of the required pages permitted me to integrate knowledge through the academic lens. With humility, I admit that I still make the required notes today to assist in integrating the academic terminology into my way of knowing.

Storytelling in Action

When I was growing up, storytelling occurred during power outages because we were a "captive audience" with the distraction of the radio and television being unavailable. Davidson and Davidson (2018) captured the inherent ways of learning through relationships, experiences, curiosity, observation, contribution, and personal development through the lifespan. My dad utilized storytelling to teach and address behaviours that were occurring both within the family and within the W̲SÁNEĆ communities. For example, the Widow Tree story is about respect, communication, and consequences.

> *A husband and wife were always bickering with each other about insignificant things daily. It did not matter what one said or did, the other was criticizing (real and/or perceived) them about what was said or done.*
>
> *Early one fall morning, the husband was getting ready to go fishing out in the bay, the wife spoke to her husband about the inclement weather and the husband took it as a criticism about his fishing abilities. The husband spoke about having to ensure there was extra fish because she often burned the food, she took it as an insult to her multi-tasking while cooking.*
>
> *The husband left on his canoe to go fishing and the wind and rain were severe that day. As the day progressed, the wind and rain did not let up and it continued hour after hour.*
>
> > *NOTE: My dad would pause for effect when the rain would batter and pelt against the living room window or when the wind would blow something outside over.*
>
> *The wife was getting more and more concerned as each hour in the day passed. Soon it was dinnertime, and her husband was still not home. Then she began to worry about her*

husband, as she seen the other husbands in the community had gotten home, she could see their canoes in front of their respective homes. She was more and more concerned about her husband.

She put on her jacket and walked to the beach, the wind and rain were relentless. The wind and rain were so unrelenting; the rain was bouncing off the road and splashing her in the face. She had to put her hands in front of her face to see the foot in front of her as the rain pummeled from the skies. Her hands were stinging from the rain as it pelted against her hands with each step forward. Her face and hands were stinging. The wind was blowing the leaves off the trees and was becoming another barrier to taking each step forward.

The wife longed to see if she could see husband and to hear her husband, she could not see him from the beach, so she walked to the point, sat on the rock, and called for her husband. "Husband, can you hear me! Husband please comes home*! Husband follow my voice to find the land! Husband!" The wife did not give up on calling for her husband; she sat there through the night, as the rain pelted against her body and the wind blew the leaves and other small debris at her as she sat there calling for her husband. She sat there day after day and she refused to leave. Days turning into weeks and weeks into months and soon, it was a year. Today, when you go sit by the tree at the point when the wind is blowing, you can hear the wife crying for her husband.*

For me, trees that grow out of the rocks are referred to as "Widow Trees." This story was told to us to remind us to be kind to one another. Storytelling was an innocuous mechanism to remind me of who I am innately, while living within the family and community on a day-to-day basis.

Storytelling is a method to “plant seeds” for the listener’s life journey and to prepare them for future life lessons, how each individual “nurtures the seed” is their journey.”

Storytelling permits each listener to extract the required words to facilitate what is required for that individual on that specific date. The listener can hear the same legend or teaching multiple times throughout one’s life, as one experiences and grows from concrete learning to abstract learning, the depth of the learning increased because one sees the complexity within the story. Each time learning occurs at abstract levels as the individual has grown and are able to incorporate the knowledge differently due to their increase capacity to integrate with their lived experience. For example, as a child, when I heard the Widow Tree story, I heard and learned, do not fight. As my cognition grew, I was able to hear and learn the complexity of personal relationships, respect, and humility. In particular, I learned to be careful when having a verbal disagreement with another, sometimes when a person walks out the door, it may be for the last time. In this story, the widow is standing on the banks waiting for her husband to come home, and their last words to each other were said to each other in anger. Indigenous Knowledge Keepers are creative and teachable moments are inserted into ceremony. Davidson and Davidson (2018) capture how learning occurs through ceremony, including how it emerges, how it occurs, and how an individual honours the knowledge, including storytelling.

Storytelling is a mechanism that can permit the individual to reframe day-to-day situations to capture both resistance and resilience. This form of reframing can be completed by an outsider observer or by the individual as a way to facilitate healing. Storytelling is subjective and biased as the storyteller constructs their story to teach and convey their desired message. The story can be changed but drawing out specific sections of a story or by pausing to reinforce silence or sounds or to emphasize a word. Storytelling can be utilized with every age group at

family and community functions, as it permits the listener to learn what they need to in the moment. Reframing can facilitate healing, empowerment, and inter-dependence for an individual. In reading some legends that have been written to be shared with mainstream society by respected individuals, small details have been omitted that permit the sacredness of the story to remain within the Indigenous community.

Storytelling and the oral knowledge have protected our traditional lands from development that could destroy the sacred lands. For example, the now defunct South Island Tribal Council Elders stopped the Bamberton Project. When the Elders were walking the land with the provincial and federal environmentalists who were writing the reports, the environmentalists were humbled by the wisdom of the Elders and their ability to read the land, these words are in the SENĆOŦEN and Hul'quimi'num language. The Elders wisdom and knowledge was transferred orally as they fished, hunted, and foraged the land for sustenance throughout their life; their wisdom was not book learned. Storytelling encourages humility. Some Elders have had to have an interpreter to ensure their words were translated into English and some Elders have learned the English language so that they can be the interpreter for others.

Storywork can utilize a large variety of day-to-day things to teach from young children to Elders. Martin and William (2019) employ the analogy of the drum to capture and translate Indigenous theory and methodology to transfer intergenerational knowledge through the generations:

> The four sinew straps that attach the hide to the frame represented the following ideas in my study:
>
> 1. Indigenous knowledge is culturally relevant framework that uses Indigenous methodologies to privilege the voices of the participants and promote study.
> 2. Experiences represent the depth of our culture and our connection with it.
> 3. Stories are the traditional knowledge gained by living alongside grandparents, which shaped our successes and who we have become.

4. Teachings moved me from my head to my heart, which reflected a process of reconciliation and the inner struggles to integrate the teachings of our Elders. (p. 67).

The Elders and Knowledge Keepers utilize cultural objects, cultural practices, and cultural teaching for storytelling through the generations. As we grow from concrete thinking to abstract thinking, the metaphor of the drum can provide numerous opportunities to share the ancestral knowledge and concepts of respects, sharing, trust, love, courage, honesty, wisdom, truth, and humility. Indigenous knowledge is transferred inter-generationally in a variety of environments, including the Thirteen Moons or the traditional practices of harvesting and processing the traditional foods and medicines. Each family has sacred stories that contain that family knowledge and sacred knowledge related to their familial role within the community.

Researching In My Own Community and the Ethics of It

Using storytelling methodology allows storytellers to share their stories from their personal experience. Wilson (2008) purports, "Respect, reciprocity, and responsibility are key features of any healthy relationship and must be included in an Indigenous methodology" (p. 77). The relational accountability is complex from both the inside and outside perspective. Relational accountability integrates the researcher, the topic, and the Indigenous community. Although the above-mentioned are separate, they are inter-twined, and they provide context to the research. Indigenous axiology, which is directly correlated to the relational accountability outlines, an outside researcher does not have a stake in how the research is conducted. When the research is complete, they can leave the community whereas the Indigenous researcher will always be indirectly and directly connected to the Indigenous community to time immemorial.

My intention is to be accountable to the Indigenous community until my passing, and with good intention, my written words will be left for future generations. Relational accountability is even stronger when the research is completed from the in-group perspective, as

the research is representative of the group, while being both truthful and respectful. Relational accountability incorporates the integrity of the methodology (respectful) and the research results (reciprocity) in context (Wilson, 2008). Relational accountability means that my descendants will have to manage the written words that I leave behind from both my academic and written work.

I utilized the same seven traditional medicines that were gifted to each of the Storytellers. I knew that it would be painful to listen to the stories, but I also knew stories would trigger my own story. Several mentors from my undergrad taught me to light a candle and pray, and to be critical when writing about healing topics; however, it does not make the hearing or typing any less hurtful, but I am not alone. I am walking with the natural rhythm of the ancestors. I am contributing to my personal healing, which contributes to the familial healing, which contributes to the healing of the W̲SÁNEĆ people, which contributes to the healing of Indigenous people of the world, which contributes to the healing of humanity.

Storytelling permits one to be a witness to another's experience. Storytelling will permit the Indian Day Student (Storyteller) to share the "unspeakable" of what has occurred to them at the Tsartlip Indian Day School through testimony. Since my childhood, the voices of Indigenous people were minimized and negated by Canada's mainstream society, which is directly correlated to the systemic oppression of the variations of the *Indian Act* legislation, policy, and directives. Since my childhood, we supported one another and connected the experiences to the cultural and traditional teachings to the best of our respective abilities. Storytelling is a personal experience and one and/or some may share something that has never been shared before with anyone. These moments can create a sense of vulnerability with the individual(s) to whom it is being shared.

> The relationship between researcher and researched influences the types of data that are generated, and the depth to which the data can be interrogated…Another aspect that can complicate research relationships is when the researcher needs to balance multiple roles and/or there is a need for the relationship to last longer than the research itself. (Dwyer et al., 2017, p. 7).

It was a blessing that the Storyteller's wanted to participate and the unspoken trust that was being afforded to me.

Autoethnography

I made the decision to include my story and become a Storyteller, when I was not able to complete the interview process with three Storytellers. However, as I storied my own experiences, I came to appreciate how autoethnography writing in the words of Ellis, (2004) "… refers to writing about the personal and its relationship to culture. It is autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness" (p. 39). Ellis (2004) further asserts, "The primary purpose of personal narrative is to understand a self or some aspect of a life lived in a cultural context. In personal narrative texts, authors become 'I,' readers become 'you,' participants become 'us.'" (pp. 45-46). Early in completing the coursework for this degree, I considered having the thesis being completely autoethnography, I decided against it because I would be writing about my life and my family and other loved one would not have a say in how I wrote about my life.

Within the context of being a Storyteller in the thesis, the autoethnography is about a specific portion of my life and not about my whole life. Ellis et al. (2011) provide a definition of autoethnography as "An approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural

experience (ethno) (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005)" (p. 273). While emerald and Carpenter (2017) assert,

> When we publicly story our experiences, they transcend the private and the personal and assume political import. It is a particular research method that connects the personal to the political, social and cultural in captivating, stirring and most importantly, insightful ways that move us to action. Autoethnography is a comfortable companion for many forms of narrative research (p. 27).

The two Storytellers stories will complement and enhance my student experience or autoethnography story to encapsulate the Tsartlip Indian Day School student experiences.

Interviewing the Storytellers

Storytelling as a methodology will be utilized to capture the experience of the Tsartlip Indian Day School student, to fill in the gaps of available resources, to ensure the Indian Day students experiences are not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. The Storytellers were asked three questions and the Participant Consent form is 6 pages long and provided each Storyteller with how they wanted to self-identify. Pre-existing relationships existed with each of the Storytellers because we all attended school together. The research relationship was a student-to-student sharing their respective story with me.

The Process

Each of the Storytellers chooses to be identified by a number, for example, Storyteller One to Five. The Covid-19 Pandemic had a direct impact on the number of Storytellers who were able to participate. While I have known each of the Storytellers for most of my life, I did not have their phone numbers because if I wanted to connect with them, I would always see them at either cultural or community functions, however the pandemic brought us into our respective silos. My ethical dilemma entailed me going directly to their respective homes, physically distancing, to ask them directly if they were interested in participating. Four said yes in the moment and the fifth reflected and wanted to review the consent for disclosure.

Two of the five Storytellers completed the interview process. Storyteller One was unable to complete the process due to life events, and after exhausting many options, Storyteller Three was unable to participate due to technology challenges. I spent four days researching options for Storyteller Three to participate and none of them was viable, including using a public venue, which was not available due to closure to the public. For me personally, I found this experience to be a painful because we both wanted the interview to happen. When we both surrendered to the interview not happening, I initiated going to the home to blanket them, to lift them up because I could hear in their voice throughout the week the failed efforts of their attempts to participate. First as a fellow community member, then as a social worker and counsellor, I went to their home and blanketed them with an Orange Day[1] blanket because Every Child Matters! Culturally blanketing Storyteller Three was appropriate and unfortunately, this had to be done without a witness to protect their privacy. I masked up and used hand sanitizer before and after blanketing them. I related and I respected their decision because I know what it was like for me at different point of my healing journey. In the early years of healing, I do not know if I would have been capable of participating in an interview of this type.

Storyteller Five withdrew from the process on the day we were to negotiate a time to interview. Three of the five Storytellers were not able to participate. I was concerned that there would not be enough research data to show the breadth of experiences of children at the Tsartlip Indian Day School so I decided to expand upon my own story. Moving between researcher and Storyteller was physically, mentally, and emotionally tiring in a way that I was not prepared for

[1] Since 2013, on September 30, we wear orange to honour the residential school survivors. Phyllis Webstad's grandmother had purchased her an orange shirt before school began; the nuns took Phyllis's orange shirt away from her at the beginning of the school year and never returned her orange shirt to her. As a part of Phyllis's healing journey, she purchased an orange shirt to be a symbol of hope and reconciliation, to create awareness that "Every Child Matters."

while writing the thesis and the switch in this research methodology required me to utilize both internal and external resources.

Each Storyteller will be referred to as they or them or their, to protect their privacy. However, as WSÁNEĆ people, we grew up together and we all witnessed what happed to each other at school, as such, an individual from within community may be able to identify a Storyteller based upon what is shared and included in the thesis. Each of the five Storytellers attended the Tsartlip Indian Day School at the same time as me and we represent three different grades. I am the only one who attended the Tsartlip Indian Day School for one year; the others all attended for more than one year.

Through August and September 2020, I interviewed two Storytellers. Each interview answered three questions and each interview took as long as it took to answer the three questions. Allowing each Storyteller to take their time was important for it allowed, "The narrator, the interview provides the opportunity to tell her own story in her own terms" (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 11).

Within the interview process, the aim was to find a balance in asking questions about the experience of being a Tsartlip Indian Day School student and being curious; finding the balance in what the Storyteller wanted to share and what they were capable of sharing. My personal ethics was to gauge or barometer in the moment to trust my intuition in asking a probing question for clarification.

Other community members verbally indicated to me their interest in participating, but were unable to as they had just finished writing their Day School Application or were in the process of writing their application and they were physically, spiritually, and emotionally exhausted. Sharing one's personal story into a thesis involves a plethora of feelings and

emotions. After including my own story into the thesis and being a Storyteller, I understand their exhaustion. This was further reinforced when I wrote and submitted my own application, from beginning to end and when I posted the package, I knew there was no taking it back. In addition, the process of waiting for an outside person to agree with the level you applied for and knowing that it would never truly be enough to compensate what one endured. Katherine Copenace made a public statement at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada event on June 16, 2010.

> The residential school students suffered physical, sexual, spiritual, and most of all emotional abuse and my dad used to say to me, 'Emotional abuse is more damaging than physical abuse. Your physical hurts heal.' That's what he used to say. When I got older, I had thoughts of suicide, inflicting pain on myself, which I did. I used to slash my arms, pierce my arms, my body and I destroyed myself with alcohol, which the government introduced of course (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015d, p. 159).

Storyteller Two and Storyteller Four were allies to their classmates. Both would divert the nun's physical abuse towards themselves, as they did not want to see another beaten, yet all the other students in the class had to witness the physical abuse being inflicted. The classmates were vicariously traumatized, as they witnessed the abuse that was originally being directed to another.

During the interviews, when Spirit became present, the audio portion became inaudible. With Storyteller One, I asked the participant to repeat what was stated and during the repeating of the statement, the information continued to be inaudible. This information is not included in the transcript and the flow of the information is slightly disrupted. The overall theme(s) were still identifiable. Spirit was the most prevalent or present in the interview with Storyteller One, who did not complete the interview process. In other Zoom meetings that I have participated in, often when the Elder prays and spirit is present, the audio is also inaudible.

Transcribing the Interviews

I transcribed the interviews and gave the Storytellers options of how they wanted to receive their interview; one opted for email, while the other opted for hard copy. I gave each Storyteller a couple of days to review their transcript and to provide additional feedback. As each Storyteller completed and approved their interview, I listened to the session for themes, and then I typed word for word the interview. Listening to the themes entailed reviewing within the Storytellers session, but also comparing with the other Storyteller. When it became apparent that I would become a Storyteller, the themes were reviewed again.

Analyses and Seeing the Themes: Categorical-Content Perspective

Lieblich et al. (1998) Categorical-Content Perspective will be utilized individually from each of the Storytellers, then the three stories will be reviewed a second time for themes across the three stories. The aforementioned authors state that, "Categorical-content approach is more familiar as 'content analysis'" (p. 13). Additionally, Lieblich et al. purport there are variations of the categorical-content perspective, however, the model can be broadly summarized as follows,

> (1) *Selection of the Subtext.* On the basis of a research question of hypothesis, all the relevant sections of a text are marked and assembled to form a new file or subtext, which may be seen as the content universe of the area studied…(2) *Definition of the Content Categories.* The categories are various themes that cut across the selected subtext and provide a means of classifying its units – whether words, sentences, or groups of sentences…(3) *Sorting the Material into Categories.* At this stage, separate sentences are assigned relevant categories. While the utterances may all be from a single story, categories may also include utterances by several individuals. (4) *Drawing Conclusions From the Results.* The sentences in each category can be countered, tabulated, ordered by frequency, or subjected to various statistical components – all in accordance with the research aims and questions and/or researcher's preference….When planning the content analysis, the most significant consideration should be the concordance between the research goal and its methods (pp. 112-114).

In my research I find that Categorical-Content Perspective honours storytelling as a methodology as it permits one to see the relationship between words and themes, and as a former Day Student, I can make inferences within the content.

Gift Giving to the Storytellers

Gifting giving is a part of Indigenous community. Historically, gift giving was a method to acknowledge a person for sharing their knowledge and it was a method of barter or exchange of services before money was introduced for payment of services. Some services, such as gift giving are intergenerational and to show appreciation for a service rendered, the gift giving or exchange is a way to provide services across Indigenous communities.

Familial Roles and the Potlatch Ban

Within Indigenous communities, roles are transferred within the family. Families are an expert in a specific role, such as family and/or community "Speaker," this person is fluent in the traditional language, such as SENĆOŦEN, and is knowledgeable in the protocols for ceremony. This person has knowledge of Indian Names within the family and through the years, they develop knowledge of Indian Names across the community.

Sometimes the service provided to a person and/or family is private, for example, in the family home with a few people present to witness and/or participate. Sometimes the service is provided in a public setting, which means that it occurs at a public cultural ceremony, the Government of Canada named and refers to this as a Potlatch. Across Canada, some Indigenous communities utilize the same English terminology. Through the Indian Act (1880) amendment,

> Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the 'Potlatch' or in the Indian dance known as the 'Tamanawas' is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six nor less than two months in any goal or other place of confinement; and any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of the

> same is guilty of a like offence, and shall be liable to the same punishment (Venne, 1981, p. 93).

The Potlatch Ban was in effect from 1880 to 1951. During this era, it was "declared potlatch and other cultural ceremonies illegal" (Joseph, 2018, p. 47). Through decades, when talking genealogy and Indian Names, my dad shared how ceremonies were held in a remote part of the reserve. As the Indian Agent travelled through the reserve, the "gate keepers" would innocuously notify the next person that the Indian Agent was heading towards the ceremony site. This permitted all who were participating to stop the ceremony and to dismantle any semblance of the ceremony.

I wanted to honour and respect my fellow Indian Day students, by providing them with traditional medicines that are known to support overall well-being. For me, this was critical. A single Storyteller Gift Box is a Box within a box. The most inner boxes contain the seven traditional medicines and a hand sanitizer; each item was hand sanitized as it was put into the box. The outer box contained a self-addressed stamped envelope and a printed address labels for the Storyteller to sign and mail to my office address to ensure their privacy. The Storyteller outer box was opened one more time to include a hand-sanitized copy the approved HREB SAMPSON Carolyn MSW Informed Consent V00291246F and the SAMPSON Carolyn MSW Research Information Package V00291246B. This box was hand-sanitized one more time and put into the delivery tote.

Conclusion

Storytelling is a way of knowing, a way of learning, and a way of being. I grew up with storytelling as an early form of learning before I went to public and Indian Day school because storytelling is what my parents used in my family home. Embedded within storytelling is Coast Salish family law, culture, and traditions. Storytelling is the sharing of inherent wisdom and

knowledge across generations, through culture and traditions, while walking with voices of the ancestors. Indigenous Peoples have only been able to attend post-secondary institutions for the past 60, from 1876 to 1961, under each version of the *Indian Act,* compulsory enfranchisement occurred if you were admitted into a post-secondary institution. Indigenous trailblazers attained their credentials by using western standards of the academy to create a path and place for storytelling within the academy.

Researching in my own community has a legacy beyond my life, as my descendants will have to live with the research. For me this relational accountability is significant. My intention is for my legacy to be accountable to the Indigenous community until my passing, and with good intention, my written words will be left for future generations. I am of W̲SÁNEĆ heritage and I have lifetime bond to community members.

Storytelling permits me to witness another's story, specifically, their experiences of being a Tsartlip Indian Day School student. I grew up with the storytellers, as fellow Indian Day School students for this research, as we all attended at the same time, we had a shared experience. I choose to become a storyteller, when I was not able to complete the interview process with three individuals. As a storyteller and a listener, I will continue to strengthen my knowledge and methods to preserve our stories for our community!

Chapter Three: The WSÁNEĆ People

WSÁNEĆ History and the Tsartlip Indian Day School

The WSÁNEĆ First Nation are comprised of the Pauquachin First Nation, the Tsartlip First Nation, the Tsawout First Nation, and the Tseycum First Nation. WSÁNEĆ People are the "Emerging People"; this name comes from the story of the flood and LÁU,WELNEW (Place of refuge) Mountain. The WSÁNEĆ People are Salt Water People, as the sea has always been an important part of our daily life. Traditionally, we had homes on today's east and north coast of the Saanich Peninsula, plus throughout the San Jan Islands. Our land stretches from the Gulf Islands and San Juan Islands and across the Georgia Strait to Boundary Bay. On the Saanich Peninsula, the territory stretches to PKOLS (Mount Doug) to cross to W̱QENNELEŁ (Mt. Finlayson) and SELEȾTEŁ (Goldstream). WSÁNEĆ culture is strongly connected to the lands. My family's longhouse was on the waterfront, almost where the old canoe shed was located down the road, almost in front of my parent's family home. As of October 2021, Indigenous Affairs and Northern Services Canada list the combined WSÁNEĆ villages' membership at 2,605 with 1,394 or 54% residing within the territory, which has a hectare base of 1,283.9.

