Colonialism and Survivance: Unique experiences of multigenerational violence and cultural strengths among Indigenous peoples in Canada

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DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

Dalhousie is located in Halifax (Kjipuktuk) in the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq People (Mi'kma'ki)

Learning Objectives

After participating in this Webinar, participants will better be able to:

- **Understand the unique experiences of violence experienced by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples since first contact**

- **Understand the root causes of contemporary violence and other social/health issues within some Indigenous families and communities**

- **Recognize the strengths of Indigenous Peoples who have survived by actively engaging in colonial resistance and revival of traditional cultures across generations**
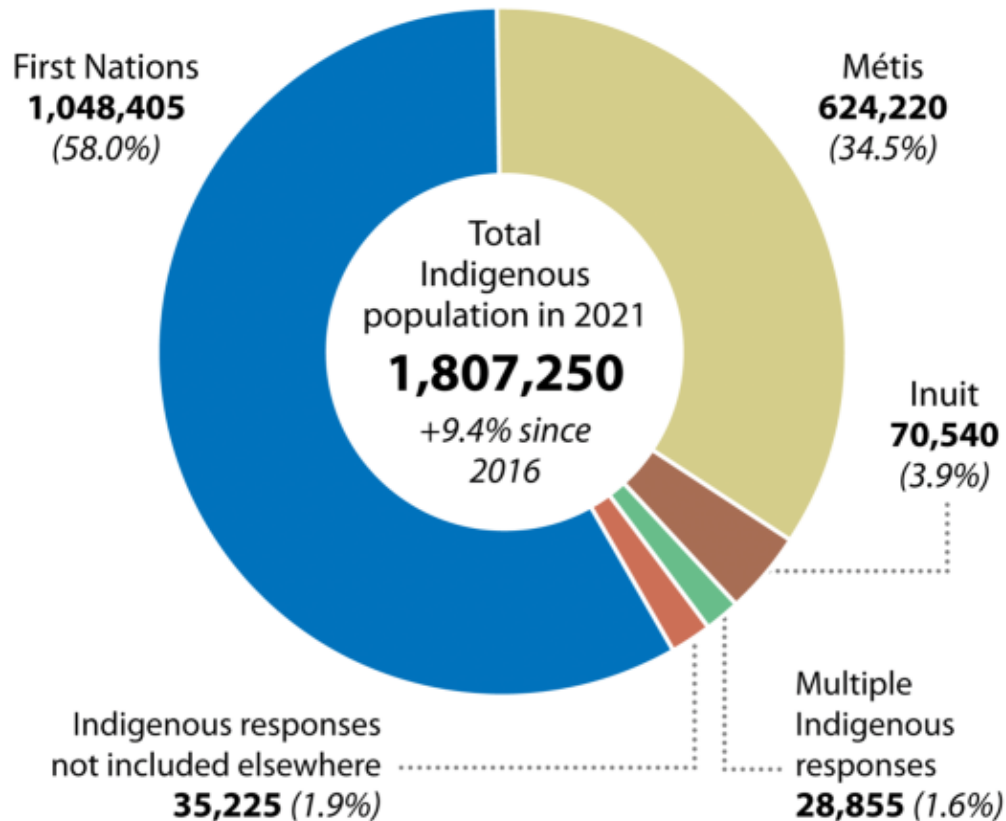
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It may be distressing to think about past and ongoing stress/trauma and how it has affected you, your family, and community

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Indigenous peoples in Canada

CENSUS 2021: Indigenous population

A breakdown of the Indigenous identity population in Canada in 2021:

First Nations
1,048,405