Since I was a child, there has been a shortage in housing in the WSÁNEĆ Nations and some homes experience over-crowding. Electricity was installed in the Tsartlip First Nation around 1942, as my dad grew up utilizing gas lamps for the first couple of years of his schooling. He remembers the Tsartlip Elders having a meeting to discuss putting electricity in our homes. I was age ten or in grade four when an indoor bathroom was installed in our home. The housing shortage meant that over-crowding occurred until a family could get a home, for example, three adult children would live with their respective families in the family home with their parents. It was and is common for three-generations to be living in one home. As children in my family

home, five of us shared one bedroom, which had a wall in-between to separate the boys and girls. When my brothers were awaiting for their homes to be built, 18 of us lived in our home with one bathroom. I was in the early years of my post-secondary education and I would sleep from 7:00 pm till midnight or 1:00 am, then get up, and do my homework because it was too noisy to do any homework when the 17 other people in the home were awake. Reserve homes are built sub-standard and not built to housing code. Until the early 1990's, there was one housing inspector for Vancouver Island's 48 reserves. As a rule, reserve homes would never pass a housing inspection from today's Home Inspectors Association of BC. Since I was a child, reserves have had "Mold Projects," projects that require the home to be assessed and a budget submitted to Indigenous Services Canada, formerly known as the Department of Indian Affairs. By the time a budget was approved, and the work implemented, the mold in the home had grown beyond the original assessment. Families would be breathing in mold for months, if not years, complicating their health and eventually effecting their abilities to do everyday activities, such as attending school.

The Influence of the Government on the W̲SÁNEĆ People

In 1990-1991, I worked for the BC Association of Friendship Centres to implement a survey, which became the foundation for the BC Aboriginal Network on Disability Society. While interviewing participants from around the province, in a small remote community in BC's interior, Community Living Services (supported Employment and supported education group) were being denied to an Indigenous person who resided on reserve. The not-for-profit agency was advised (verbal and written) by todays Community Living BC that if the client's name appeared on the next invoice, their services would be severed and the contract terminated. The local Community's Business Association collectively paid the client portion because the First

Nation community had no resources to pay the client's portion. The denial of social and health services to on reserve people has a profound impact on a person's overall health and wellbeing. For example, in 2001/2002, when I was working for today's Community Living BC (CLBC), a former colleague approached me with the booklet for eligibility requirements, which denied services to those residing on reserve as she was doing an intake assessment. I told her that it was her decision to push back on this discrimination, but she would be "opening a can of worms" as the family knew other families who were accessing CLBC services and the issue of discrimination would be made apparent from her assessment. CLBC offers amazing psycho-educational opportunities to clients to cope in mainstream society on a day-to-day basis. At the 2017 Operation Trackshoes, I worked with a dad and a son; the son had a phenomenal growth in his communication skills by accessing a psycho-educational service at Queen Alexandra Children's Hospital summer program. Bureaucratic jurisdictions define education and access to services for Canadian citizens and every version of the *Indian Act* since 1868 re-defines our education and access to services for us, we are systemically discriminated against, and we do not have access to resources in the same way Canadian citizens do creating jurisdictional gaps.

> Litigating history is precisely what Canadian courts are now engaged in. More than forty aboriginal rights cases have gone to the Supreme Court of Canada since 1982, and each has engaged at least one historian – usually more. This is because the courts work on an adversarial system, the basis of which is testing the evidence through intense and extensive cross-examination. From Aboriginal people, judges hear stories previously unknown, and the stories are always longer than the history of Canada as a nation-state. The other side in Aboriginal rights cases is the Crown, represented by the federal or provincial governments, or both. Lawyers for the Crown are assigned the task of proving that the claimant aboriginal group in court has always had less, known less, used less, and perhaps never existed at all. There are real consequences to these contests. (Ray, 2011, p. xix).

Since 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada, in the Delgamuukw decision, has recognized Indigenous oral history in the establishment of both title and territory. The W̲SÁNEĆ Nation is

one of the 14 purchase agreements signed with Governor James Douglas in 1952; these signed agreements are referred to as the Douglas Treaties or Fort Victoria Treaties (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, 2022). For the purposes of this paper, the signed agreements will be referred to as the Douglas Treaties. The WSÁNEĆ Nation as a whole has provided oral history testimony in relation to both title and territorial hunting and fishing rights and is protected both by Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution (1982) and by Douglas Treaties. The Coast Salish Elders provided testimony in many cases, but the following four court cases are critical to the WSÁNEĆ Peoples. *R. vs. White and Bob* (1965) was the first court case to acknowledge the validity of the Douglas Treaties; *R. vs. Bartleman* (1984) protected our treaty hunting rights and reinforced that hunting is allowed on all land including private property, with safety as the only consideration. The third, *Claxton vs. Saanichton Marina* (1989), protected Treaty fishing rights. Marinas can be prohibited if they impede our rights to "fish formerly as before." *R. v. Morris* (2006) entrenched the treaty right to night hunting and the role of Indigenous laws. The WSÁNEĆ People have been strong in enforcing their inherent fishing and hunting rights through section 35 of Canada's Constitution Act 1982 (Department of Justice, 1982). Joseph Daniel Bartleman's case was before the justice system from July 5, 1977 to 1984 (R. vs. Bartleman, 1984). Whereas, Ivan Morris Jr. case was in court from November 28, 1996 until December 21, 2006 (R. vs. Morris, 2006) and the testimony of the Elders reinforced hunting, fishing, and pit-lamping because they lived the experience with their parents and grandparents and other ancestors. When we were children, most WSÁNEĆ Peoples depend upon fish and deer to feed the family on a daily basis and to feed the people at cultural events at the WSÁNEĆ Long Houses.

It is fascinating to listen to my dad talk about the process of pit-lamping. As a child, in the 1940's my dad grew up pit-lamping in the canoe with his parents, grandparents, and great-grandmother in order to provide sustenance for the family. While they were out hunting and fishing in our traditional territories, family Elders used storytelling as teachable moments with my dad to address both family and community issues.

> *The moral "Widow Tree" story emphasizes relationships and dynamics between marital partners, a husband, and wife quarreled before he went fishing for the day and due to the inclement weather, her husband does not return home. Widow Trees grow in the rocks at the ocean side, when it is windy and rainy, if you go stand beside the widow tree, you can hear her crying for her husband who did not return home.*
>
> *While the canoe story addresses the inter-connectedness of the consequences of our behaviours from short-term to long-term. Is about a little boy who had no regard for life, he was always killing things, one day he kills an entire family of snakes. He grows into a man who has a family and one day when he was travelling with his family on the canoe, an entire family of snakes came and took his life and the life of his wife and children.*
>
> *NOTE: These are the morals as I see them and are a summary, these are not the whole story. They story when told, is both elegant and captivating.*

Whether pit-lamping, hunting or fishing my dad has been called to testify in cases involving entrenching our inherent rights protected through treaty rights to share his lived experience with his parents, grandparents, and great-grandmother. In this, I witness how lawyers have become rich specializing in Indigenous law; our families taught them the knowledge they never had about our people. At the Tsartlip Indian Day School, there were no breakfast programs or lunch

programs available for students, my family, and the WSÁNEĆ families have depended upon both fish and deer for food security.

Setting the Stage: Residential Schools, and Later Day Schools

Generations of Indigenous Peoples in Canada were indoctrinated by government policies, practices, and legislation that directly influenced and effected their day-to-day lives. Two examples of the far-reaching and destructive effects of State control on and in the lives of Indigenous peoples are residential schools and Federal Indian Day schools. Residential schools and Canada's policy for Federal Indian Day schools were in effect for over 100 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015b), Furniss (1992), Miller (1996), Milloy (1999), Niezen (2017), Public History (2018), Redmond (2014), Stout & Kipling (2003), Attorney General (2019), Bombay et al., (2014b)). Government policies, practices, and legislation created the fertile ground for the abuses and neglect that was inflicted upon the Tsartlip Indian Day School students; one of the most damaging forms of control was that the teachers and staff could purport they were a Truant Officer giving themselves the same power as a peace officer (Venne, 1981). The teachers and staff were a formidable force and they ensured how they treated the students would be unchallenged as they threaten to apprehend the children and send them to residential school or to interfere with family allowance payments. These threats, in turn, ensured both surrender and compliance from the parents and the students (Venne, 1981). This all-encompassing authority produced a deep sense of despair, "Trauma begins to happen when hopelessness starts to set in!" (Alexander, D. Dr., personal communication, January 9, 2020). Hopelessness fosters helplessness, which further fosters an attitude that is capture in the statement, "It will not make a difference, so why bother." Historically, the *Indian Act* 1985 (Venne, 1981), legislation and policies were setting the stage to create a path towards the inter-

generational traumas that occurred at the residential school experiences and the Indian Day School experiences.

The Residential School Experience

Through the Eyes of a Child, Me

I grew up with residential school survivors around me. As a naïve young girl, I secretly wished to go to the Kuper Island Residential School because my parents were strict. Older paternal family members attended the Kuper Island Residential School. My mom's family was able to evade residential school because my maternal grandfather (Michael Underwood Sr.) was the interpreter for the Indian Agent and he told them that they could not take his children. In my naïveté, I imagined the residential schools to be like to boarding school that European-Canadians attended. In quiet secrecy, I longed to have the freedom that I witnessed other WSÁNEĆ community members being afforded within their family home. I imagined having my own bedroom and having communal meals with my friends with limited rules. I imagined there being no chores, except for taking care of my room and myself. I never imagined the horrors that occurred. I remember being a teenager and suicides beginning to occur across the Coast Salish communities on Vancouver Island --- today, it would have been referred to as a state of emergency. In grade four, I was awarded the Kuper Island Bursary or $50.00, which was a lot of money for a ten-year-old, in 1974. At this time, I was still naïve about the reality of the occurrences at the Kuper Island Residential School.

Three of my four grandparents attended Canadian residential schools and several paternal aunts and uncles attended residential school, all of whom attended the school before I was born. Specific stories of their experiences were not shared with me until I was an adult. Like many other students, they endured starvation and abuses (physical, sexual, spiritual, psychological, and

emotional). Unlike most non-native people, beginning in my teen years, I grew up knowing that children were buried on the grounds of the residential schools and how terrible forms of abuse and violence was a daily experience for my grandparents. My grandfather and my grand uncle were starving and they got caught stealing food in the kitchen. One part of their punishment was to kneel at the altar, all day long, holding their arms up in the air as if they were making an offering.

During my childhood, I remember meeting older family members and community members, as they returned home from the residential schools, to keep their family bonds with other W̲SÁNEĆ community members. I watched W̲SÁNEĆ community members actively engaged in culture and tradition become different people. For example, as a child and young teenager, I remember being awed and confused to witness a person changing so fast, from a calm person to a different person in front of me. For example, my dad coached the lacrosse and soccer team for my older brothers and every weekend, our family home was a sleep over for the boys who played on his teams. With respect and as a young child, I was annoyed that one boy spent a lot of time at our home and I complained to my mom. A few weekends later, my mom and I were driving to the store, when we drove by his family home; several of his family members were having a full-on physical fight in their front yard. I could see the bloodied faces from the car, and I got scared, she said, "This is why he stays at our house on weekends. It is not always safe for him at home." From that day, I never complained when any of the boys from the team stayed at our home for several days at a time. My parents provided refuge for the safety of another during a period of chaos. Many of his family members attended residential schools and they came home as different people at times because of their lived experience at the residential school.

I grew up knowing about the student-on-student violence at the residential schools. Some community members came home and continued the same violence in their respective community. The student-to-student abuse occurred at the residential schools and Islands Trust (Unknown Date) reports that over an 88-year period, four consecutive generations attended the Kuper Island Residential School. I grew up knowing to stay away from certain people because some they were opportunistic and/or predatory perpetrators of sexual violence. For many decades, community members who perpetuated the violence when they returned home and who were often protected, I refer to this as, "misplaced loyalty." The misplaced loyalty is John Doe or Jane Doe being able to get away with their violent behaviour because their parents, grandparents, or partner is loved and respected and the victim does/did not report because of the love and respect for the perpetrator's family member. Bombay et al. (2014a) identify the contributing factors for student-to-student abuse at the residential school. I have adapted the authors approach to the Indian Day Schools and the effects on both the victims and the perpetrators and the collective effects that student-to-student abuse has on communities (Figure 3, Contributing factors of student-to-student abuse at Indian Day Schools).

I will build on Bombay et al. (2014a) contribution to understanding student-to-student abuse in the next chapter, at this juncture, I would simply like to identify the themes that the authors address that contribute to student-to-student abuse.

The themes identified as contributors to student-to-student abuse comprise:

1. The traumatic reactions, social learning, and normalization of abuse that occurred among residential school students as a result of being abused and witnessing the abuse of others.
2. The lack of protective factors within residential schools that otherwise may have prevented some of the negative outcomes associated with their trauma.
3. The anger and frustration that students experienced at school as well as the need to feel a sense of power and/or control (p. 60).

We were all adversely affected by the student-to-student violence. I expand upon Bombay et al. (2014a) articulation of victims to include direct, indirect, and bystanders. Indirect victims would be those who were told about the abuse by either the victim or the perpetrator, whereas the bystander directly witnessed the abuse and for their own reason, did not intervene to protect the victim and/or stop the student-to-student abuse.

The Awakening: Awareness and Education of the Residential School Experiences

For me, it was a relief when the residential school experiences began to appear within the academy, and families and communities lived experiences were being acknowledged. The symptoms of the intergenerational trauma that had been categorized into an Indigenous stereotype were now being understood from a different perspective and in a different context. Workshops and conferences were a venue to see former fellow students, the comradery of being with one another, and not having to explain yourself. To be understood by another with a look or a word, was a relief. Through the academy, professionals could learn how the residential school influenced their client's life, family, and community and to see the inter-generational influences of trauma. I witnessed and lived the aftermath of the residential school experience. However, through the academy and written books, I was able to learn more of the history of residential schools and ground my lived experiences that had showed me the personal effects and the inter-generational traumas of residential school.

My academic awakening of the residential school came at a personal cost, as family, community, work, and culture can be intertwined because it was a reflection of my lived experience. At times, it was overwhelming because at school and work, I was inundated with reading and hearing about the intergenerational traumas of the residential schools and Indian Day school, while living family and community. At times, culture practices involved healing the

intergenerational traumas of the residential schools and the Indian Day schools. I have come to realize and appreciate that self-care was and is critical to ensure a sense of normalcy in my life. Actively participating in cultural ceremonies (Coast Salish and Nez Perce) grounded me from the academic awakening because they reinforced culture and tradition. The most grounding during this era was family because we have had the shared experience of supporting family members who attended residential school and supporting those who were left at home.

The History of the Residential Schools

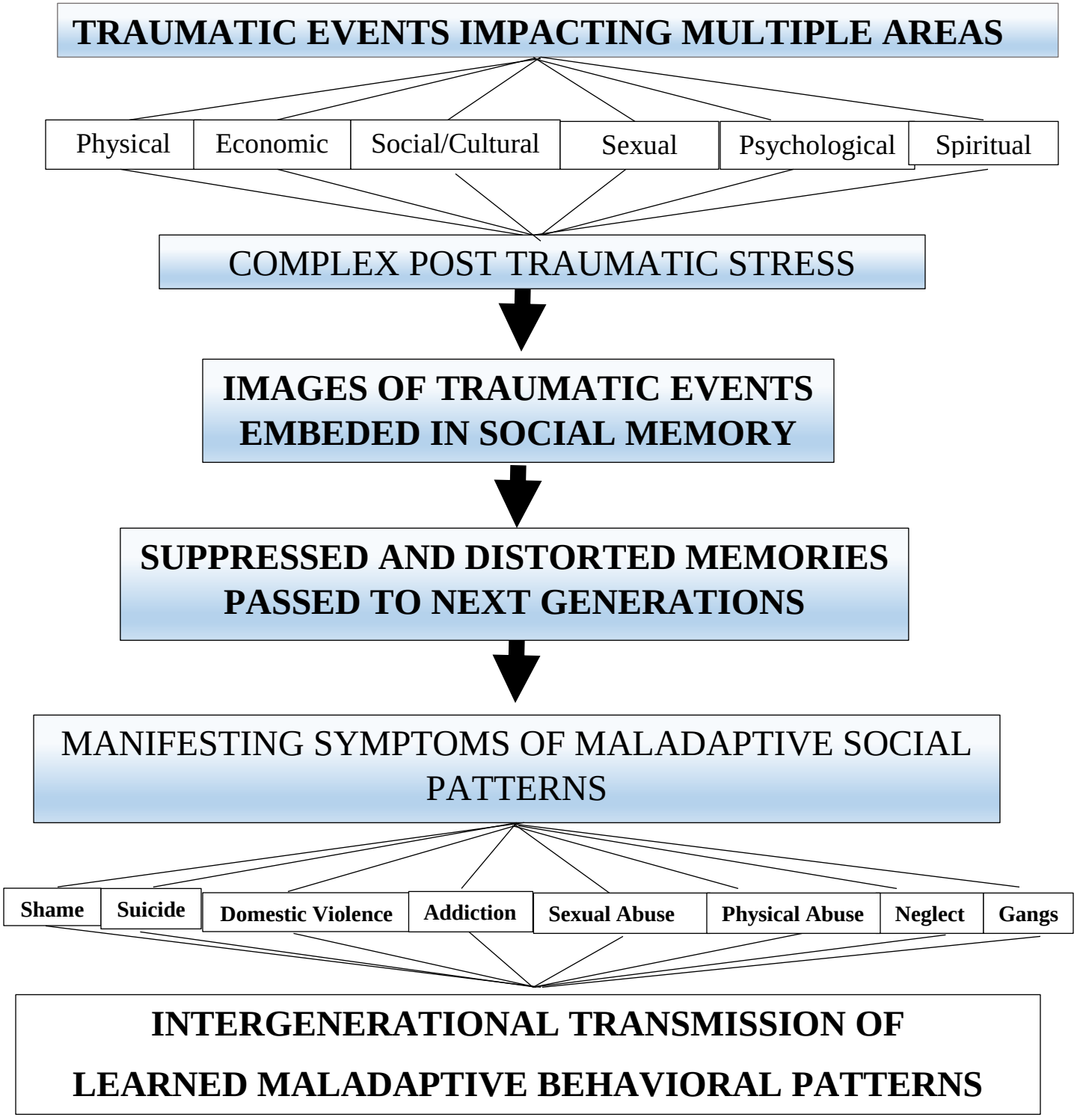
The residential school era informed the Indian Day School era because the intent of both was similar. The goal of the residential school was to separate children from their parents, to interrupt the familial bonds and to lead Indians into assimilation with the mainstream population, despite knowing, "The United States government had concluded that adult Native Americans could not be assimilated" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 155). One hundred and forty-one residential schools were created across Canada and collectively, they were operational for 166 years (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). The residential schools were operational from 1834 to 2000 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2016).

When I began to review academic information on residential schools, it was done with a discernment toward research that could identify and elucidate the specific effects and overarching intent of the residential school system.

> For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can be best described as "cultural genocide" (Truth and Reconciliation of Canada, 2015a, p. 3).

While education is a provincial responsibility, the federal government took responsibility for Indian education under provisions of the *British North America Act* and then via the *Indian Act* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Three years after the introduction of the *Indian Act*, the Federal government "commissioned Nicholas Davin to undertake a study of American Indian schools to determine the feasibility of adopting residential education in Canada" (Furniss, 1992, p. 25). Davin proposed, "The focus had to be on raising the children away from their parent" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 157). While the Davin Report recommendations were not implemented for nearly four years when Parliament approved funds to build more schools and to increase their assimilation efforts (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). The assimilation efforts targeted the breaking of Indigenous children and the breakdown of familial and community structures and systems, thereby interrupting the inter-generational influence of tradition, language, culture, and spirituality. These assimilationist efforts had a profound effect on Indigenous Nations as a whole. Like residential school, the assimilationist project of Indian Day Schools produced intergenerational traumas for Indigenous children, families, and communities. As Castellano and Archibald's (2007) Historic Past notes the intergenerational traumas of Indian Day School often manifested for survivors, family, and community members as maladaptive social patterns of shame, suicide, domestic violence, addiction, sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, and gangs (See Figure 1 below). Castellano and Archibald's (2007) historic present captures how enlightening events (political, social, economic, personal, family, literary, media, and educational) create opportunities to heal and to move towards spiritual rejuvenation, cultural connection, and/or cultural reclamation (See Figure 2 below).

Figure 1: Historic Past



Adapted from Castellano & Archibald, 2007, p. 70 Source: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

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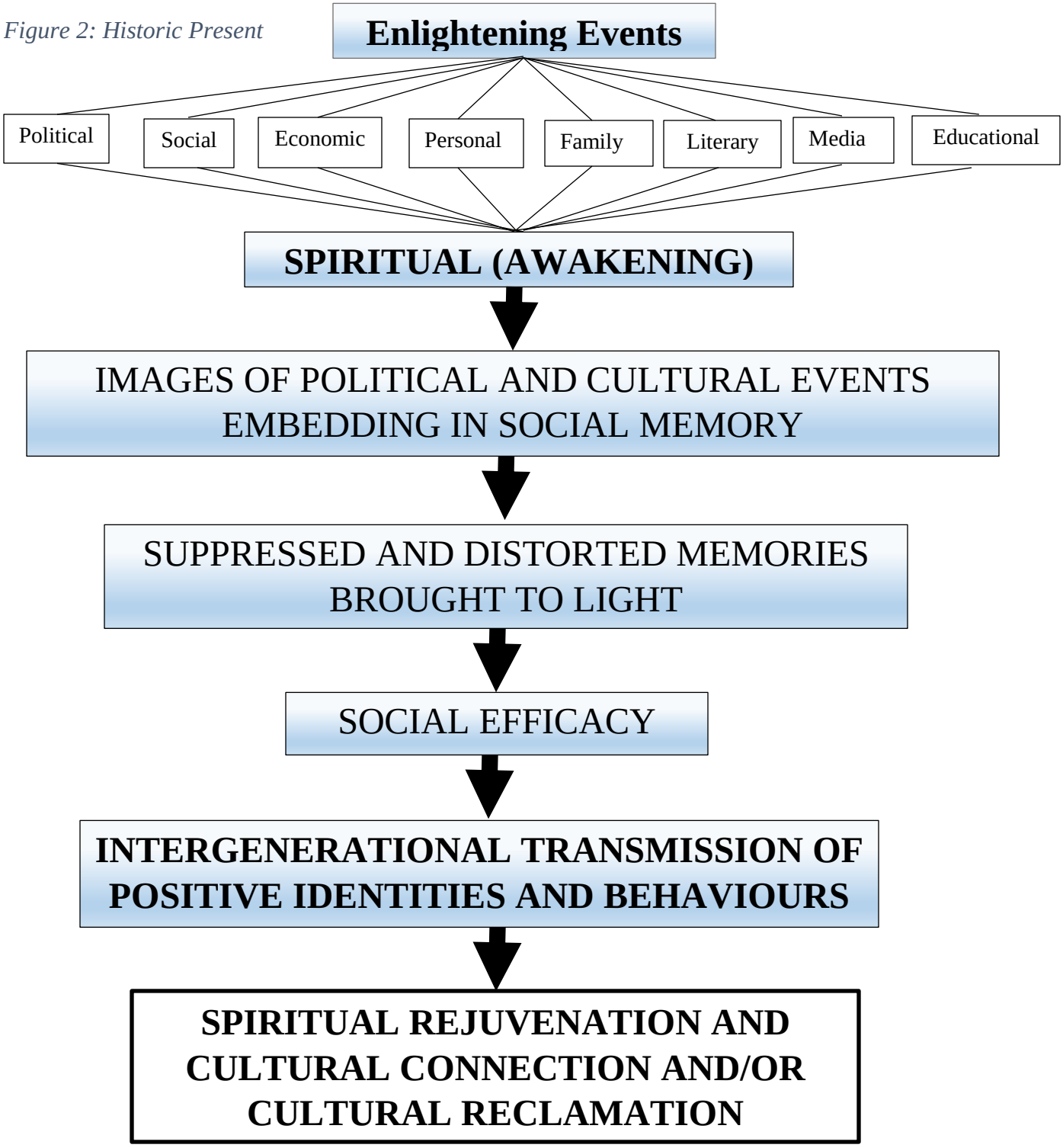
Figure 2: Historic Present



Adapted from Castellano & Archibald, 2007, p. 72

Source: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

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The ethnocentricity and genocidal project of the government and churches continued with more and more residential schools being built each year in their efforts to "civilize" the Indian or Indigenous children. As the number of schools increased, to minimize costs, less emphasis was placed on education as students began to be used as labourers in an attempt to make the schools self-supporting. By 1930, except for the original industrial schools (Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and Highriver), most schools were funded on a "per capita grant" and "the government was spending $1,547,252 on federal residential school operations, versus $404,821 on day school operations" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 211). The church with its directive of residential school expansion brought competition amongst the religious groups, and the operation of residential schools became a competitive business amongst the religious groups.

Residential schools were fertile breeding grounds for infections and disease including tuberculosis (TB), smallpox, measles, diphtheria, typhoid, pneumonia, and whooping cough. The over-crowding within the residential schools, in particular the number of students who resided in a dormitory exacerbated the TB epidemic (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c). The TB epidemic was so predominant in First Nations communities that Indian Hospitals were created across Canada; one for Vancouver Island was located at today's Vancouver Island University.

> The disregard for Aboriginal Health and well-being was consistent with long-established patterns of colonialism: the introduction of new diseases, the disruption of traditional food sources, and the concentration on unproductive land and the housing of them in cramped unsanitary dwellings (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015d, p. 158).

Building and maintaining residential school buildings created many concerns for the well-being of Indigenous students. Common problems were sanitation and drinking water across Canada, in particular in the residential schools that were built in the 19th -century, the concerns were cited

in the schools reports and the Commissioner's reports (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Residential schools were also fire hazards due to inadequate fire-fighting equipment, inadequate fire escapes, doors being locked, and fires being deliberately set. In total 68 fires were set at the residential school plus an additional, eleven were suspected arson from 1940 to 1993. As noted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada report, two tragic fires occurred because of "poorly built schools with insufficient and inaccessible fire escapes" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 478) at Beauval School, northern Saskatchewan and Cross Lakes, Manitoba. The eventual enforcement of fire regulations forced some residential schools to close from mid-1950 to 1970. However, while some residential schools were closing down, the same policies and practices continued into the Indian Day Schools.

Each residential school had a burial ground with many graves being unmarked and the deaths went unprosecuted, which lead to some survivors having deep wounds and complex grief. Kamlooops Indian Band was the first to identify the burial remains of 215 children who attended the Kamloops Indian Residential School (Casimir, 2021). Students were subjected to confinement, shackling, being chained to benches, severe beatings that left excessive bruising, rapid blows to the face, dragged and strapped, strapped and confined, thrashing on the bare back, flaying with a belt, and hair clipping (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). Sexual abuse was covered up and the student victimization of students led to family breakdowns and community breakdowns. Similar abuses from the residential school occurred at the Indian Day Schools.

I have always struggled with the churches because of the abuse stories that I heard while growing up. Juxtaposed to this is Niezen's (2017) understanding that teaching in residential

schools was “a career in the service of a Christian institution was also a highly respected, honourable, and possible avenue to power and public influence” (p. 49). The dualities of the nuns and priests’ life baffled me; the public life persona and the private life persona were in conflict with each other. The plethora of stories that I heard about specific priests and nuns is beyond what one can comprehend and when the survivors’ began to share their stories, the clergy rebelled. For example, Archbishop Weisgerber was “shocked over the anger directed toward them from aboriginal people…The Oblates’ strong reaction against the settlement agreement…it’s been thrown back into your face and you are made to look abusive” (as quoted in Niezen, 2017, pp. 49-50). The perpetrators at the residential schools never believed that they would be held accountable and responsible for their violent behaviour perpetrated against children in a school environment and is in direct conflict with the values and beliefs of the church. The residential school was supposed to be an educational environment. “Father Jacque L’Heureux, who participated as a representative of accused priests and nuns in over a thousand abuse allegations over a space of 18 years, expressed bitterness toward the false accusations of priests and brothers” (Niezen, p. 51).

A different inverse relationship exists in student-to-student abuse, while the abuse is occurring, the perpetrator has the power, and the victim is powerless. When the victim becomes an adult, the power dynamic shifts to the adult child because the adult perpetrator is fully aware, they are at the mercy of the adult child/victim. See Figure 3 below, Contributing factors and effects of student-to-student abuse, I adapted Bombay et al. (2014a) from the residential school to the Indian Day School. The contributing factors are complex factors that would be unique to each person’s life story.

Figure 3: Contributing Factors of Student-to-Student Abuse at Indian Day Schools

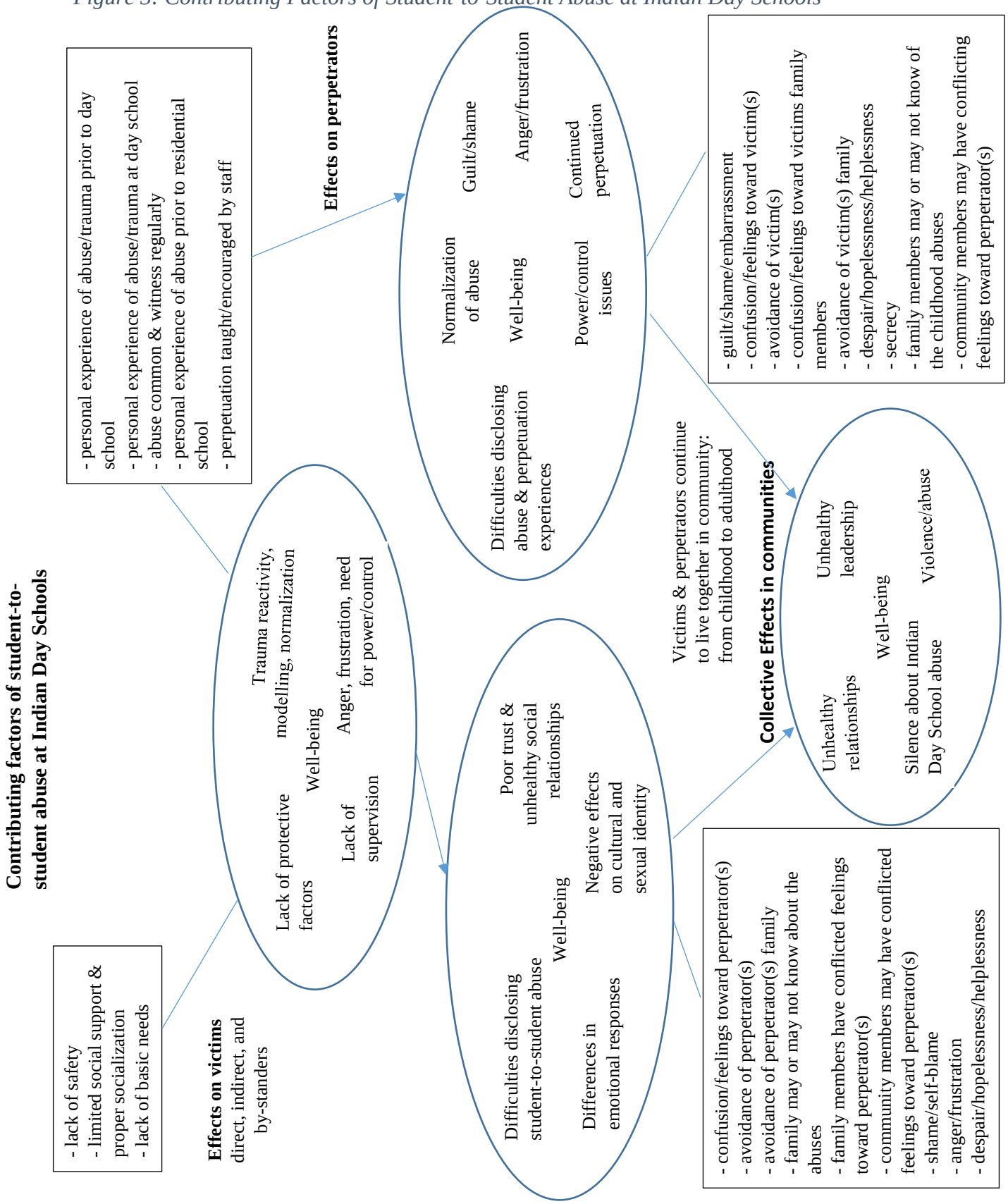


Figure 3. Contributing factors and effects of student-to-student abuse within Indian Day Schools on victims, perpetrators, and communities identified by service providers. Adapted from Bombay et al., 2014a, p. 145

The Legacy of the Residential School and the Intergenerational Trauma

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015c), *The Legacy*, provides the most succinct and comprehensive summary of how Indigenous Peoples in Canada have been affected by residential school. For 166 years, Canada's Indigenous Peoples were subjected to neglect and abuse that chronically set the stage for multiple generations to be indoctrinated into systemic and structural oppression. Reconciliation requires all of us to recognize how the residential schools have impacted Indigenous peoples. This recognition has led to the Commission's 94 calls to action, which are meant to address the legacy and ongoing effects of colonialism and residential schools. I would like to suggest that Indian Day Schools, which were governed under similar colonial and assimilationist policies, producing similar effects on Indigenous peoples, families and Nations could be included in the 94 calls to action as these actions create the foundation of awareness, education and change. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015c), *The Legacy*, discusses the colonial effects of child welfare, education, language and culture, health, and justice. I will briefly discuss each in the following section.

Child Welfare

Indigenous children in care continue to be over-represented in Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD), yet to see the 2019/2020 Annual Service Plan Report, the information on Indigenous children is scattered throughout the report, leaving the reader to have to search and pull information on Indigenous children together. Additionally, the Minister's Accountability Statement and the Minister of State's Accountability Statement do not mention Indigenous children and any type of direct commitment to addressing the overrepresentation. The shrewdness of Duncan Campbell Scott, who was Deputy Minister for Indian Affairs from

1913 to 1932, the legacy, continues over 100 years later. Scott and "his fellow officials understood that the aggressive removal of Aboriginal children would have an impact not only on them and their families, but on future generations" (Florence, 2016, p. 43). "The rate of Indigenous children and youth in care declined by 4 per 1000 in the population – an improvement of a 9 percent from 2018/2019" (Ministry of Children and Family Development, 2020, p. 11) fiscal year. The vagueness of the data provides the reader with no actual data regarding the over-representation of Indigenous children in Ministry care, which works as a political tactic that inhibits one to make any direct or clear assessment. However, MCFD has begun to implement the federal legislation, *An Act Respecting First Nation, Inuit, and Metis Children, Youth, and Families*, which affirms the inherent right to jurisdiction and the national standards related to delivery of services (Ministry of Children and Family Development, 2020). This decolonization process provides Indigenous communities with the opportunity to make decisions for ourselves, as opposed to federal or provincial agencies making decisions for us.

I remember being in high school and feeling pride in the caravan through some of BC First Nations communities to address the inequities and over-representation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system. The Union of BC Indian Chief's, Chief Wayne Christian, Secwepemc Nation (formerly Spallumcheen Indian Band) led the Indian Child Caravan from October 9-13, 1980, from Prince George, to BC's interior, to Vancouver Island and ending in a rally in Vancouver (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2020). The Indian Child Caravan timeline captures the Minister of Indian Affairs approving the Spallumcheen By-Law on Indian Children in Child Care. The Spaullumcheen had a population of 300, and between 1960 and 1980, 150 children had been apprehended (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2020).

> By 1960, the federal government estimated that 50% of the children in residential schools were there for child protection reasons…Child welfare agencies across

> Canada removed thousands of Aboriginal children from their families and communities and placed them in non-Aboriginal homes with little consideration of the need to preserve their culture and identity. Children were placed in homes in different parts of the country, in the United States, and even over-seas. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, 2015c, p. 4).

These aforementioned mass adoptions are referred to as the 60's Scoop. The crisis of our children being removed from our communities continues to this day. Indigenous children continue to be over-represented in the child welfare system across Canada and the report *Kids, Crime, and Care: Health and Well-Being of Children in Care: Youth Justice Experiences and Outcomes* reinforce Indigenous children have a higher risk of becoming involved with the justice system, than graduating from high school (Turpel-Lafond & MacMinn, 2009).

Canada's continued colonial approach to Indigenous peoples and in particular our children and families is evident by the Assembly of First Nations and the First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada having to jointly file a human rights complaint in 2007, based on discrimination on the enumerated grounds of race and national ethnic origin with the Canadian Human Rights Commission. Broadly referenced as "Jordan's Principle." Cindy Blackstock is the Executive Director of the First Nations Child & Family Caring Society and has become the public figure for Indigenous child welfare. The complaint exposed the jurisdictional gaps that continued to be a barrier to Indigenous people residing on reserve. Canada spent more than $3 million on legal fees and after the case was won, a second family had to go to court to enforce the decision (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c).

> Jordan River Anderson was a member of the Norway House First Nation in Manitoba. He was born with complex medical needs. Jordan remained in hospital two years longer than medically necessary while provincial and federal governments fought over who would pay for his at-home care. Before the two governments could come to an agreement, Jordan died, at age five, never having spent a day in a family home…An Aboriginal family from Pictou Landing, Nova Scotia, went to court in 2013 seeking to enforce Jordan's Principle so that a disabled child would receive the supports he required to remain in the family

> home and avoid institutionalization (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, pp. 25-26).

Pre-Jordan's Principle, many parents surrendered their children to the child welfare system because they knew services could not be provided for their child outside of their family home off the reserve lands. As a former Community Living Services Social Worker, I sat with many parents as they signed a Continuing Care Order for the best interests of their child, a painful decision.

Many Indigenous parents had their choices taken away from them because for 166 years, the family roles were interrupted and systematically taken apart; there was no one to teach them how to be a parent because their day-to-day was fraught with abuses and neglect. The child welfare system is fraught with bias and prejudice as European-Canadian standards have been imposed upon Indigenous Peoples of Canada because it is a different experience to give up your child by choice and to have your child taken from you, yet both are painful.

The Failure to Educate

One of the residential schools greatest failures was the intent to provide education to students. This failure has had an inter-generational impact and has spanned the generations. The learning environment was not conducive to learning and as Furniss (1992) states, "Despite its explicit goals, the residential school system Widowfailed to provide Native children with skills, knowledge, and confidence needed to integrate successfully into the dominant society" (p. 114). Furthermore, Milloy (1999) emphasizes,

> While the Department might have wanted to blame its difficulties on "older Indians" and the reserve "environment," in fact the educational failures of the residential schools system was an internal problem endemic to the school itself…the educational failure was rooted in those two persistent characteristics of the system: inadequate funding and the Department's lack of supervision of the operation of the schools. It did not enforce its own educational standards and regulations so as to ensure the children were indeed receiving the sort of education called for by its assimilative design (pp. 161-162).

The educational system was broken from its inception and continued for decades as Milloy describes, "The[y] estimate that in the period between 1880 and 1950 at least 60%, and in some decades over 80%, of the children in federal schools, day and residential, failed to advance past grade three. They acquired no more than 'basic literacy'" (Milloy, 1999, p. 171). The failure to educate is directly correlated to the unemployment and underemployment across the generations, when the students left the residential school; they were not prepared to enter the work force.

> The abuse that characterized life at the schools was not conducive to learning anything other than fear and self-hatred…many students left the school filled with self-loathing and loathing of their own family and community. They also left with a profound distrust of education (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, p. 66).

The self-hatred came from wishing that one were not of Indian heritage, a message that was repeatedly directed at Indigenous children in residential school through neglect and abuse, which did not occur at European-Canadian schools. Most students left the residential schools as soon as they could. A significant way, in which children are unable to learn, that I continuously see, is the adverse impact of learning when starved or when being subjected to abuses. It is difficult to learn or focus when one is hungry as the food nurtures the body and the mind. In addition, it is difficult for a child to focus on academia, when the teacher (aka perpetrator) has just finished abusing you physically, sexually, psychologically, or spiritually. Abuses were frequent throughout the school day at the Tsartlip Indian Day School whether the student was a direct recipient, witness or heard about the abuse from either the victim or another student who witnessed the abuse.

> Poor educational achievement has led to chronic unemployment and underemployment, poverty, poor housing, substance abuse, family violence, and ill health that many former students of the schools have suffered as adults…lower educational attainment for children of Survivors has severely limited their

> employment and earning potential (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, p. 5).

As noted above, Canada's failed education system spanned intergenerationally for 166 years across Indigenous families and across the First Nations communities. 699 Federal Indian Day School were operational for 76 years across most of Canada and the failure to educate was similar to residential schools and discussed further in this chapter. When I began post-secondary, I did not know the difference between "a" and "an," in addition, I had many run-on sentences. In my first two years of college struggling with my writing skills, the content of the paper was not the challenge; rather, I struggled with grammar and structure. I would spend an entire evening doing a 500 word assignment because the school system failed me.

Language and Culture

Prime Minister Harper's speech from June 11, 2011, was very comprehensive in addressing the residential school legacy.

> For more than a century, Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities. In the 1870s, the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate Aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child." Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country…The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian Residential Schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language. While some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities (Harper, 2011, p. 1).

Indeed, as Harper outlines in his speech, residential school policies have had a devastating effect on our people, culture, communities, and nations. However, a significant place of healing for Indigenous peoples is found in our languages. Our traditional languages are correlated to cultural practices and tradition, embedded in the language is the healing processes and healing words. When words are translated into English, they lose some meaning and some context.

The Indian Agent and Truant Officer were afforded significant authority under the Indian Act (1968-1975) as they had the designation of a peace officer (Venne, 1981). Residential school authorities were granted much power over students. For instance, one of my older relatives name was legally changed by the authorities at residential school. When she was at the school, the nun told her that she was unworthy of the Christian name given to her at birth and she spent the majority of her life going by the name the nun had given to her. As an adult, she went back to her birth name and in error, I had forgotten of the name change and when I saw her at a community function, I called her by the name the nun had given to her. I saw the tears well up in her eyes and I apologized to her and gave her a hug. Afterwards, she shared the story with me of the day the nun changed her name. By reclaiming her birth name, she was actively healing herself. Another fellow Tsartlip Indian Day School student had her name changed for the same reason; both W̲SÁNEĆ community members reclaimed their birth name as adults, and they are examples of resistance in action.

During the residential school era, not only the names of students were renamed, but also the names of many First Nations communities were renamed and the levels of government were afforded the power to relocate reserves geographically. A local example would be the Songhees First Nation and the Esquimalt First Nations. The Esquimalt First Nation original location was at the location of today's Parliament buildings in Victoria, while the Songhees were originally

located on the Gorge. The K'omoks First Nation was renamed to Comox First Nation and historically, they were considered a part of the Coast Salish Nation, however, the Indian Agent made them a part of the today's Kwakwaka'wakw Nation. The evidence that the Comox First Nations was a part of the Coast Salish Nation is evident in the fact that Comox is a Coast Salish word. A final Vancouver Island example of geographic displacement is the Homalco First Nation who were originally located at Old Church House but were moved to New Church House to Campbell River. There are many more stories on Vancouver Island of geographical displacement and with each displacement regalia, masks, and carvings were confiscated, or taken by museums around the world or government officials forced Indigenous owners to burn their regalia, masks, and other cultural objects while they watched.

I was fortunate: I grew up with a dad who was fluent in both SENĆOŦEN and Hul'qumi'num and many relatives, including my mom, speaking our language around me. The language is always spoken at community and cultural gatherings. My parents choose to not teach us the language because of what they endured in their generation, and they wanted our schooling to be easier. I remember being a teenager, when mom and dad did not want us to understand something, they would speak in SENĆOŦEN. One day, we were sitting eating lunch, and they began to speak in SENĆOŦEN. My eyes got big and I said, "Really!" We all laughed. I understand more than I can speak. Several relatives on both sides of my family have pursued language academically through the language revitalization programs.

During the cultural potlatch ban era, the cultural practices of the W̲SÁNEĆ People were brought underground and practiced in secrecy. Today's Doorman is a remnant of that painful period; they were the last person at the door before the Indian Agent arrived at the location of the secret potlatch. While the ceremony was being practiced, a series of people communicated to the

next person along the line, if the Indian Agent was approaching. The ceremony was dismantled and all appeared “normal” to the Indian Agent.

Health

Health determinants impact and influence the day-to-day life of every Indigenous person, for most, it is an adverse impact. Health Canada defines the determinants of health as the following:

> Determinants of health are the broad range of personal, social, economic, and environmental factors that determine individual and population health. The main determinants of health include:
>
> 1. Income and social status
> 2. Employment and working conditions
> 3. Education and literacy
> 4. Childhood experiences
> 5. Physical environments
> 6. Social supports and coping skills
> 7. Healthy behaviours
> 8. Access to health services
> 9. Biology and genetic endowment
> 10. Gender
> 11. Culture
> 12. Race / Racism
>
> Social determinants of health refer to a specific group of social and economic factors within the broader determinants of health. These relate to an individual's place in society, such as income, education, or employment. Experiences of discrimination, racism, and historical trauma are important social determinants of health for certain groups such as Indigenous Peoples, LGBTQ, and Black Canadians. (Health Canada, 2020, Social and Economic Influences on Life Section, para. 1).

The residential school system created mitigating factors that were perpetuated for over 100 years and across multiple generations, as the concept of social determinants of health were not present at the residential schools. The health inequality or negative social determinants of health were perpetuated throughout the residential school era. At the residential schools, children lived in third world conditions of no food security/starvation, poor sanitation, sub-standard housing and of over-crowding in dorm rooms (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c). The negative health disparities reached into the bio-psycho-social lives of Indigenous Peoples at residential school and reverberate into today's generations. The negative social determinants of health from the residential school were felt by and were perpetuated into the lives of the Federal Indian Day School Students.

Justice

I have worked for Correctional Services Canada for over 18 years and as Indigenous Peoples we are over-represented in the justice system. For example, on average we typically represented 25% of the overall population (incarcerated and parole) and for females, we fluctuate between 33% to 55%. The continued over-representation of Canada's Indigenous Peoples is of concern to the Office of the Correctional Investigator as each year; there is a section in the annual report where Indigenous issues are identified as a key priority. The 2019/2020 Annual Report captures the Indigenous representation to being over 30%, while representing 5% of the general population. Indigenous social histories of those connected to the justice system is rampant with inter-generational traumas of the residential school system (Correctional Investigator of Canada, 2020). Of continued concern for me is that provincially, for men, the correctional centres do not keep accurate records of the Indigenous men and the services offered at each location vary slightly.

The Indigenous social history of Indigenous Peoples are reflective of the intergenerational traumatic events (physical, economic, social/cultural, sexual, psychological, and spiritual) from the historic past (Castello & Archibald, 2007, See Figure 1). The historic past manifested into symptoms of maladaptive social patterns (shame, suicide, domestic violence, addiction, sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, and gangs) and then often became a space of inter-generational transmission of learned maladaptive behavioural patterns (Castellano & Archibald, 2007).

Federal Indian Day Schools, 1920 - 1996

Federal Indian Day Schools were operated across Canada from 1920 to 1996 or 76 years. In my family the Tsartlip Indian Day School spanned three generations (parental, mine, and nieces/nephews). In other WSÁNEĆ families, the span of the School maybe four generations, in particular, for community members who were born in-and-around 1925 or earlier and had children born in the late 1980's to 1991. The ethnocentricity that governed Indian Day Schools is noted in the white supremacy of government documents.

> From the brief mentions in the DIA's Annual Reports, we know that day schools were not as popular as residential schools with governmental and educational leaders. Poor attendance at such schools, coupled with continued familial influence, ensured that day schools were less effective than residential schools for re-socializing native youth (Smith, 2004, p. 16).

In June 2017, Public History (2018) was contacted by today's Indigenous Services Canada to provide a history of federal policy from the Amalgamated Day Schools database of 150,000 historical documents. Public History states,

> Federal Day Schools were administered by the federal government for the education of status Indian and Inuit children. In the south, there were generally and historically referred to as Indian day schools, and they were primarily located on reserve. In the north, they were more likely to be identified as federal day schools. Some federal schools also served other students, especially in the north, which does not preclude them from this definition; however, this project is

> concerned with the schools' service of status Indian and Inuit students. Federal Day Schools are to be discerned from Mission Schools, Indian Residential Schools, Combined Schools, Joint Schools, and Band-Operated Schools (p. 8).

Furthermore, Smith (2004) defines Indian Day schools as, "a hybrid of the two existing educational models: the residential school and the rural school" (p. 26). Additionally, the Signed Settlement Agreement defines Indian Day Schools as,

> All those schools established or designated as such by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs in which Indigenous students across Canada were required to attend by law (under the Indian Act), and were funded in part, or solely by Canada. Unlike the Indian Residential Schools, students did not reside at the Indian Day Schools. Only in very limited circumstances (seasonal weather conditions etc.) would a student reside at an Indian Day School (McLean et al., 2019, p. 4).

There were 699 Federal Indian Day Schools across Canada, 7 are still federally operated, one in Alberta and 6 in Ontario. BC had 112, with 20 on Vancouver Island and three in the Greater Victoria area, including the Tsartlip Indian Day School, which had three name variants: West Saanich School, Tsartlip Consolidated, and Tsartlip Elementary.

Alberta had 54 Federal Indian Day Schools, while Manitoba had 115, and Saskatchewan had 91. Ontario had the largest number of Day Schools at 172. Quebec had 54and Artic Quebec had 11. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick both had 12 Day Schools, while Prince Edward Island had two. The Yukon had eight and the Northwest Territories had 29, and Nunavut had 27 Federal Indian Day Schools (Attorney General of Canada, 2019).

There is scarcity of academic documents and/or published books on the Federal Indian Day Schools. I was able to find three resources, a thesis, a book, and court documents (T-2169-16) related to the Signed Settlement Agreement.

Public History's report provides a chronology of the policy from 1920 to 1996 define the operation in three specific periods, 1920 - 1950, 1951 - 1972, and 1973 – 1996. The report

covers the policy, operational, and logistical aspects of the Indian Day School, it does not directly address the student experiences, only levels of authority and discipline. For example, policy and legislation could be utilized to attain compliance from the child and/or family. The Indian Act (1951) specified Indian students who were expelled or suspended from schools or were perennially truant, were "deemed to be a juvenile delinquent within the meaning of the Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1929" (Venne, 1981, p. 352). Indian Affairs utilized many forms to disseminate the information to the Indian Day Schools; it came in the form of Field Manuals, Indian School Bulletins, Indian Day School Regulations the day-to-day operations. The 1954 Field Manual, section Discipline, 17.12(a) to (g) is as follows:

> (a) There is general agreement that behaviour problems seldom occur if children are kept occupied in activities which are meaningful, challenging and worthwhile to them. This principle prevails equally within and outside the classroom.
> (b) Any form of punishment tending to humiliate a pupil is to be avoided. This policy applies alike to the use of sarcasm or to the employment of practices calculated to produce distinctive changes in appearance or dress.
> (c) It is generally approved practice for teachers to abstain from physical contacts with pupils either in anger or affection. Children's reports of such contacts have sometimes been so exaggerated as to make the teacher's position untenable.
> (d) In any event there must be no corporal punishment of a pupil who is suspected to be suffering from any physical or mental ailment which corporal punishment may aggravate.
> (e) Before resorting to the use of corporal punishment, the principal or teacher in charge must be convinced that no other approved form of punishment will have the necessary punitive and corrective effects. The educator must be sure that the pupil was aware of doing wrong. The presence of such a factor as premeditation, deliberate repetition or heedlessness of consequences may sometimes justify a more serious view and the use of corporal punishment.
> (f) The principal or teacher in charge of a school will decide whether corporal punishment is to be used and will personally administer it in the presence of a witness at a time selected to avoid disturbing the school program. The witness should be a staff member of the same sex as the pupil who is to be punished; the matron at a residential school should witness the corporal punishment of a girl. Only the strap as issued to the principal or teacher in charge will be used. It will only be applied to the palm of the hand.
> (g) In a special book reserved for the purpose a record will be kept of every occasion of corporal punishment. This record will show the date, the name of the pupil, a description of the offence, the number of strokes on either hand, and will

> be signed by the person who used the strap and by the witness (Public History, pp. 66-67).

Tsartlip Indian Day School teachers and staff had the freedom to implement the discipline, as they deemed fit and permitted by the above. The Indian Day School Regulations were further amended in 1953 to afford further authority to the teachers to "suspend any pupil guilty of conduct injurious to the moral tone or well-being of the school and report such suspension to the Superintendent, Indian Agency" (Public History, 2018, p. 67). In 1962 and 1964, there were further changes to the Field Manual regarding disciplining students. The 1964 Field Manual included instructions on how to manage communicable diseases or the pandemics that were infecting First Nation communities (Public History, 2018).

One of the few texts on Indian Day Schools was written by Hamilton (1986) who authored a book titled, *The Federal Indian Day Schools of the Maritimes*. Hamilton's book was researched and written from a grant from Multiculturalism Canada. Hamilton was an educator, a teacher and a principle; he joined the faculty at the University of New Brunswick in 1973. Hamilton was an avid author and/or editor of more than forty publications. When I compared the names of the schools in Hamilton's book against the list of Federal Indian Day Schools, Schedule K, of the signed Settlement Agreement, Court File No. T-2169-16; four school names did not appear in the final Agreement. Two schools operated and were closed before the period of the Agreement, Coal Harbour operated from 1893 – 1899 and Lennox Island operated from 1868-1873 and then from 1874 onward. Lennox Island has complex history of opening and closing for a variety of reasons and in 1981 a new school was erected on the Island. Eskasoni operated from 1875 onward and it has been Band Operated since 1980. Finally, Rocky Point operated from 1914 – 1922 intermittently rented quarters. A significant absence in Hamilton's

book is the lack of attention and care to the physical abuse suffered by Indigenous students and where this is mentioned, the impact is minimized.

> Lasted two-and-a-half years before the Indians got up a petition for his removal as well. The charges against him were minor ones, but they added up to notification that he was no longer welcome in the community. James Farrell, the Indian superintendent, advised the Department that a new teacher was needed, even though he felt the main problem with which Mr. Morris was contenting was with the children at Kingsclear were 'dull.' Because he had always filed out his quarterly reports properly, the Department considered retaining Mr. Morris against the wishes of the Indians, but the teacher had the good sense to resign and leave in July 1887 (Hamilton, p. 76).

It is appalling that the voice of the Indians is minimized; this era perpetuated ethnocentrism and white supremacy.

Public History notes while schools operated in Newfoundland and Labrador, federal grants were not received until Newfoundland joined Canada on March 31, 1949. Instead, "teaching was done by 'missionaries and their wives, persons who have had experience of teaching and have a full command of the Eskimo language,' and no government grant was received (Public History, 2018, p. 161).

In the Maritime Provinces, Hamilton (1986) notes 28 residential schools/day schools were operational from 1868 to 1985; afterwards, some became band-operated schools. Hamilton further notes that day schools were often under threat of closure,

> Since no industrial or boarding schools were established in the Maritimes, they needed to be discussed at length here, but it is important to note that in the 1880's and 1890's the day schools of the Maritimes and elsewhere were much neglected and infrequently maligned by the Department, which had invested its hopes and most of its resources in the residential schools. In the annual report for 1892, the day schools were described as 'very inferior,' and the question was posed as to whether the continued operation of these schools was not simply a waste of money (Hamilton, 1986, p. 13).

Despite the annual report of 1892, that discussed day schools as inferior, these schools continued to operate until 1985. Furthermore, the day schools not only continue to operate they were

expanded and "by 1900, a day school was within walking distance of most Indian children in the Maritimes" (Hamilton, 1986, p. 13). Students who attended these schools, are referred to as Day Scholars, they attended the residential school/day school and returned to their home every night. The day scholars who attended day schools were not apprehended from their parents. Hamilton's book provides a synopsis of each of the 28 schools, and highlights and concludes that overall they were poorly run and failed to provide adequate education.

Conclusion

Indigenous Peoples in Canada have not been fairly or accurately reflected in the writings of non-Indigenous Peoples. Consequently, this has led to others misunderstanding us because we were misrepresented. The influences of the government policies, practices, and legislation have been detrimental to the day-to-day lives of Indigenous Peoples of Canada. As evident in the history of the residential school system and the Indian Day School system systemic oppression and abuse was exercised through ethnocentric and white supremacist views, laws, policies and practices. This long reach of colonial history has adversely influenced the day-to-day lives across the generations through macroaggression and microaggressions and facilitated setting the stage for how Indigenous Peoples of Canada would be treated at the residential schools and later the Federal Indian Day Schools.

I had the lived experience of growing up in-and-around residential school and Day School survivors. Prior to former Grand Chief Phil Fontaine, Indigenous Peoples of Canada were misunderstood because the history of the residential schools was limited. Grand Chief Fontaine awakened many and created a new forum and environment for residential school survivors. As an adult, I was able to see the similarities between the residential school students and the Federal Indian Day Schools. This awakening brought education and awareness to what happened at

residential schools and the legacy that it created for today's generations, in spite of the residential schools all being closed.

One major difference between the residential schools and the Tsartlip Indian Day School was that our perpetrators (teachers and some staff) could be at our dinner table on the same day violence was perpetuated. Teachers and nuns attended community functions and there was always the unspoken threat of "Keep your mouth shut about what I did to you earlier today or you will pay for this tomorrow!" While the legacy is broadly categorized into five categories (child welfare, education, language and culture, health, and justice), they are correlated to each other and inter-twined, as each influences aspects of the other categories. The research gap that I see in this literature pertains to children who witness violence and the category of maladaptive coping mechanisms.

Six hundred and ninety-nine Federal Indian Day Schools operated across Canada and the signed Settlement Agreement is for students who attended from 1920 to 1996. Harper's (2008) Statement of Apology to former students of the Indian Residential Schools notes over 150,000 children attended the 169 residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015d). Gorman (2018) opines 190,000 children attended Federal Indian Day Schools from 1920 to 1994. Public History assisted the Government of Canada to prepare for the Class Action Lawsuit and they were given access to almost 150,000 pieces of documentation that were related to the policy, operational, and logistical aspects of the Federal Indian Day Schools. Indirectly the student experiences were spoken about in terms of the power and authority afforded to the teachers and staff. Hamilton's book broadly references the student experiences when referring to a teacher being dismissed because of the charges against him being "minor." It is critical for the

Federal Indian Day School student experiences to be documented to ensure their voices are heard and that they are fairly and accurately represented.

The goal of the research and the thesis is to address the academic literature of resources available on the Federal Indian Day Schools. As students, we were subjected to direct and indirect abuses. At times, the vicarious trauma was worse than being the direct recipient of the abuse, in particular when the teacher and/or staff repeatedly went after the same student. Storyteller Four succinctly broadly summarizes the Tsartlip Indian Day School student experience.

> *You know that really bothers me that there are five levels of compensation, but all of us felt everybody's pain. It was like they got off on dishing out that pain in front of the rest of us, to make us shit ourselves! To make us piss ourselves! Just so they could prove how stupid Indians are, you cannot even control your bodily functions, that is what is wrong with your people. That is how they believe, that is what they think, a lot of them still think that of us!...I grew up, understanding that we were nothing, by walking into Brentwood. You know, we would walk into the store and we had to wait until all the white people were finished being served, any time anything went missing, they came to us and believed that we stole it because we were thieves. All of us! They thought we were all thieves! That we were all ugly people! It has not gotten any better in the years. How that has impacted my life, I see the young men and young women that in the system, those experiences that they have, you can tell, I can see whose parents went to the Day School. Whose parents went to the residential schools! We see all that, on a daily basis, we are reminded, I was reminded on a daily basis!...I know everybody and we all know each other, we all know what happened to each other, some of us have never been able to get over that! Some of*

> *us, you know there are still some people who, to this day still hate me and I understand that! I understand that they blame me for us getting beat up! I said that they would beat us up regardless of what I did! It did not matter what I said! What you said! What anybody did! It was a fait accompli, they were going to beat us, they were going to break us!...I believe that all of us should get $200,000! Every last one of us! Do you know what I mean (September 22, 2020).*

Children who witness violence is a complex issue and we were subjected to significant vicarious trauma and direct abuses while being a student. From childhood to adulthood, each of had to learn how to cope and adapt, both in the moment and afterwards, including when we were triggered at a future date and we all survived and thrived across the spectrum. Regretfully, the maladaptive coping mechanisms and consequences of the failure to educate have resulted in the Indigenous stereotypes substance abuse, unemployment or underemployment, substandard housing, over-representation in both the child welfare system and within the justice system (youth and adult).

Chapter 4: We Are Children, We Are Human Beings

The Awe of a Child Eager to go to School

My dad is one of twelve children and two of his first cousins were raised as siblings. I had 68 paternal first cousins and 24 of us attended the Tsartlip Indian Day School together.

I lived the life of the youngest child of five and the life of an only child. Before pre-school, I lived half time with my parents/siblings and half time with Aunty Louise and Uncle Ted. Around age of three, I began to go to work with Aunty Louise in Nanaimo. I was an obedient child, who was content to colour and draw alone for hours at a time in the lunch area while she worked. I would mimic the adults who read the newspaper and I remember making up silly stories about what I was reading to any adult. I knew my ability to go to work with her was contingent upon being a quiet and obedient child. While I could not read, I would listen to those who could, which made me want to go to school.

When I was age three, mom returned to work. My Aunty Edna Henry babysat my brother and me. I was alone with her for one-half day as my brother went off to school. I whole-heartedly wanted to go to school and was envious of my siblings who got to leave each day to go to school to learn. I played teacher to my two younger cousins, who lived next door. My grandma drove the Bunny Bus, which drove around the reserves to pick up the pre-school children. I was determined and eager to go to school, so much so that one day, I got onto the bus with my brother and attempted to go to school. I was so insistent, refusing to get off the bus, my grandma had to honk the horn and Aunty Edna had to come and physically take me off the bus. I remember crying and Aunty Edna comforting me and telling me that I could go to school next year. The next school year, seemed like a lifetime away to an enthusiastic child.

I longed to learn, and I loved to play with my cousins and going to school meant that I could see my three cousins in class and the rest at either recess or lunch. Like every little sister, I was in awe of my older sister and three brothers. At age four, when I began nursery school, I had to live the weekdays with my parents and after school on Fridays; I would leave to be with Aunty Louise and Uncle Ted. I had to return home by dinner on Sunday.

Relationships and Coast Salish Indian Names, Their Significance and Family Lineage

I began my childhood with pride in my heritage as an Indigenous person. I admired my parents, grandma, Aunty Louise, and Uncle Ted; in who they were as human beings. As a young child, I knew the Coast Salish Indian Names were a link to lineage and culture. Indigenous people come from an oral society, the depth and the breadth of our oral history and culture is complex. When my two Indian Names (Thulih'Wul Wut' and XET'XOT'EL,WET) are spoken, they identify me within the Coast Salish culture, my inherent cultural rights and my family lineage, which inherently connects me to the specific land of my ancestors. Within the Coast Salish culture, the culture and traditions are preserved orally and transferred inter-generationally from day-to-day events and/or situations to ceremony. When the name and/or ceremony are publicly transferred from one generation to the next, all who are invited and/or attend the ceremony have an opportunity to hear the name and support the transfer or to publicly oppose the transfer of the name and/or ceremony. The preparation for the ceremony is more critical than the ceremony itself, orally, the family and community validate all along the way, as workers are hired and each time the invitation is announced at a gathering prior to the ceremony day.

If a family member or community member is opposed to the transfer (name or song or ceremony), at the ceremony, before the official transfer, the family and/or group, will call witnesses and hire a speaker to announce to all who are present their perspective. Historically, an

Indian Name was given when one attained adulthood, as the recipient had to prove that they were worthy of the Indian Name and they had "to grow into" the Indian Name. As a young child, I told my mom and aunt that I would have my aunt's Indian Name and it was formally given to me as a child, while my second name was given to me to connect the family lineage. Today, sometimes names are given before a family member passes away, as the family Elder wants to ensure that the inherent rights are preserved.

Within the Coasts Salish culture, Indian Names are passed down through family lineage and this is critical to familial relationships. For example, my second Indian Name, XET'XOT'EL,WET, belonged to my maternal great-grandmother, Louisa Underwood, nee Pelkey. Great-Grandma Louisa's brother was Chief Louie Pelkey, who had six children (Marshall Pelkey, Elsie Claxton (nee Pelkey), Albert Pelkey, Sandy Pelkey, Elliott Pelkey, and Philip Pelkey). I know of three relatives who share XET'XOT'EL,WET with me, Aunty Janie Thorne's (mom's sister) daughter and great-granddaughter and Elsie Claxton's granddaughter. From the Indian perspective, the relationship with these three individuals is close and anyone who has Great-Uncle Louie's Indian name would be a brother to me. As I grew up, some relatives became closely related because there was a shared commonality of the Indian Names.

Amongst the fellow students at the Tsartlip Indian Day School were fellow students who were closely related to me biologically and others who were closely related through the Indian Names. My cousin's cousins also attended school with us, so the relationship with many of the other student's was close. Additionally, close relationships developed with other students because of the shared bond of being a fellow student.

The Voice of the Day School Student, Me

The awe and the eagerness of a child to attend school was shattered very quickly on my first day of school! My naïveté was shattered!

It is lunch time and I am playing on the field

My back is turned, and I hear a boy crying loudly, we all turn around to see what happening

Oh oh! Stop hitting him! Stop! His nose is bleeding, stop! She scares me! Everyone has cleared the area…to be safe from her…we all need to be safe from her…stop yelling at him! Stop hitting him!...I am glad that I am not in the big school, the teachers are meaner there…they beat the students…at least ours only yells at us…still sucks…but at least we're not beaten!...she (The Sister/teacher) *has left the area...I am glad his cousins have gone to be with him…I'm glad we have each other. I hope he will be okay.*

My eagerness and awe of attending school was soon replaced with fear and terror, as I experienced how the abuses were normalized and promoted. In my case, other students promoted and normalized the student-to-student violence, while the teacher-to-student and staff-to-student violence were normalized and promoted amongst themselves. Dr. Alexander purports, "Trauma begins to happen when hopelessness starts to set in" (Personal communication, January 9, 2020). Hopelessness fosters helplessness, which further fosters the attitude of "It will not make a difference, so why bother." By the time that I was a student at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, how the students were treated was well entrenched and resistance to the "norm" meant that a physical beating was inflicted upon you. The abuses at the Tsartlip Indian Day School created an environment of helplessness and hopelessness because the stage was set beginning in 1931 and by the residential schools. Through the Field Manuals, Indian School Bulletins, and Indian Day School Regulations the teachers and staff felt empowered to discipline or inflict abuses upon the students because these forms of violence were legitimized in the policies until 1973 (Public History, 2018).

The Tsartlip Indian Day School primary goal was not education. The school day became about surviving the day without being directly abused, and the vicarious trauma was inevitable because you cannot "un-see" what you see and you cannot "un-hear" what you hear and you cannot "un-smell" what you smell. Trauma can be triggered by the senses and sound, sight, and smell are powerful reminders of the trauma witnessed. As a student, I felt challenged to focus on the day-to-day learning – when you have just been verbally assaulted by the teacher in the classroom or on the playground or have witnessed a physical beating, knowing that it could have been you – your ability to focus on learning is challenged and hindered. As a student, I had to sit in the class with my three abusers and be on the playground with them. Some days, I had to learn to compose myself, to have the appearance of learning.

The Voice of a Child (Me), Inner Voice

He's crying. I do not know what happened to him at lunchtime. I have to be good; all the time or I will get beat up! I do not even know what she is talking about…I do not understand! You need to pay attention, you need to understand. It is hard to pay attention, he's crying softly. He's been crying since we came in…I feel sad! I wish I could go and hug him!

The Voice of the Teacher (Talking to the boy)

She is standing over him and yelling at him

Pay attention! You will never learn if you do not listen to what I am teaching! Stop crying! You are not a baby!

The Voice of a Child (Me),

My Inner Voice screaming back at her

> *You pay attention after you've been beaten…I would like to see you do it! I'd like to see you not cry! Bag! It's not fair! This is not okay! I am sad and scared! I wish they were nicer to us! I have to be good, or I will be beaten!*

Going to school was a matter of survival each day. Each of us were indoctrinated into the abuse and it was "normal" within the environment of the school, on the playground and in the classroom. I was powerless to stop what happened on a day-to-day basis!

> *Every class, every teacher, they had different disciplines for us and it was really hard. Every year was a different experience; the first one pulled my ears and twisted it. Now, I got hearing aids for both, both at 55% hearing. The next one was a paddle and belt. Another one was those rulers that had metal on it; they used to hit us with the metal, the metal, and ruler on the hands. Every teacher had their way of discipline* (Storyteller Two, August 29, 2020).

The Tsartlip Indian Day School was a collective trauma that we all lived together; we witnessed what was done to each other on a day-to-day basis both on the playground and in the classroom. Vicarious trauma was a part of our day-to-day schooling.

> *When everything happened to all of us, we all experienced each other's trauma! Like watching kids get beat up, watching kids piss and shit their pants! Getting smacked, kicked, punched, hair pulled – all of that, we were made to watch everybody, and they got off on doing that to all of us!* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).

As noted above, the relationships to other students were important because it influenced and affected what we endured together. For the WSÁNEĆ People, the "stage was set" by the legislation, policy, and circulars of the *Indian Act*, before I began my first day of school; living with the abuses was inevitable (Venne, 2018). I also know the abuse towards the Tsartlip Indian

Day School students began before I was a student, Storyteller Two and Four are older than I am, plus as an adult, I heard the stories of other former students who are ten to twenty years older than me. Vicarious trauma was prevalent and inevitable!

> *Not being able to stick up for other kids! To always, to always have to worry about if someone was going to get sent to the hospital!* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).

We all knew what happened when the nuns took you out to the bushes. In 1971, we were children and who were being forced to deal with adult topics and discussions of child safety and child protection. No child should ever have to worry and/or fear for the safety of a fellow student. The Tsartlip Day School teachers and staff had to find their boundary in beating a child, as the child still went home at the end of the day. It was equally painful to witness a fellow student being abused as it was to receive the abuse directly. It was particularly painful to witness abuse when a fellow student was a frequent target of violence from the teacher/nun. It was also an unspoken message from the nuns, "do as I say, or this will be you next!"

The abuses that occurred at the Tsartlip Indian Day school were insidious and different from the residential schools because the priests and nuns ingratiated themselves into our home life and within the W̲SÁNEĆ community. The nuns and teachers attended our family homes and they attended soccer tournaments and canoe races; the unspoken message from the nuns continued into our private lives, beyond the classroom. The unspoken message from the nuns continued to be, "do as I say, or this will be you next!" The on-going threats kept the abuses that occurred at school quiet.

Today, for some, to see a former classmate can be a trigger to the shared experience until the trauma is healed, including myself.

> *He said, "It is too hard to see him, it brings up a lot of memories." And that is what it is for the Day School, I know everybody, and we all know each other, we all know what happened to each other, some of us have never been able to get over that! Some of us, you know there are still some people who, to this day still hate me and I understand that! I understand that they blame me for us getting beat up! I said that they would beat us up regardless of what I did! It did not matter what I said! What you said! What anybody did! It was a "fait accompli," they were going to beat us, they were going to break us!* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).

The abuses at the Tsartlip Indian Day School were daily assaults inflicted from time of arrival to time of departure and some teachers and/or staff took more pleasure in inflicting the abuses. I and we were powerless to stop the abuses from continuing.

The Inner Voice of a Child (Me)

> *I have to be good today! If I do not do as I am told, I will be beaten! Here she comes, she is walking towards me…stand tall…do not look at her…walk fast, but not too fast…good she has gone by, she scares me when she is angry! Be good today!*

Much of the abuses occurred on the school grounds. A further challenge in escaping the violence was those who inflicted the abuses attended community functions or a familial home for a meal, there was always an unspoken message of, "do not say anything or you will pay tomorrow!" The intimidation and threats of violence was unspoken, and they were very real as the teachers were afforded the title of "truant officer" under the *Indian Act* (1970), section 123(c) (Venne, 1981, p. 459).

Our parents knew that teachers had the ability to have children removed from our homes and communities based on their own experiences of residential schools. As Indigenous Peoples,

we were “silenced” by the systemic oppression of the Indian Act (1868 – 1976) (Venne, 1981), the policies, field manuals, and circulars from that governed the Tsartlip Indian Day School. The overt and covert systemic racism and discrimination further entrenched the systemic oppression, which both further normalized and promoted the racism and the discrimination. From both an inside perspective and from an outside perspective, the “silencing” resulted from the helplessness and hopeless that “nothing would change if the voice was given to the situation and would inevitably make things worse, so why bother.” There were no consequences for those who were inflicting the abuses at both the residential school and the Tsartlip Indian Day School, children were being brought to the hospital for medical treatment, and children did not return home from the residential schools because they were murdered. Those in positions of authority at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, the hospitals, today’s Ministry of Children and Family Development, and the RCMP overlooked what was happening. The “silencing” is a complex issue and is beyond the scope of this research.

Today, the “silencing” appears as in a spectrum from the manifesting symptoms of stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples in the form of being a drunk or unemployed/underemployed or uneducated or being a statistic in the over representation of children in care or being connected to the justice system. The “silencing” also appears in the spectrum of maladaptive social patterns or Castellano and Archibald’s (2007) historic past and can further include not reporting further abuses and/or neglect; which further entrenches the intergenerational trauma into the future generations within a family unit.

As students at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, we lived in chronic fear of being abused or witnessing another being abused; this resulted in some students becoming abusive towards another student. Bombay et al. (2014a) propose contributing factors that lead to student-to-

student abuse as being lack of protective factors, trauma reactivity, modeling, and normalization, plus anger/frustration, need for power/control (p. 145). I would suggest that an additional factor contributing to student-to-student abuse was the lack of supervision by the teachers and staff at the Tsartlip Indian Day School. Where were the teachers and staff in supervising the children.at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, otherwise the student-to-student abuse would not have happened. Students had to ensure proper English was spoken, otherwise the student was placed into the Special Ed class, where the abuses were more pervasive.

> *I remember my mom working hard with us, to make sure that we talked properly. Cause I had difficulty with my "R" when I was young and I would stutter when I got excited. My mom really worked with my dad too, to make sure that we spoke eloquently, that we spoke like we were intelligent. Because they were afraid that we would get shifted to Special Ed. You know it was horrible there, I have cousins who are functionally illiterate, they cannot read and write and the abuse was worse in there.* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).

Storyteller Four was blessed to have a parent who devoted the time and efforts to ensuring her children stayed in the general classroom.

Teacher-to-Student Violence

Learning how the older students at the Indian Day School protected the younger student, reminds me of the way older siblings protect their younger siblings. We are all siblings to each other. It is a shared trauma. As noted in the WSÁNEĆ History and the Tsartlip Indian Day School (Chapter 3), the teachers had the protection of telling us that they had the authority of being a Truant Officer. The teachers could do what they wanted to us and there was no consequence.

> *You know, we got into trouble for not folding the flag right and "Oh Canada" in the morning… I did that with the flag because they could not fold the flag, so I tried to make it a point, me, Community Member One, and Community Member Two would do the flag every morning. That flagpole that was there. We had to put the flag up and bring it down every day to fold it, the girls did not know how to fold it and they would get into trouble. There was a lot of crazy things that they did for nothing. I guess that is something that we all go through. When it got really bad, the teachers would send us to that little school, that one that is still up. That was where the Father would discipline us; they disciplined us in that small class*. (Storyteller Two, August 29, 2020).

Storyteller Two emphasizes the severity of vicarious trauma and the unspoken message of staying quiet. As previously mentioned, there are/were many close relationships with fellow students, who were biologically related or close because of the Indian Names, the vicarious trauma or macroaggressions or microaggressions were real. The teachers were intentionally cruel.

> *The sickest one ever, the Sister came into our school, "Oh your mom just died!" She came to our school, to our class, and told Community Member Six on three separate times, "Oh your mom died!" Then after he would just cry and we would all feel like shit for him…then later she would say, "Oh, she is better!" (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).*

It is incomprehensible and disgusting that the Sister would do this to a child and to a class room full of children. Some students were frequent targets of the teachers and these teachers could be unrelenting when they "targeted" a particular child.

> *[The student] never had any defensive wound anywhere; we had to watch that, [the student] stood there with [their] head down, waiting until the beating was over! How do*

> *you think that feels? We did nothing wrong! We did absolutely nothing wrong! Except we were alive!* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020)

How sad that a student was beaten so frequently that they surrendered and did not attempt to defend themselves in any manner. Every student was vicariously traumatized every time the student was beaten because they were beaten during the class time, as a subject was being taught.

The teachers got annoyed and would discipline the students for any real and/or perceived infraction. There were times when some of the boys protected the girls.

> *But what I tried to do was to help the girls, when they got into trouble, I would start to cuss out the teachers down, they would wrap their hands around the girls hair and pull it! I did not like to see that! So, I started to cuss out the teacher to get them away from the girls.* (Storyteller Two, August 29, 2020).

The Tsartlip Indian Day School teachers/nuns used their authority as a Truant Officer to keep a parent from being an advocate for how their children were treated. Students could be "kept in check" by the teachers and the staff by threatening them with suspension or expulsion or by apprehending children.

> *It was a hard time going to school. I tried to tell my mom how they were with us, but my mom was a single mom and they threatened to take us away from her, so she would not do anything.* (Storyteller Two, August 29, 2020).

Suspension and expulsion were in the *Indian Act, s. 120* addressing the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* until 1985 (Public History, 2018). This form of systemic and structural colonialism produced the effect that by "… 1960, the federal government estimated that 50% of the children in residential schools were there for child-protection reasons" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 4). It was known across the W̲SÁNEĆ communities that children who were

apprehended were sent to the residential schools, many WSÁNEĆ students attended the Kuper Island Residential School. During this era, it was common for the school to be believed over the parents, the threat was real, and the parent(s) and children were forced into silence. The teachers asserted their power and reinforced the systemic oppression. Threatening to take away children from one mother was a mechanism that worked across the WSÁNEĆ Nation. These threats of apprehension would be shared with other relatives and neighbours. The atrocity of a mother having to 'choose' between being silent about the abuse at Tsartlip Indian Day School or having her children sent to residential school, where she could not protect her children, was an atrocity no parent should ever have to live with or through.

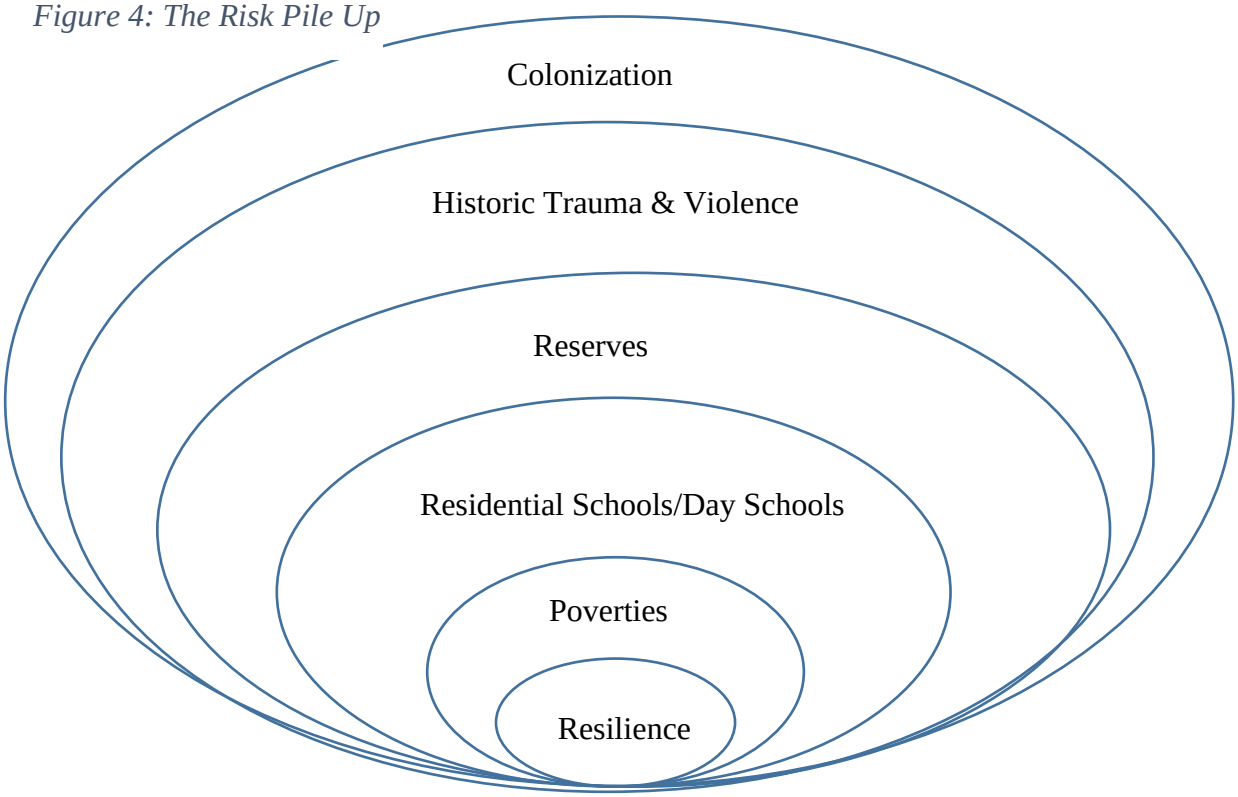
Resistance and Protective Factors in Action, Then

Small acts of resistance and protective factor were intertwined on a day-to-day basis, such as, how older students/children watched over and protected the younger students/children. Stout and Kipling (2003) purport resilience has been studied since the 1970's,

> The concept is most often defined as the capacity to spring back from adversity and have a good life outcome despite emotional, mental or physical distress…Risk factors… increase the probability of a negative outcome. Risk can reside in the individual, family or wider environment, with vulnerability to a negative outcome increasing exponentially with each additional risk factor. This process is known as 'risk pile-up.' Protective factors…help to counteract risk and decrease individual vulnerability to adverse conditions (p. iii).

In relation to the genocidal project of colonialism, Castello and Archibald (2007) identify the "risk pile up" as colonization, historic trauma and violence, reserves, residential schools, poverties, and resilience; my one minor adaptation was to add Day Schools (Figure 3, see below). Quite interestingly, Castellano and Archibald's (2007) Protective Defenses (Figure 4, see below) begins with resilience and moves to detachment then to reinterpretation, accommodation, resistance, and at the inner core is oral tradition/example. The three of us (Storytellers) had the protective factor of loving and supportive parent(s) plus aunts/uncles and/or grandparents. I

Figure 4: The Risk Pile Up



Adapted from Castellano & Archibald, 2007, p. 74

Source: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

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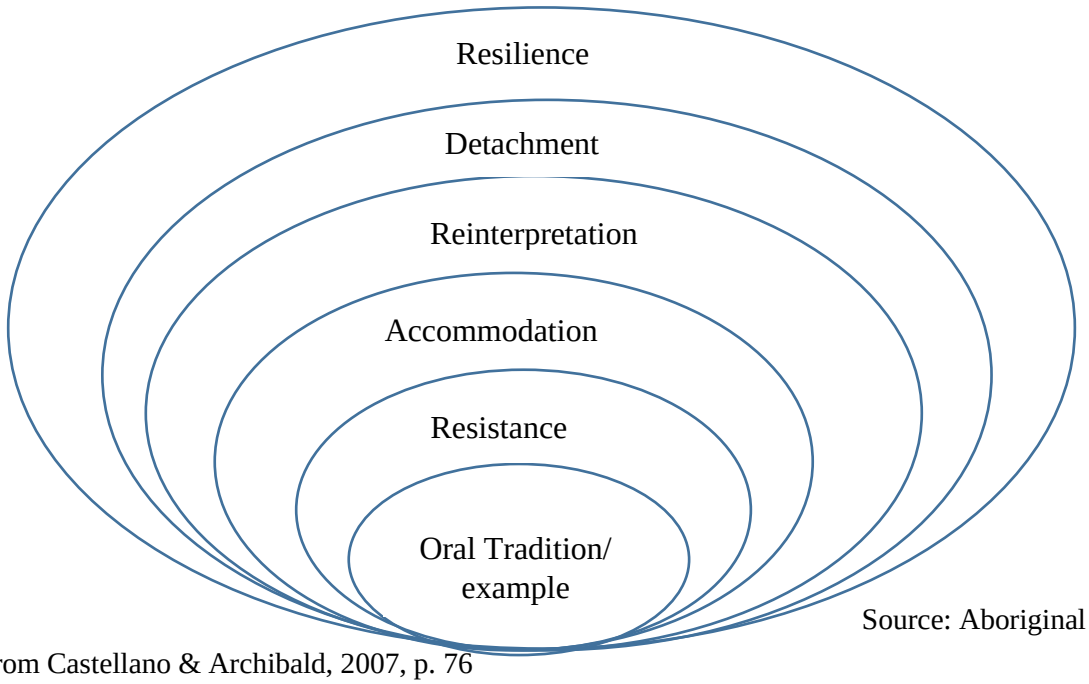
Figure 5: Protective Defences



Source: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

Adapted from Castellano & Archibald, 2007, p. 76

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purport the largest protective factor was that we had each other; we were together in what we endured as Tsartlip Indian Day School students. The protective factor of being in this together was that we never had to explain who we are and how we came to be the people we are because we understood each other's social history. We were a collective that went to school together in childhood and together we reside within the WSÁNEĆ Nation. Oral tradition/example is at the heart of storytelling as a method of knowing and a method of being. Storyteller Two and Storyteller Four were active resistors and protectors of fellow students, who were strategic in ways to mitigate the physical violence or redirect the trauma to themselves, instead of the intended target.

> *When we were in school, there was a lot of things that happened, not only to me, but to the classmates too! They basically went through the same thing! But what I tried to do was to help the girls, when they got into trouble, I would start to cuss the teachers down, they would wrap their hands around the girl's hair and pull it! I did that with the flag because they could not fold the flag, so I tried to make a point, Community Member 1, Community Member 2, and me would do the flag every morning. We had to put the flag up and bring it down every day to fold it, the girls did not know how to fold it and they would get into trouble. There was a lot of crazy things that they did for nothing!* (Storyteller Two, August 29).

The two Storyteller's actively resisted and "stood up" to the nuns/teachers and did not permit them to "break them" despite the physical, psychological, and spiritual violence inflicted. Storyteller Two shared several examples of the strategies employed to protect fellow classmates, the individual is humble, and during the interview process, I complimented their efforts.

> *As a little girl, I admired how you protected the girls. I admired the way that you saw the girls struggling in folding the flag. I admire the way that you helped the girls because you knew they struggled. Those were amazing gifts that you gave to people. I want you to know that you may not feel like a hero, but you are a hero in saving the little girl in being hit! You knew that you could take it and that the little girl might not have that ability. So, I thank you on behalf of all the little girls and any of the classmates that you helped to protect. That was the amazing gift that the older students gave to the younger students was you protected us! You protected us in a way that we did not have the ability and it was distracting us, so that we could escape what was happening, from Sister Norma or anyone else.* (Storyteller Six, Me, August 29, 2020).

Storyteller Two, Storyteller Four, and the student who saved me (Teacher-to-Student Violence) were heroes to me. Bonds were formed with fellow students and classmates because of the "shared trauma." I developed a love and respect for many in witnessing how the students cared for fellow students, blood, or no blood, we had to do this in secrecy, otherwise the nuns, and staff would have scolded us or beaten us. Storyteller Four captures this the best, "*Everything happened to all of us! We all experienced each other's trauma*!" (September 22, 2020). Vicarious trauma was inevitable and witnessing the violence was a daily occurrence in the guise of an educational environment.

In my adulthood, there have been a couple of individuals with whom I have reminisced about our Day School experience. A fellow student was someone who was a frequent target of pushing and verbal assaults; as an adult, he verbally stood up to his most frequent bully. The former bully apologized for his childhood behaviour and admitted that he was wrong in what he did and that it was not okay. The fellow student was shocked by the apology, and he accepted the

apology. He was proud that he had the ability to stand up to his childhood bully. After the former student shared his story, I acknowledge that I was envious. I dream that the boys who abused me in the coat closet will apologize. At this time, I do not have the ability to confront them for their childhood behaviour. However, by accident, I found a way to resist my student-to-student violence by accidently biting my abuser(s). After I bit my abusers I was left alone and I became safe! But I was still threatened with physical abuse for the remainder of the school year.

Staff-to-Student Violence

We are not safe from anyone, even one of us. For me, this was a shock and disappointment; no one was safe while being in the Tsartlip Indian Day School. For me it was a powerful incident that told me that no one was safe!

The Voice of a Child, Me (Inner Voice)

Oh, oh! He's trapped! He has nowhere to go! [The Janitor's Closet] Stop hitting him! He's screaming! He's screaming through his tears! I'm scared! I hope he does not see me. He's mad! His face is bright red! I can hear him hitting him! I can hear him missing him and hitting something! I wish I could do something! I wish I could make him stop!

The Voice of A Child, Him

(He is crying, whimpering, blocking the hits, talking through his tears)

I didn't mean to! I had nowhere to go! I've been in here since this morning, since I got off the bus!

The Voice of an Adult

(He is yelling and beating the boy)

You stupid little boy! You're so dumb you cannot control yourself. This floor is going to have to be stripped and redone! There is no budget to be doing this! I will have to pay for

the supplies to re-do it! You're a dumb Indian! You will never make it in this world! You are stupid and useless! You're just like the rest of your family!

The Voice of a Child, Me (Inner Voice)

Stop hitting him! Stop yelling at him. It's not his fault! He's [boy] been in there all day! He has had nothing to eat or drink all day! He's [boy] been locked in there all day! You're mean! He [adult] is someone else that I have to stay away from too! He's [adult] one of us! He [adult] talks like them! He's [adult] a bad man! I better run! Run fast! He beats up the kids too! He's mean!

Many abuses occurred in the dentist/doctor/nurse's office at Tsartlip Day School, the physical abuses, and the sexual abuses. I was fortunate that my mother was a nanny for a dentist prior to marrying my dad. By the time I was a child, he had retired, and our family became patients of a dentist who had just graduated.

> Author, community minister, human rights consultant, and field secretary for the International Tribunal into Crimes of Church and State Kevin Annett spoke about the lack of proper dental care for students. 'The local dentists were given free Novocaine by the Government for the Native kids, but the traditional practice after the war years was to hoard the Novocaine for their practice in Port Alberni and just work on the Indians without painkillers. Everyone in the school knew about this and condoned it, from the principal on down'" (Florence, 2016, p. 75).

I purport this same practice continued in the Federal Indian Day Schools, and not all students had family connections and they relied upon the dentist that came to the Tsartlip Indian Day School. I knew through fellow students that when they would see the dentist, that often the dental work was done with no freezing of any type. It saddens me to hear a fellow student minimize having their teeth worked on with no freezing because it may be perceived as not being as severe as the physical or sexual abuses. I perceive the dental work on a child with no freezing as physical abuse - to have a tooth pulled or a filling repaired is painful.

Being a student at the Tsartlip Indian Day School was an experience of trauma and vicarious trauma and we were not safe from anyone (students, teachers, and staff). I worked hard to be a "good girl" and to not attract the attention of anyone and to "fly below the radar" of anyone who was abusive. Knowing and understanding my journey provides insight into potential Storytellers and their respective journeys.

Student-to-Student Violence

The Voice of a Child, Me (Inner Voice)

Why is he doing that? He is making me do it! He is stronger than me! I can't get away! I wish he would stop! I have to do it, to get it over with…he is holding me here, it hurts where he is holding me, I want it over! *My hair hurts where he has been pulling. I want to leave! I want it to stop! I have to get away faster next time! I hope nobody seen us! I'm scared! I don't like how I feel! I don't know what to do! My shoulder hurts where he held me down! I just want it to stop! I don't like how I feel! This feels gross!*

Later that same week…

He has told the other boys what he did! I wish you never told your friends, they made me do it too! I hope the boys stop talking about it! I'm scared they will keep telling others! I'm scared to tell anyone, I do not want to get into trouble! I'm scared of being blamed for it! They made me do it! They were stronger than me and I can't get away! I don't like this! I do not know how to make it stop! I'm going to go play in the field today.

Later in the next month…

Oops, I did not mean to do that, he's hurt and moaning…but at least he stopped! They have all stopped! I am glad! I still hope I do not get into trouble, I hope nobody finds out,

I hope nobody seen what they made me do! But I know some of the boys have talked, otherwise his friends never would have started!

Run fast, run! Find Community Member A or Community Member B, they will protect me! Run fast, there he is, I know that I will be safe. He is getting closer, and he is swinging his arms trying to punch me! He can only punch me once, to not bring attention to what he is doing! That hurt, today, he got me in the back! Ouch! Yesterday it was the arm, it left a bruise, I said I ran into the door, it still hurts! I think I will go play dodge ball today.

Later in the school year…

My head hurts where he was pulling my hair…I want to cry, but it will bring attention! *I have to act like nothing happened! I am scared and I am hurt…I want this to end. Where is our teacher? Why can she not stop it/this? I wish she would have waited for the class to be empty before she left! My head hurts and I am alone! I am hurt! I do not like how I feel! I feel bad! I cannot cry because this would bring attention and I do not want to have to do this to anyone else! I do not like to do that! I am six years old. I am alone! I cannot tell anyone! I do not want to get into trouble! I do not want to get blamed for what he made me do!*

Last month of school…

The three of them will still threaten to punch me, but they cannot because they cannot explain why they do this! Every once in a while, when no one else around, I will still get punched. At least they stopped making me do it! I am six years old and I am scared of the three of them! Time to go and play, I think I will play tetherball today. Yeah, the cousins

> *are over there, I know that I will be safe today; they will not threaten me in front of all the girls!*

It continues to be taboo to talk about the student-on-student violence. While my personal story is unique for me, I do not pretend to talk for all who endured the student-to-student violence. Sadly however, our experiences can be common. Sometimes the behaviour is learned, sometimes it is post-traumatic play, and for some who continued this abusive behaviour it was the precursor to the criminal justice system. For example, one former student has served a federal sentence, while several others have served provincial sentences. The student-to-student violence is onerous topic to discuss because of the complexity of the relationships that we have to one another. The complexity of silence is powerful.

> *For many the monster is scary. We don't know what it looks like. We don't know how to deal with it. All we know is that the monster continues to spread harm, like violence or abuse, in many of our communities. As an example, let's consider the problem of lateral violence and how it affects the wellness of our communities. It's not uncommon for people to injure one another with acts of gossip, blame, shame, anger, and jealousy. As oppressed people it is not surprising that we oppress our own people out of anger and frustration. And sadly, we also faced situations where the word "lateral" has been taken out of the term "lateral violence" – it is now simply violence. I recall the words of a leader when he reflected, "We—our people—have become our own worst enemies." He was right* (Bombay et al., 2014a, p. xi).

When reflecting on this powerful statement, it validates my experience. I believed if I stayed silent, I would protect others by not putting them in the horrible position to be an indirect bystander. We were six-year-old children and were being forced to deal with adult topics and

discussions. My silence came from not wanting others to perpetuate the violence. I knew the first perpetrator shared with the circle of friends, or the friends never would have perpetuated the same violence. I know others knew that it was happening and what a horrible position for an indirect bystander, we were children! We were children who were being forced to deal with adult topics and discussions.

Student-to-student violence has led to complex victim issues across Indigenous communities, depending upon the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. I have been in one physical fight in my life, in grade one. A fellow student used to pull me around by my hair at school, on the way to school or on our way home, and after school hours. I never told my parents about this abuse. One day on my way home from school with another student, the two of us punched, kicked and pulled another student around by the hair. The student's father phoned my father, and I was verbally reprimanded and told that I and we could not do what we had done. I never did. Some of the student-to-student violence occurred on the school grounds, some occurred to and from the school, and some outside of school hours. However, I do remember getting into trouble for other students being beaten up.

The complexity of student-on-student violence creates complex victim issues, both in the moment and in the future year (See Figure 3 Contributing factors and effects of student-to-student abuses at the Tsartlip Indian Day School).

Contributing Factors to Student-to-Student Violence

From my perspective, I see the lack of supervision as being a large contributing factor to the student-to-student violence. This lack of supervision is marked by my questions of where did the teacher go? Why the teacher never ensure all the students had left the classroom and/or were safe before she went to the main school? Additionally, the lack of protective factors was also a

Figure 3: Contributing Factors of Student-to-Student Abuse

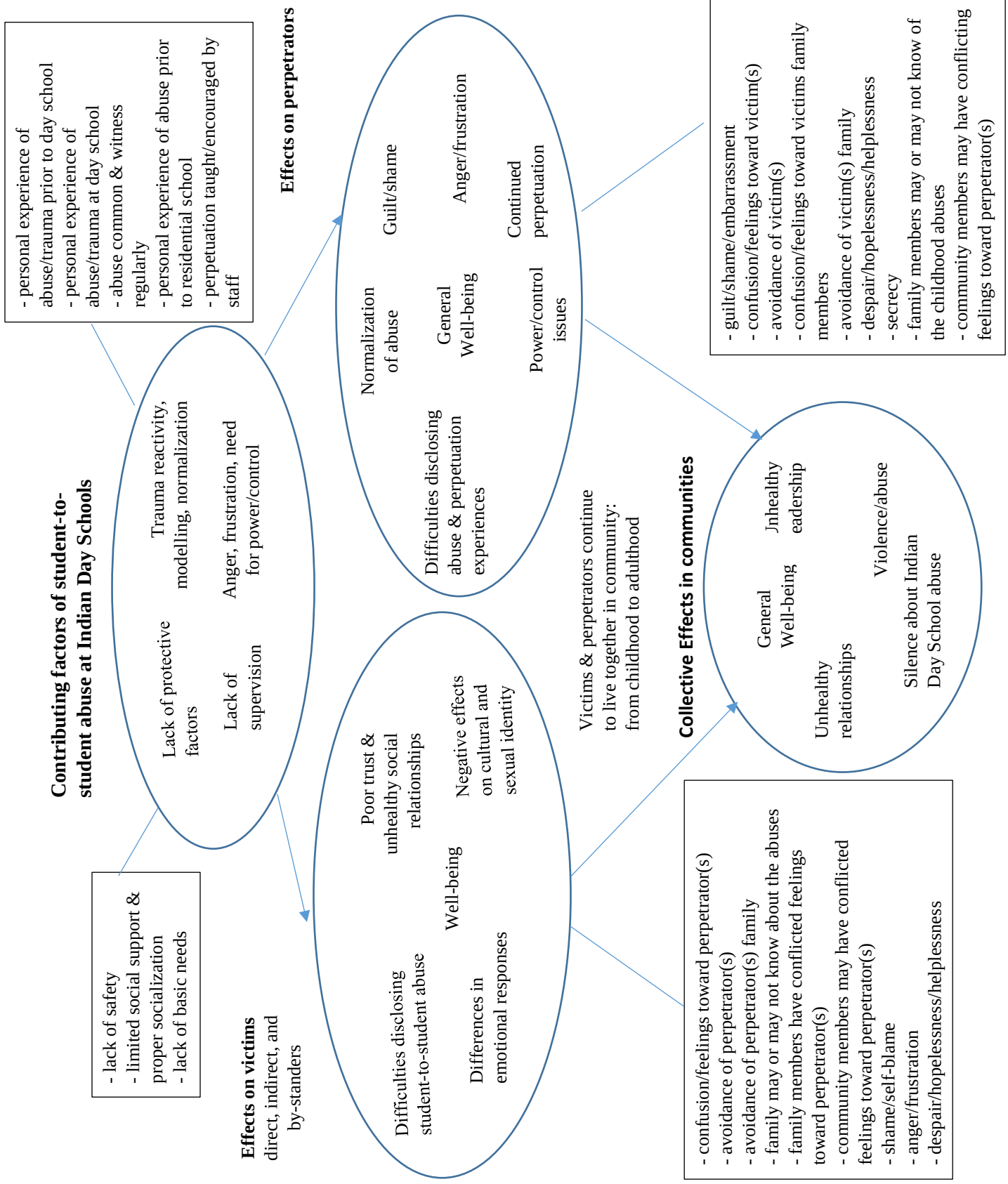

Figure 6. Contributing factors and effects of student-to-student abuse within Indian Day Schools on victims, perpetrators, and communities identified by service providers. Adapted from Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014a, p. 145

contributing factor, my parents were protective in the family home, and they never imagined that they would have to educate their six-year-old child about self-protection. We all believed that my siblings and 23 cousins, plus an aunt and uncle would be a protective factor from any student-to-student violence. However, trauma reactivity, role modelling, and the normalization of the violence created a fertile environment for abuses to occur. The powers that were afforded to the teachers and staff through the *Indian Act* worked to ensure the only people protected were those in authority who violently governed our lives at Indian day school and not myself or my fellow day school peers.

Resistance and Protective Factors, Then

When I learned how to protect myself, it was by accident the first time, and then it was intentional. My intent was to hurt the fellow student/abuser, not to maim them. Afterwards, I would run, but I was eventually caught, and I was given one punch in the arm, head, or stomach. Afterwards, I had to run and be near one sibling and one cousin. The boys would quit on their own because my brother or cousin would have eventually investigated their punching me in the head, arm, or stomach. From the day, I intentionally hurt my fellow student/abuser; I knew I could protect myself from it happening again. However, the threats of physical violence continued for the remainder of the school year.

The Legacy of Being a Day School Student

The Complexity of the Student-to-Student Abuse

As noted above, relationships and family lineage are significant amongst the Tsartlip Indian Day School students. Figure 3: Contributing factors of student-to-student abuse at Indian Day Schools) captures the short-term and longer-term effects on the perpetrators and the victims (direct, indirect, and by-standers) and they are complex because of the relationships, as we

became adults, the inter-marriage within the WSÁNEĆ families. The collective effect in the communities creates complex dynamics as we transitioned from children to teenagers to adulthood to the Elder years.

Situational disclosure is one of the complex situations and the proximity between victims and perpetrators. Until one does their personal healing, they will be triggered, and it can lead to the manifesting symptoms of maladaptive social patterns as depicted in Figure 1: Historic Past. Personal healing is a journey and many factors influenced my journey. When I "got to the place of being sick and tired of being sick and tired," my healing journey began and once the "lid to Pandora's Box" was open, there was no putting it back on because I was tired of carrying the past into the present." Even as an adult in present day, I have had to do situational disclosure because my feelings of discomfort were "leaking" and manifested as "awkwardness" that was apparent to those who know and love me. Figure 2: Historic Present notes that I utilized my personal events to engage in cultural activity to transmute the feelings of discomfort into compassion, as I am responsible for my personal healing towards cultural connection.

The complexity of the student-to-student violence is beyond the scope of the thesis. There is no easy answer to the resolution and/or healing of the student-to-student violence. It is critical to cover the topic because it is a part of my history, a part of collective history of the WSÁNEĆ Peoples. For some the topic is a taboo and for some it has been a way to find their voice. Even as I write this, I feel the pride in my former fellow student standing up to his childhood bully and more awed that the former bully apologized for the behaviour and acknowledged that it was wrong. I can still see the pride on the former students face as they shared their story with me.

The contributing factors to the student-to-student violence outweighed the protective factors, they are complex, and they are intertwined. Healing of the student-to-student will occur

one person at a time, as healing the personal historical trauma contributes to the personal healing, which contributes the family healing and to multigenerational healing and can create a different path for the family. At the same time, the personal healing contributes to the intergenerational healing across the generations. Triggers and personal healing are complex, each time that I do some personal healing, the next time, I am triggered and I move through the feelings (hurt, disappointment, frustration, betrayal, etc.), I create a different path. I have come to see being triggered as a gift; I am being shown what I need to heal and I engage in healing my personal story.

The Journey to Healing

In 1971 at the age of six and seven, I spent one school year at the Tsartlip Indian Day School. The healing journey is both frightful and exciting at the same time. Being an academic, I had read a few self-help books on different topics so that I could better understand myself because I could not make sense of how I felt. I was a bundle of nerves that was so tightly wound and intertwined with healing my life story. My feelings were so complex, and they moved so fast that I could not identify them as I moved from one emotion to the next. To explain my feelings to another, I would put a bundle of pencil crayons of different colours, swirl them around in my hands, and move them from fast to slow. In the beginning, it was difficult because the feelings were interconnected; it was difficult to feel one without feeling the next one, to explain one without connecting it to another. A way for me to make sense of my feelings was to pick out one pencil crayon, identify one feeling, and then feel it. In the beginning, the feelings were so intense and terrifying because they were unknown and did not yet have a name, such as hurt or disappointment. Learning to regulate my emotions was like a “dimmer switch,” knowing when to turn my feelings up and when to turn them down or when it was safe and an appropriate time.

From Fear to Courage

I remember the first time that I called a professional to begin counselling. I had met the future counsellor at a school event where she was sharing with the student population the services that her agency provided. I went to the function with a fellow student, knowing that the agency would be there, while I was both terrified and excited, "I was sick and tired of being sick and tired!" I was ready to begin counselling because I could no longer bear to carry the hurt and pain that was inside. For one week after the presentation, I looked at the business card every day, wanting to phone, but so terrified. When I looked at the card, tears would well in my eyes. I then spent the next week trying to dial the telephone number. Each time I tried to dial, I only had the ability to dial one to five of the phone numbers, finally, on the eighth day, I stepped out of my fear and into my courage. I phoned the agency and I spoke to the person who did the presentation. When I heard her voice, I cried, and she permitted me to cry until I was ready to speak. I was blessed the counsellor permitted me the time to cry before I could talk to her. This telephone conversation led to the beginning of in-person counselling.

I was fortunate and privileged; the college was promoting and encouraging individuals to access services for well-being. The supportive counsellor provided a safe environment and empowered me, which guided me and directed me. I was privileged that the school provided an event for me to learn about the community resources available for well-being. I was privileged to have those individuals put onto my path who could assist me to access services. Furthermore, if these individuals did not know an answer, they knew someone else who knew the answer. Knowing that I did not have to have all the answers was empowering for me. When the right supports and services are in place, the healing can begin and as we heal, we move back towards our cultural and spiritual gifts.

Continuing the Journey

That was over 35 years ago and through the years I have continued to work on my personal story. Through the years, I had many allies and mentors in my healing journey. I knew one of my four grandparents. The only grandmother that I knew died when I was in grade nine at the age 14. As an adult, I longed to have a grandparent. I prayed for a grandparent and was open to who came onto my path – my adopted Grandmamma. Grandmamma was a loving and supportive person I met at a group. After I had been in counselling for about ten to fifteen years, I was at a gathering having a frank conversation and addressing an issue. I was devastated by the strong feelings arising from my story. Grandmamma looked at me and said, "I am so proud of what you have done, you are not the same person that I first met! Yes, you have done a lot of work. I want you to think of it as a glass milk jug. You have emptied the bottle and now you are getting the residue off!" At times of absolute disparity in my healing journey, her words echo in my mind and I can feel the love and support to comfort me. Years later, I still feel the intensity and strength of the feelings, but it is not as intimidating today. I allow myself to feel my feelings in relation to what triggered the feeling and do the work to promote my personal healing.

My personal healing contributes to the familial healing and to the intergenerational healing. As I heal, I create a different path for how to deal and/or address historical trauma. Personal healing is always a choice, I can engage in the manifesting symptoms of maladaptive social patterns or historic past (Castellano & Archibald, 2007) or I can walk with the natural rhythm of the ancestors towards the enlightening events or historic present (Castellano & Archibald, 2007), which lead toward spiritual rejuvenation and cultural connection and/or cultural reclamation.

Personal healing creates opportunity for discussion with family and friends, naming behaviours to create a different path and patterns to talk about historical trauma. Bishop (1994) defines healing as,

> Physical healing involves getting rid of damaged tissues and contaminants from the body and building new tissue to replace what has been injured. Emotional healing involves getting rid of the pain, fear, and anger through the appropriate expression of them to supportive others, and building new, healthy patterns of living to replace the old self-protective ones. Spiritual healing includes physical and emotional healing, with the addition of throwing out all the beliefs and images forced upon a person for control, and replacing them with life-loving beliefs and images coming from deep inside and deep in the roots of the individual's culture. Since an individual person cannot be fully healthy in a sick society, all of these forms of healing eventually demand that the person become involved in a collective healing process, that is, in building a healthier society (p. 130).

As I have healed my story and others who are connected to my story, I am less triggered and more accepting of myself. In turn, this allows me, and means that I am more accepting of others. As I have healed, I can see other things clearer. As I heal my story, I contribute to the familial healing, to the community healing, and to the overall healing of humanity. As I have healed, I am open to the gifts of both family and culture in a different manner because my energy and efforts are no longer focused on attempting to pretend that the abuses and/or trauma did not occur. My healthy patterns of living allow me to focus on family and living the culture and traditions.

Empathy, Growth, and Healing

Healing my personal story can provide perspective for how another may feel as they begin their own journey. Healing my story has included a myriad of emotions, and while it is not a joyous experience, healing permits me a different level of freedom because things that were once triggers no longer have the same power over me. Healing permits me to be the person that I was meant to be. The wisdom of the healing journey allows my inherent gifts to grow.

Storyteller Four utilizes family relationships and cultural practices to facilitate healing their Tsartlip Indian Day School experience (September 22, 2020). The Storyteller spoke of the sacred practices, the specifics will not be included, but it is broadly mentioned to maintain the sacredness.

In the here and now, when I am triggered, it is a reminder of how big an issue can be. For some issues, they are too large to heal quickly and may take years, or even a lifetime. Healing the shame of what happened in the coat closet was a large sense of freedom; I never knew the heaviness I was carrying. My shame was deep. We were children. I am thankful for the family, friends, mentors, and allies that have been my support as I have healed.

Through the years, I have developed a self-care plan that I updated as needed. Between 2000-2002, I was completing an MA in Counselling. I was struggling and triggered when a fellow classmate said, "I know that you have a self-care plan, what have you done for yourself?" I burst into tears because in the depth of my despair, it did not occur for me to do anything on my self-care plan. Despite all my academic knowledge and life experience, my self-care plan was of no use to me because I had not remembered to access it. My own healing journey taught me that despite any new coping mechanisms that I have developed, during true times of crisis and trauma, I may/will resort to a previous/old maladaptive coping mechanism. It is a humbling experience to revert to a previous coping mechanism. Counselling brought the wisdom that is not how it always has to be, but a reflection of how large an issue is that needs healing. The more that we integrate a new coping mechanism into our day-to-day life, the more it will become a habit and ingrained into daily behaviour, and towards a new way of being that demonstrates the personal growth. Our new coping skills are powerful ways to role model for another that we can learn new ways to cope with old situations.

Helplessness, Hopelessness, and Intergenerational Healing

For some the healing journey is too arduous. I know when I began my journey, the amount of healing felt insurmountable. I did not start my own healing until "I was sick and tired of being sick and tired." For a myriad of reasons, some individuals resort to substance use because their story (trauma, abuses, neglect, etc.) is overwhelming and it appears insurmountable to address the healing. The historic past manifests into symptoms of maladaptive social patterns (Castellano & Archibald, 2007, Figure 1). I abused alcohol because I needed "relief" from being overwhelmed with being flooded with negative memories. There were times when I would be controlling of my sleeping environment. I could only sleep with a light on, and all the doors and windows locked because I needed to feel safe.

Storyteller Two acknowledges,

Oh, the impact that it had on me was that it made me really mean. I could be really angry. I was angry with my mate and my kids. Everybody made me mean. Still today, I got to be alone, to sit outside. I have been doing that a lot again, since we started this school again [Day School Application and this interview]. Wanting to be alone, but it really had an impact on my family, the way that I treated them. So I was really hoping to get some help out of this after because I have not changed, I am still the same. I get angry over every little thing and then I got to be alone. So it really hurt… Oh, I just sit outside and think. I try to stay away from them when I am angry cuz I know that I will say something when I shouldn't when I am angry and I do not want to take it out on my family. So I really hope that I can get help after this. Yeah, to ease my mind. To make me a stronger person I hope. It was a lot of stuff that we went through and it is really hard. I thank you for what you are trying to do for us. I didn't want to [do this], but I don't want anybody else to go through

this, [what we went through at the Day School]. It will give them something to watch for and listen for what happened [to us, to know that it happened]. (August 29, 2021).

The frequency and severity of the violence endured truly influences one's healing journey. We talked about community resources and the Storyteller gave me verbal consent to provide referrals to community agencies via email to ensure the contact information was shared with both (agency and Storyteller).

I am a perfectly imperfect person. While I am sharing my journey, it is not my intent to speak for all former Day School students. For some, I respect and understand when another's trauma experience is complex that they never heal before they cross into the spirit world. Life experience, volunteering, and academia have taught me that those who are incarcerated and those who are homeless, this group of people the healing journey is arduous because of their respective social history. It has taken me over 50 years, to truly address my healing of the Tsartlip Indian Day School experience. Each of these respective human beings is truly honouring and healing the inter-generational traumas, as they do their personal healing. The more difficult it can be to heal or interrupt an inter-generational pattern, the more entrenched the pattern is for the person, their respective family, and their respective community.

Collective Trauma and Vicarious Trauma

Because we all lived in such close proximity and witnessed what was done to each other at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, it became a collective trauma. It is also vicarious because many of the students were related – legally or not – and we had witnessed so many abuses it was equally painful for both the student being abused, as it was to witness the abuse. In particular, when the fellow student was a frequent target of the nuns, one is reminded of what we endured

together. Today, for some, to see a former classmate, is a trigger of those shared experiences until the student begins healing.

> *We all experienced each other's trauma! Like watching kids get beat up, watching kids piss and shit their pants! Getting smacked, kicked, punched, hair pulled – all of that, we were made to watch everybody and they got off on doing that to all of us! She called all our young girls and told them they would be pregnant before they were fifteen. We were all stupid and useless! Godless heathen! Dirty little savages! I remember once, being told that they are putting people on the moon and you godless heathens are still dancing to that fire! Talking about the Big House. Telling us that if we had any pride in who we are, we would never become involved in that, it is a by gone era, let it go* (Storyteller Four, September 22, 2020).

Moving Forward or Staying Stuck

Sometimes, we are forced into healing as opportunities present themselves to do the personal healing. Every person has a choice to either move through the story or to suppress the feelings and emotions. However, the suppression of feelings and thoughts eventually "leaks" in maladaptive coping mechanisms. This is never an easy choice, when I began my journey, I was exhausted of being sick and tired. For me, it did not feel like a choice, the intensity was overwhelming and unbearable, and I knew that I needed to move forward and moving forward meant I needed to begin healing. Castellano and Archibald (2007) would refer to this as the manifesting symptoms of maladaptive social pattern of the historic past and the enlightening event(s) guided me to the intergenerational transmission of positive identities and behaviours (Figure 1 and 2, pp. 51-52).

Intergenerational healing occurs one person at a time. As one person heals within a family and/or community, others can be inspired to heal their own story. Above, I shared my student-on-student violence. The other Storytellers for the thesis, in their respective interviews, did not talk about any student-on-student violence or community member on community member violence. Nevertheless, it did occur and I witnessed it. As well, over the years other classmates have shared their story of student-on-student violence with me. This violence can be seen in the fractures amongst families and community members. The student-on-student violence creates complex victim issues that divide both family and community because of the complexity of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator.

The intergenerational healing for victim issues is an arduous journey and requires both to participate actively; otherwise, the family and/or community live amidst the issues, which creates discomfort and awkwardness for all who are present in the moment. Each of us made a choice or were forced to choose and the decision is a complex journey, the manifesting symptoms of maladaptive social patterns of the historic past (Figure 1) or enlightening events that guide us to the spiritual rejuvenation and cultural connection and/or cultural reclamation (Figure 2). One may also move between the historic past and historic present in the complexity of the healing journey.

The Complexity of Healing

The healing journey can be overwhelming. To begin to address the Indian Day School experience is to open Pandora's box! The hardest part of completing the "Indian Day School Class Action Settlement Application" is having to relive the trauma of the younger years. There is no one path to begin the healing journey, many pathways are open, and each of us respectively chooses our own path.

Professional and Personal Perspective…Being a Community Member

From a professional perspective, I and we need to support our clients to shift from their fears into their courage. It was a privilege to interview the Storytellers and I was humbled by their honesty and vulnerability. When you see the person, you can see how their personal history influences who they are today. Including my own story required me to be both subjective and objective. Most importantly, we need to remember that if I had the client's story, I would be in their shoes! We do not know what we do not know! It is a privilege and honour to have an individual share their story with you. If they did not trust you, they would not share, which needs to be treasured, respected, and received with humility.

From a personal perspective, I am a human being and that some stories will always "sneak into my heart" and they have affected me, until I can heal or "put it down." Through the years, some stories have been unforgettable because of the direct or indirect relationship with the person. The first time a client intentionally avoided me, it hurt because pre-client we had developed a friendship and when they became a client I became the trigger to their story so, they would avoid me. Some stories "sneak in" because they paralleled my life. However, this was and is an opportunity to reflect upon my growth or assess/evaluate the work that I must complete. For me, it is incomprehensible that such behaviours were intentionally inflicted upon another human being! To this I respond, we were children! We are human beings!

When we truly care about humanity, it is incomprehensible that some individuals' have never been held accountable or liable for the neglect and abuses inflicted at the Indian Residential School and the Indian Day Schools. The Residential Schools Settlement Agreement encapsulated that once the former student signed their settlement; they were not able to file criminal charges against their abuser. A colleague is friends with a lawyer who represented an

individual who was criminally charged before the Residential Schools Settlement Agreement was signed. The lawyer went to visit the client when at the institution after he was sentenced; the lawyer asked the question, “Why did you do it?” His response, “They are just Indians!” Coincidently, another friend typed his Victim Impact Statement and much of what she typed was incomprehensible. When I spoke with the victim about a year after his trial, he told me that he spoke for two days on the witness stand without any interruptions from the Crown. This injustice fuels my passion to be an advocate and ally for Indigenous People of Canada and is foundational to completing a thesis on the Tsartlip Indian Day School. “We were children! We are human beings!”

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The Voice of an Adult, Me

We were children! We are human beings! It can be easy to talk about the violence that an adult (teacher or staff) inflicted, but it is different when it is a fellow student. Student-on-student violence is the unspoken violence that occurred at the Day School. The hardest part of student-on-student violence is the strength of family genes. Younger generations have a family resemblance to their older family members; some individuals are not liked because they look like and/or sound like another's abuser.

The shame that was attached for so many years. I wished that you never told your friends, they made me do it after you did it. I was scared of being blamed for it happening and I was scared that if I told another, it would be shared and that others would make me do it too.

I have always seen the harm and gossip that occurs, when you share the abuse that was inflicted, we were children; the harm is like the ripple of throwing a rock into a pond. Curiosity to know, can be just as harmful as naming the specific abuser.

To my abusers, know that I have never shared your name with others, except my counsellor. I did not speak your names even when there was a situation, a specific incident where I was not coping well, and my feelings of hurt "leaked" into the "behaviour of awkwardness" and this was apparent to my loved ones. After a couple of times, the individual figured out the abuse because they witnessed "my behaviour leaking." I know that we were children. To anyone who witnessed, I know that we were children. As children, I know the boys talked about it, otherwise his friends would not have made me do it too! My hope for us all is to

heal from what we went through. As we each individually heal, we embrace the inherent gifts that have always been there, walking with the natural rhythm of the ancestors.

Indian Day Schools were omitted from the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, I will never forget phoning the Residential School Hotline, and being told, "Day School students were not harmed, you went home every day!" I was both offended and hurt at their naïveté. "We Were Children and We Are Human Beings: Tsartlip Indian Day School Student Experiences" came from the depth of my pain. While I do not intend to speak for all former Day School students, our experiences are similar. While I was writing much of this thesis, my writing emerged from the hurt, disappointment, and frustration that "we were children" and no "human being" should have been subjected to and endured the traumas and vicarious traumas of a child in an educational environment. If the Tsartlip Indian Day School staff and administration had seen us as a human being, such harm never would have been inflicted upon us under the guise of education.

It is critical to fill in the gaps of available resources for the Day School students to ensure mine and their experiences are not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. Our experiences are both insidious and unique because staff and administration attended our family and/or community events. It is crucial for professionals, scholars and the others to understand the uniqueness of the Indian Day School experiences.

Storytelling is a strong Indigenous method to share and transfer knowledge in my family, it was my way of being and my way of knowing (Chapter 2). The Knowledge Keepers use of storytelling is a mechanism to teach across the generations that permits the listeners to hear what is meant to be learned in the immediate moment. Storytelling provides opportunity to reframe day-to-day events that capture the resilience and resistance to facilitate healing. I shared one

story that I grew up listening to and it is called The Widow Tree Story encourages the listener to consider relationships, communication, respect, and ultimately the negative consequences that can occur when the last conversation with a loved one was one of adversary. In addition, to consider the consequence, impact, or effect that this can leave on the individual who survives, ultimately it is one of regret.

Storytelling in action permits the Knowledge Keeper immediacy to address a behaviour in the moment, to provide the listener with an option to learn in the immediate moment. The Indigenous academics, who preceded me, attained their credentials by abiding by the western standards of the academy and then they utilized their education and knowledge to cultivate a new path for the Indigenous scholars behind them.

Storytelling permitted the participants/Storytellers to share their personal experience of being a student and it permitted me to witness their lived experience or story. I am of W̲SÁNEĆ heritage, I have had a lifetime bond with community members, and a pre-existing relationship existed with the Storytellers as we all attended school together in the same year. My relationship with each Storyteller will exist beyond the research period. Our experiences as Tsartlip Indian Day School students were unique because of our shared lineage; and/or shared blood; and the shared experience of witnessing what happened when we were children; and being a part of the healing journey in the later years. Relational accountability was and is critical when researching in the W̲SÁNEĆ villages because I am accountable to the Storytellers, to my family, and to my community. The Storytellers blessed me by sharing their respective stories and being vulnerable, which I truly did not understand or appreciate until I shared my story to complement the Storytellers. My legacy it to be accountable to the W̲SÁNEĆ people until my passing, and with good intention, my written words will be left for future generations. The COVID-19 Pandemic

had a direct impact on the number of Storytellers who were able to participate, and appropriate protocols were followed to ensure the safety of the Storytellers and myself. Each of the Storytellers were gifted traditional medicines that supported their overall well-being.

Governmental policies, practices, and legislation determined how residential schools and later Indian Day Schools were operated. Additionally, section 114 to 123 of the *Indian Act* governed how residential schools were run (Venne, 1981). Governments and their agents normalized and reinforced their ethnocentricity and white supremacy in reports and speeches, which created an environment of systemic oppression. As individuals and as a collective, the legislation adversely kept us locked into the systemic oppression of the *Indian Act* and the jurisdictional gaps further inhibited our circumstances.

While I grew up knowing about what happened at the residential schools, former Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs was the first public figure to talk about his experiences and to bring credibility to the intergenerational traumas of residential school. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada delivered their six-volume report at a closing event in 2015, further advanced the residential school awakening and the effects of child welfare, education, language and culture, health, and justice. Furthermore, Castellano and Archibald Historic Past (Figure 1) captures how historic trauma symptoms can manifest into maladaptive social patterns because the violent behaviour was both normalized and promoted. While the Historic Present (Figure 2) demonstrates how enlightening events can lead to spiritual awakenings that can lead one towards personal healing, which contribute to the familial healing and overall W̲SÁNEĆ healing.

The W̲SÁNEĆ history (Chapter 3) influenced our experiences as Tsartlip Indian Day as the governmental practices and jurisdictional gaps adversely influenced our lives (parenting,

housing, and food security). As a naïve young girl, I secretly wished to go to residential school. After I began to attend school, I started to hear the stories of people's residential school experiences. Additionally, when I entered university I began to read the many resources on the residential school experience. However, I found that most resources on the Day School experience were logistical in that they often only addressed questions of policy and practice.

The intergenerational traumas of the residential school are a complex issue and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada identified five specific legacies of the intergenerational trauma as being child welfare, education, language and culture, health and justice.

There were 699 Federal Indian Day Schools across Canada from 1920 to 1996 and three were located in Greater Victoria, including the Tsartlip Indian Day School. Field Manuals provided teachers and staff the ability to implement the legislation and policies as they deemed fit, which created an environment rife for the abuses and atrocities. Historical annual reports on Indian Day Schools unfairly and inaccurately portray Indigenous Peoples, while at the same time neglecting to account for the systemic oppression that was built into the policies, practices, and legislation.

"We are children, we are human beings" captures the Storyteller's student experiences at the Tsartlip Indian Day School (Chapter 4). I am the youngest and I was in awe of my siblings and older cousins who got to go to school to learn to read and write. I longed to go to school. Our experiences were further complicated by the relationships to the Coast Salish Indian Names, their significance, and family lineage because we were not just connected to our fellow students by blood, the familial relationships were expanded by the shared lineage of the shared Indian Names. My second Indian Name, XET'XOT'EL,WET belonged to my maternal great-

grandmother. At this time, I shared the Indian Name with three relatives, my cousin and her niece plus the great-granddaughter of my grandma's brother. From a Coast Salish Indian perspective, I have a close relationship with these three individuals and anyone who has my Great-Uncle Louie Pelkey's Indian Name, would be a brother to me.

The Indian Names complicated the Tsartlip Indian Day School experience because of the inter-connectedness of our families amongst the students and this is unique to the Coast Salish Peoples. From a western perspective, fellow students who would be distantly related to me become closely related to me, the three relatives mentioned above, are sisters to me; one of them would have attended the Tsartlip Indian Day School ahead of me. While I was given my second name as an adult, my parents told me who the descendants' were from Great-Uncle Louie Pelkey, as a child, it was confusing how someone who is distantly related to me is closely related to me. I came to understand the depth of relationships later, when I fully understood the transfer of the Indian Names in a cultural ceremony. The understanding came with other family members attaining their Indian Name and when I truly understood the how cultural ceremony entrenches both family lineage and the inherent right to belong to cultural ceremony.

Each of the Storytellers chose to be identified by a number, however, because all those who attended the Tsartlip Indian Day School, they may be able to identify a specific Storyteller because who had a shared experience. Two of the five Storytellers completed the interview process, and my story was added to complement their experiences. I was humbled by their stories when I realized the vulnerability to being a Storyteller. The choice to become a Storyteller was one of circumstances of the pandemic. To share publically a portion of your life is a risk because you allow an outsider to both see and know your most intimate thoughts and feelings. To allow another to ready my healing journey is opening my life, not just through sharing

verbally, but to document on paper leaves a "paper trail" for perpetuity. I am not a number, there is no indirect anonymity, my name is attached to the research directly. While other WSÁNEĆ Peoples may read the research and be able to identify a Storyteller, there is a direct link to me.

Through the *Indian Act* and the Department of Indian Affairs, Field Manuals granted the power and authority that permitted and promoted the traumas and vicarious trauma to perpetuate across the generations from October 1, 1931 to September 1, 1988 or 57 years. As a student, you had to have an external appearance of being composed and/or appearance of learning, if you were crying or about to cry, you were verbally reprimanded or physically beaten. As students, we were subjected to teacher-to-student abuse, staff-to-student abuse, and finally student-to-student abuses; each was hurtful in a different way. The psychological violence was the cruelest as the teacher was inflicting verbal violence towards you and/or your family.

Castellano and Archibald identified the risk pile-up (Figure 4) of the contributing factors to the intergenerational traumas of the residential schools, while the protective defenses (Figure 5) capture the healing journey from the intergenerational traumas. Interestingly, the oral tradition/example encapsulate Storytelling as a method to transfer knowledge and tradition as a way of being, a way of learning. The two Storytellers were active resistors and protectors as they strategically attempted to mitigate the violence they endured.

Figure 3, contributing factors of student-to-student abuse at the Indian Day School are complex and the student-to-student abuses created unique dynamics both in the historic past (Figure 1), the historic present (Figure 2). Respectfully, I do not purport to talk on-behalf of all Day School Survivors; my journey to healing is unique and personal to my experiences of being at the Tsartlip Indian Day School for one year.

The stories of the three Storytellers captures the students experiences of the Tsartlip Indian Day School students to ensure their experiences and mine are not minimized, disregarded, or misunderstood. Creating context for Indian Day Schools students is critical, as their experiences are both similar and different from residential school students. Our experience was insidious, as the perpetrator of violence during the day could be eating dinner with your family or end up sitting beside them at a community or cultural function.

The journey to healing is a personal decision, it is morally and ethically wrong to push one past one's capability to reflect upon their life story because "I do not know, what I do not know!" I do not know if I will address my grade one abusers, I know the impact it had on one by-stander and the unspoken or unnamed collective effect is has had on the WSÁNEĆ Peoples. I truly admire my fellow student who confronted their former abuser; I can still see the pride on their face and hear the confidence in their voice. I am responsible and accountable for my personal journey to healing. My hope is that this thesis may inspire fellow Indian Day School students to continue on their healing journey. Despite doing my personal work for over 35 years, additional healing was achieved by the writing of this thesis. This makes me think of my Grandmama Susan, who in the depth of my despair after about twenty years of personal work, said to me, "You have done the work, the glass milk bottle has been emptied! Now you are going back to get the residue" (Persononeal Communication, Date Unknown). This inspired me and gave me hope that the intensity and duration of my feelings would subside and I had the ability to navigate the situation.

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Appendix A – Chronology of Canada's Policy for Federal Day Schools, 1920 to 1996

Excerpt from the Canada's Policy on Federal Day Schools, 1920 to 1996, pp. 1 – 7.

1920	In 1920, the Department of Indian Affairs reported 247 on-reserve day schools in Canada that served 7,477 day students, an average of 30 students per school. 51 schools were non-denominational and 196 were denominational (83 Roman Catholic, 67 Anglican, 11 Methodist, 4 Presbyterian, 1 Salvation Army). By 1920: • Funding for the schools was, at least largely, by parliamentary appropriation. • Teachers were hired and paid by the Department of Indian Affairs. The department hired qualified teachers when possible, but found it difficult to find qualified teachers to work on isolated reserves. Churches were welcome to nominate teachers, until at least 1949. • The schools generally used the public and separate school curricula for the province in which the school was situated, although special emphasis was also placed on language, vocational instruction, religious instruction, and health education. • The schools were inspected by either provincial school inspectors (ON, QC, NS, PE) or officials assigned to that purpose by the Department of Indian Affairs.	2.3.1 2.3.3 2.3.5.1, 2.3.8
1920	Amendments to the *Indian Act* gave Canada authority to establish and regulate schools for Indian children aged 7 to 15. The act provided, as it had in 1906, that Canada could enforce compulsory attendance by arrest, conveyance and detention of a child at school, and fine and imprisonment of a truant child's parent or guardian.	2.1 2.3.10
1925	By 1925, Indian Affairs jointly managed and jointly funded 13 "combined white and Indian schools" with five provinces (BC, SK, ON, QC). By 1926, there were 16 combined schools that served 194 Indian students. Tuition for Indian pupils to attend provincial schools, and some grant money for the schools that accommodated them, date back to at least 1920; however, the term "combined schools" was first reported in the department's annual report in 1925.	2.4
1926	By 1926, field matrons and nurses were employed by the Department of Indian Affairs to examine day school students, and in 1928 a vaccination program was introduced. In 1928, Indian Affairs reported that it hoped to implement a system of regular inspection for every day student; however, through example we know that this did not happen at every school, each year.	2.3.16.1

1930	Amendments to the *Indian Act* extended the age of required attendance from 7 to 16, and gave the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs authority to extend this requirement for any child to 18 years.	2.3.10
1933	The 1933 *Instructions to Indian Agents* advised Indian agents to familiarize themselves with the *Indian Act,* and pay careful attention to the administration and efficiency of both day and residential schools. Indian agents were instructed to make monthly reports of the operations of each day school.	2.3.2 2.3.3
1938	New regulations for the employment of teachers in Indian day schools required that teachers hold the same academic and professional certificates as required by the province in which the school was situated. In May 1938, Indian Affairs' Superintendent of Education clarified that current teachers were exempt, as long as they received "satisfactory" inspection reports. This exemption was still in place in 1947. In 1958, Indian Affairs acknowledged that in view of "continued shortages" of qualified teachers, they still engaged those without professional qualification, but as of 1958, these were classified as teacher aides.	2.3.5.1 3.3.5.2
1938	A new policy for day school construction promoted that new schools have basements suitable for vocational training. This was consistent with the stated intent of the Indian Affairs Branch to emphasize manual training such as gardening and carpentry for male students, and dressmaking, crochet work, and domestic science for female students.	2.3.8
1944	The 1944 *Family Allowance Act* stipulated that no payments would be made for truant children, aged six years and older, who were fit to attend school. The Indian Affairs Branch adhered to this policy, as explained in a circular to inspectors, Indian agents, residential school principals, and Indian day school teachers on 16 April 1945. This legislative provision was in place until 1973.	2.3.10 3.3.10 4.3.10
1944	By 1944, "Indian Day School Regulations" were circulated on the leaflet of Daily Registers in which teachers recorded daily attendance. The regulations provided basic information for teachers, including that Indian day schools were open from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on a regular schedule of prescribed days, with two months' summer vacation, unless otherwise approved by the Indian Affairs Branch.	2.3.2 2.3.8
1946	By Order-in-Council on 18 July 1946, the Northwest Territories Council assumed authority for education, including of Inuit students, in the territory. (Status Indians remained the responsibility of the Indian Affairs Branch.)	6.2
1946	The amended *Family Allowances Act* specifically stated the applicability of section 4(2) (i.e. withholding the payment of family allowances due to	2.3.10 5.3.10

	irregular school attendance) to Indian and Inuit students, and residents of the Northwest and Yukon Territories.	6.3.10 7.3.10
1947	The 1947 *Indian Agent's Reference and Regulations* clarified the Indian agent's role as the "official trustee" responsible for schools' overall administration, and to ensure that teachers were efficient in their duties and in maintaining order and discipline. The manual explained that the agent "should" visit each day school at least monthly, and where warranted follow up with a report to Indian Affairs. It stipulated that the Indian agent had no involvement in assessing teaching methods or school curricula. It also stressed the importance of school attendance, and the Indian agent's authority to recommend suspension of family allowance payments due to unsatisfactory student attendance.	2.3.2 2.3.3 2.3.10
1947	The position of welfare teacher was created as a year-round position on remote reserves. In addition to teaching duties, welfare teachers assisted the Indian agent, and provided community services in health promotion, adult education, recreation, gardening, etc. In 1958, the title of this position was changed to community teacher. By 1963, all federal teachers in the NWT were classed as community teachers.	2.3.5.1 3.3.5.1 6.3.5
1948	By 1948, teachers and principals were required to include any incidents of corporal punishment on their monthly return.	2.3.9
1948	The report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs recommended that Indian children be educated "in association with other children," and promoted abolishing separate Indian schools.	2.4
1949	By 1949, a "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools" was circulated to Indian day school teachers on the cover leaflet of the Daily Registers. The programme confirmed that provincial curricula and textbooks were to be followed; plus outlined particular suggestions for language, reading, vocational instruction, physical education, vocal music, religious instruction, character training and health education. The language section directed teachers to "insist" on English or French, "even during the supervised play." A manual for teachers in the NWT in 1949 also emphasized specific subjects: forest and wildlife management, health, manual training, and physical education.	2.3.8 2.3.13 6.3.8
1950	In 1950, the Indian Affairs Branch reported 329 day schools in Canada that served 13,986 students; five combined schools that served 107 Indian students; 1,145 Indian students who attended provincial or territorial elementary schools, and 360 who attended provincial or territorial high schools. Indian day schools were predominantly one- or two-room school houses that served younger grades: the average school size was 43 students, and attendance waned precipitously by grade. In 1950, 5,199 students	2.5

	enrolled in Indian day schools for Grade 1, but only 283 for Grade 9, and 11 for Grade 12.	
1951	In March 1951, the *Indian School Bulletin* instructed teachers of each classroom to record corporal punishment, in "a notebook for a permanent record of any corporal punishment you administer, showing dates, names, reasons, and the number of strokes with a regulation strap. Endeavour, however, to impose alternative and constructive punishment when disciplinary action is required."	3.3.9
1951	The 1951 *Indian Act,* while continuing to empower the Minister to establish and operate Indian day schools and enforce student attendance, added a provision to allow the Minister to enter into agreements for the education of Indian children in non-federal schools. This marked the beginning of a strong emphasis on integrating Indian students into provincial and territorial schools, through "Joint School Agreements."	3.1 3.2.1
1951	With regard to student transportation, the 1951 *Indian Act* authorized the Minister to provide for student transportation to and from school. The 1954 Field Manual outlined a procedure for Indian superintendents to arrange daily transportation for students. By 1962, the manual clarified that students should be expected to walk up to a mile each way. "Crippled" students or those living more than a mile from school, were eligible for student transportation.	3.1 3.3.19
1951	Several versions of the "Regulations for the Classification of Teaching Staff" were issued from 1951 to 1958. These defined the titles, salaries, qualifications and responsibilities of Indian Affairs' teaching staff, including teachers, welfare teachers, and principals. The regulations were cancelled in 1969 as teaching staff became subject to the *Public Service Employment Act* and *Regulations,* and the *Public Service Staff Relations Act.*	3.3.2
1952	The 1952 NWT *School Ordinance* provided, among other things, that religious instruction in the NWT (and federal Inuit schools in Quebec, where it was applied in principle) was to be one half hour at the end of the day, with students free to leave before this period. Also, the language of instruction was to be English; however, "French or Eskimo" language was permitted at the primary school level.	6.3.12 6.3.13 7.3.12 7.3.13
1953	On 14 April 1953, Indian Affairs issued a policy on discipline in schools. The policy instructed its staff to use corporal punishment only as a last resort; "avoid" humiliation of pupils; and never inflict corporal punishment on a student with a physical or mental ailment that may be aggravated. Corporal punishment — a regulation strap on the palm of the hands — was to be personally administered by the principal or teacher in charge, with a witness of the same gender as the student being punished. A book of record	3.3.9

	was to be kept of "every occasion of corporal punishment. This record will show the date, the name of the pupil, a description of the offence, the number of strokes on either hand, and will be signed by the person who used the strap and by the witness."	
1953	The "Indian Day School Regulations," as amended in May 1953, continued to address matters already practically in place: a ten-month schedule, and school day from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.; the use of curriculum and textbooks from the province or territory within which the school was situated; the importance of student and attendance and punctuality (no sanctions were defined in the regulations); the basic duties of the teacher; and the expectation of regular inspection by the Indian superintendent (formerly called the Indian agent). The May 1953 amendment also included a limitation to one-half hour per day of religious instruction; and required that the teacher "suspend any pupil guilty of conduct injurious to the moral tone or well-being of the school and report such suspension to the Superintendent, Indian Agency." The regulations were cancelled in 1969 as teaching staff became subject to the *Public Service Employment Act* and *Regulations,* and the *Public Service Staff Relations Act.*	3.3.2 3.3.9 3.3.12
1953	The "Regulations Governing Schools in the Northwest Territories," pursuant to the 1952 NWT *School Ordinance,* also came into effect on 1 May 1953. These provided for the duties of teachers, principals, inspectors and students, among other subjects. Specific aspects of these regulations were applied, in principle, in federal Inuit schools in Quebec.	6.2 7.2
1955	By a federal-territorial agreement of 15 February 1955, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) became the administrator of an "integrated education" program in the NWT. Territorial (i.e. white and mixed ancestry) students remained the financial responsibility of the territory, while the Indian Affairs Branch was responsible for status Indians. On 1 April 1956, all Indian Affairs Branch schools in the NWT were transferred to DNANR.	6.2
1956	On 1 April 1956, mission teachers in the NWT became federal employees.	6.2
1958	According to the 1958 revision of the "Regulations for the Classification of Teaching Staff," welfare teachers were renamed as community teachers, and teachers who were not professionally trained were reclassified as teacher aides. In 1958, the regulations identified the following positions: principal, assistant principal, community principal, community assistant principal, teacher, senior teacher, assistant senior teacher, teacher of specialist subject, teacher aide, and substitute teacher. The growth in classifications is reflective of an increasing number of larger Indian day schools.	3.3.5.1 3.3.5.2 3.3.5.2 3.3.5.4

1958	On 6 March 1958, kindergarten programs were authorized on Indian reserves, with program funding to be applied for, and approved, on a case-by-case basis.	3.3.18
1961	The Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Indian Act recommended that the administration of Indian education be transferred to provincial governments.	3.4
1962	The 1962 Field Manual recommended the establishment of school committees, to be nominated from the band council or the band in general, and to include parents whose children were eligible to attend the school(s).	3.3.4
1963	By 1963, about 40% of Indian students were enrolled in provincial schools.	3.2.1
1967	The Hawthorn Report recommended that Indian students be integrated into provincial school systems, with curricular and language support, and appropriate cultural training among provincial teachers.	3.5
1967	A continuous promotion policy was adopted, for the 1967-68 school year.	3.3.11
1967	Indian Affairs reported that it encouraged school committees "to introduce certain aspects of their culture into the school program" through a weekly thirty-minute class period.	3.3.14
1967	Indian Affairs directed all regional school superintendents that they should plan for a two-year kindergarten "in every Indian community" once program staff and accommodation needs were met. By 1968, kindergarten enrollment was at 4,531, from 3,897 in 1964.	3.3.18
1969	In 1969, with the closure of Carcross Residential School, all Indian students in the Yukon Territory received instruction in territorial schools. This had developed through a series of joint school agreements since 1958, and as of 19 March 1968, Indian education was covered by an operating grant paid to Yukon Territory.	5.2 5.3.1
1969	On 27 March 1969, the Key Indian Reserve became the first Indian reserve incorporated as a provincial school district.	3.2.1
1969	The Trudeau government issued the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy,* also known as the White Paper, which proposed repealing the *Indian Act* and Indian status. The White Paper proposed that "programs and services" be delivered "through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians," that is, that education for Indian children be delivered by the provinces. The White Paper was firmly rejected by indigenous people and organizations.	3.6

1970	The "majority" of Indian students were enrolled in provincial and territorial schools, and only 279 federal Indian day schools remained.	2.5 3.2.1
1970	The federal government transferred responsibility for education in the NWT to the Government of the Northwest Territories on 1 April 1970. DIAND continued to "develop guidelines, standards of service and goals for Territorial education programs in relation to the needs of the indigenous peoples and assist in formulating and monitoring agreements to achieve these objectives [emphasis in original]."	7.4
1972	The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB, the predecessor to the Assembly of First Nations) issued the policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education.*	3.7
1972	Regarding "recent developments" as of September 1972, DIAND reported more indigenous content in schools: funding for curriculum development; encouragement in all regions to add "native studies" content; and mandatory "cross-cultural orientation" for new teachers. From 1972 onward, inclusion of indigenous language and culture was frequently mentioned as a priority and area of program development. (Nonetheless, English and French continued to be the language of instruction in federal schools.)	4.3.13 4.3.14
1973	The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien, gave DIAND's commitment to "Indian Control of Indian Education."	3.7 4.1
1973	As of 19 April 1973, Chapter 11 on "Education" of the 1962 Field Manual was "no longer applicable except in those cases where no other authority or guidelines exist."	4.3.2
1973	The *Family Allowances Act, 1973* removed the section linking compulsory school attendance with family allowance payments. Thereafter, it was not permitted by legislation to withhold family allowance payments on the grounds of truancy.	4.3.10 5.3.10 6.3.10 7.3.10
1975	The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed on 11 November 1975. This was the first modern land claim settlement, and it included education. The education provisions in the JBNQA came into effect on 1 July 1978, transferring the administration of education from DIAND to the Kativik and Cree School Boards.	8.2
1978	Through the mid-1970s and by 1978, a series of draft "E-circulars" (education program circulars) were created by DIAND. For example, Circular E-2 was entitled, "Guidelines Related to the Staffing of Teachers and Teacher-Aides in Federal Schools." These circulars were rejected by the NIB and were not put into effect.	4.2 4.3.2

1988	The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) issued a report and policy statement on education, *Tradition and Education,* which affirmed its commitment to Indian control of Indian education.	4.2
1996	The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) reported First Nations' perception that, although devolution of control over education had resulted in hiring more indigenous teachers and incorporating elements of indigenous cultural and language into the classroom, Canada had "generally insisted that schools conform to provincial regulations with respect to curriculum, school year and so on, thereby restricting schools' ability to include innovative, culture-based curriculum."	4.2

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Tell me about being a student at the Tsartlip Indian Day School?
2. What impacted you the most about being a student?
3. What factors contributed to nurture and support you?

Appendix C: Self-Care Plan

On-line courses or counselling via ZOOM or interviews via ZOOM are complex to navigate because afterwards, you do not have the ability to follow-up on the person or participant. Self-care (physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual) is critical to effectively maintain one's overall well-being and to maintain the relationships with others. Montero-Martin et al (2016) identify three types of burnout (frenetic, under-challenged, and worn-out). Self-care assists to:

- Being an active participant in one's self-care amplifies the quality of one's life, proactively doing something to nurture yourself positively contributes to one's holistic well-being.
- Proactively nurturing yourself (daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly) provides a stronger foundation to be able to function during stressful situations.
- In a self-care plan, it is critical to have a variety for each of the domains because some days, something may not be effective on another day.
- It is critical to review the self-care plan annually to update what may be effective.
- Ignoring one's needs, leads to stresses and meeting the basic
- McCormick and Hay (2017) promote the key to self-care as maintaining effective communication, being reflective, being a role model, while being productive, not busy! Finally, being "kind and compassionate to yourself" (p. 695).

1. Self-Care Today

A. Who do you have to talk to after today?

_____

_____

_____

B. What are your immediate needs?

C. What will you do for yourself before you go to bed?

D. What will you do for yourself when you walk up tomorrow morning?

E. Is there anything that I have forgotten:

2. Reflections of Today

A. Who is/are my support person/people for my overall well-being?

B. Were any triggers identified today? For example, what was read? What was seen? What was heard? Yes ____ No _____ If Yes, what?

C. Is there a theme of what came up today? For example, what was read? What was seen? What was heard? Yes ____ No _____ If Yes, what?

D. If yes to any of the above, is this related to my past and how?

E. Is this something that I can resolve or move through on my own? Yes _____ No _____

F. What type of goals can I set myself to resolve and/or move through this issue:

G. What is the time frame for me to move through this issue? _____

H. What is my plan of action if I feel stuck in what came up for me because of doing this course?

3. Self-Care Plan

Self-care is critical to overall well-being. To be successful, having a time limit makes the desired goal attainable. It is good to have a variety as what may be successful one day, may require a different activity on another day. This can be a simple as a hug from a loved one to listening to music and as you move from weekly to monthly to yearly, the activity may be inclusive and involves the overall well-being.

Daily: This activity can take 2 to 5 minutes.

Physical (Body – eat, drink, exercise, etc.)	Mental (Thoughts: the ability to process our thoughts)	Emotional (Emotions: the ability to express our emotions)	Spiritual (Prayer, ceremony, etc.)

Weekly: This Activity can take from 15 – 60 minutes:

Physical (Body – eat, drink, exercise, etc.)	Mental (Thoughts: the ability to process our thoughts)	Emotional (Emotions: the ability to express our emotions)	Spiritual (prayer, ceremony, etc.)

Monthly: One-half day to whole day.

Physical (Body – eat, drink, exercise, etc.)	Mental (Thoughts: the ability to process our thoughts)	Emotional (Emotions: the ability to express our emotions)	Spiritual (prayer, ceremony, etc.)

Yearly: One day to one week:

Physical (Body – eat, drink, exercise, etc.)	Mental (Thoughts: the ability to process our thoughts)	Emotional (Emotions: the ability to express our emotions)	Spiritual (prayer, ceremony, etc.)

Definitions

Collective Trauma: Lee, Salmon, and Dumbrill (2007) purport:

> In anti-oppressive social work it typically focuses on the manner in which, specifically, human-made events designed to force people from specific groups into a 'desired' way of life have impacted its members. For the most part, collective trauma is the result of some form of violence and oppression toward individuals with the intent to disperse the collective functioning of entire communities. Examples of this can be found all through history (e.g. colonization and so-called ethnic cleansing). More specifically, the injury of the trauma hinders group members in joining in solidarity in order to resist oppressive circumstances. The long-lasting effects of collective trauma may be that the group members' ability to work together and to live in harmony, with the intent to look after the welfare and survival of each other for the benefit of the entire group is affected. The effects may present themselves in subtle ways; i.e. mistrust among community members, severe alcohol use among significant percentage of members of a specific group. At times, collective trauma influences group identity and segregates members of the effected community to live with shame and/or at the margins of a specific society (Mirna E. Carranza)" (p. 6).

Complicated Grief:

Worden (2005) defines complicated mourning (grief) and considers why people fail to grieve as being related to specific factors (relational, circumstantial, historical, personality, and social). Worden then identifies four types of grief reactions: chronic grief reactions, delayed grief reactions, exaggerated grief reactions, and masked grief reactions.

Federal Day Schools: Public History (2018) defines Federal Day Schools, p. 8. Federal Day Schools were administered by the federal government for the education of status Indian and Inuit children. In the south, these were generally and historically referred to as Indian day schools, and they were primarily located on reserve. In the north, they were more likely to be identified as federal day schools. Some federal day schools also served other students, especially in the north, which does not preclude them from this definition; however, this project is concerned with the schools' service of status Indian and Inuit students. Federal Day Schools are

to be discerned from Mission Schools, Indian Residential Schools, Combined Schools, Joint Schools, and Band-Operated Schools.

Indian: Hawthorn (1967) departs from the legal definition and talking of any person of Indian ancestry who lives within the social, cultural, and economic referents of a given Indian group. The rationale for this usage of the term is that the non-Indians who have daily contact with him consider a child, who looks Indian, lives on or near a reserve, an Indian. He is treated like an Indian whether he is legally Indian, enfranchised or Metis. Where no differentiation is made between these various groups of people, their school experiences have more in common than not (p. 107). Hawthorn's definition is reflective of what Indian's encounter on a day-to-day basis in real life.

Indian Day Scholar: A student who attended a Federal Indian Residential School and went home every day.

Indian Day Student: A student who attended a Federal Indian Day School, such as the Tsartlip Indian Day School.

Indirect trauma: Witnessing an event by visually seeing the event and/or the after effect (physical or psychological injury). Hearing the event as a direct witness or indirectly by hearing the event from IDS who endured the event.

Historical Trauma: Durham and Webb (2014) have several synonyms for historical trauma, which are: intergenerational trauma, multigenerational trauma, collective trauma, trans-generational grief, or historic grief.

Macroaggression: Large-scale or overt aggression toward those of a certain race, culture, gender, etc.; contrasted with microaggression.(Wiktionary, on-line, https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/macroaggression, October 17, 2020, 5:52 pm.

Microaggression: is a term used for brief and commonplace daily verbal or behavioural indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative attitudes toward stigmatized or culturally marginalized groups.[1] The term was coined by psychiatrist and Harvard University professor Chester M. Pierce in 1970 to describe insults and dismissals which he regularly witnessed non-black Americans inflicting on African Americans.[1][2][3][4] By the early 21st century, use of the term was applied to the casual degradation of any socially marginalized group, including LGBT people, people living in poverty, and people who are disabled.[5] Psychologist Derald Wing Sue defines microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership." The persons making the comments may be otherwise well intentioned and unaware of the potential impact of their words.[6]

A number of scholars and social commentators have criticized the microaggression concept for its lack of scientific basis, over-reliance on subjective evidence, and promotion of psychological fragility. Critics argue that avoiding behaviours that one interprets as microaggressions restricts one's own freedom and causes emotional self-harm, and that employing authority figures to address microaggressions can lead to an atrophy of those skills needed to mediate one's own disputes.[7] Some argue that, because the term "microaggression" uses language connoting violence to describe verbal conduct, it can be (and is) abused to exaggerate harm, resulting in retribution and the elevation of victimhood.[8] Wikipedia, on-line, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Microaggression, October 17, 2020, 5:54pm.

Epilogue – Post Oral Defense

Healing the intergenerational traumas of being an Indigenous person is a journey of surviving and thriving. When I was a child, the abuses at the Tsartlip Indian Day School were minimized, normalized, and promoted and the inhumanity of how we were treated was minimized because of how the stage was set by the both the residential school and the Indian Act (1976 – 1868) (Venne, 1981). As a child who attended church, the priest and the nuns' behaviour was confusing and contradictory to what was espoused at church, in particular because the abuses were perpetuated in the guise of an educational environment.

The preface notes the hurt that was felt when I called the Indian Residential School Hotline and the staff person telling me that we (Day School students) were not included because we were not harmed because we went home every day. In that moment, it was the denial of the trauma that I incurred and the vicarious trauma of being an Indian Day School student. The approval of the class action lawsuit is validation that the abuses (direct and indirect) that were inflicted in the guise of an education environment occurred. The support that has been received throughout this thesis journey, from inception to defense has been another level of validation. The oral defense of the thesis was another level of validation of the traumas that were inflicted upon my fellow classmates and me. The submission of the thesis is another level of validation of the intergenerational traumas of being a Tsartlip Indian Day School student.

I had a hard time completing the edits from the supervisor and committee member, I found it difficult to complete and it was not until I wrote this section, that I was able to complete the edits with ease. In 2022, how I was treated in the guise of an educational environment is being heard and understood. Several events set the stage for the understanding to be heard, which include the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the Truth and Reconciliation

Commission, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Commission, plus all the class action lawsuits (residential schools, 60's scoop, Indian day school, and foster care) and I believe that a future class action will be the Indian hospitals. The legislation within the Indian Act (1868 – 1976) (Venne, 1981) further hindered Indigenous Peoples daily lives and includes voting rights, Potlatch Ban, the Secured Certificate of Indian Status. What really solidified the understanding of the horrors of the residential schools in Canadian mainstream was the Kamloops Indian Residential School (Casimir, 2021) public announcement of the 215 unmarked graves on the grounds of the school.

Federal government acknowledges that 150,000 children attended the residential school (Harper, 2011), while Gorman (2018) opines 190,000 children attended the Indian day schools. Residential schools were operational from 1834 to 2000 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2016) or 166 years, while Indian day schools were operational from 1920 – 1996 (Public History, 2018) or 76 years. Orange Shirt Day is a recognizable symbol of fellow Canadians acknowledging and supporting the horrors of the residential school. I was humbled at the ways that Canadian mainstream society has acknowledged the horrors of the residential school, in simple ways of an orange heart in a window of the family home or the BC Transit Buses in Victoria having an orange plastic tassel hanging from the driver's mirror.

It is an arduous task to summarize the intergenerational traumas of the residential schools and the Indian Day Schools; however, Castellano and Archibald (2007) historic past captures how the traumatic events can manifest into maladaptive behaviours and become the intergenerational transmission of learned maladaptive behaviours. Castellano and Archibald (2007) further capture how the historic present and how the enlightening events become the intergenerational transmission of positive identities and behaviours to reinforce and entrench

spiritual rejuvenation, cultural connection, and/or cultural reclamation. This brings me back to a comment that was taught to me in my Social Work 200 class, as a fellow professional, be curious. Look beyond the presenting story of the client. To learn to read between the words of what is said and not said in a client interview and what is written in the file. “I do not know what I do not know!” It can be easy to make a judgement based upon the presenting information and to make an inaccurate assessment; several instances in my life have taught me this. One example, a former client received an assault charge for two particular reasons, first because of the era and second, because of whom the victim was, there were no inquiries about the circumstances of the assault. The victim went to the hospital for his wounds and the police were called from there. Had the client been asked why the assault been committed, the respective authorities would have been told that client was fighting off a sexual assault. The severity of the injury was the perpetrator’s persistence to sexually assault the client and the client successfully stopping the sexual assault.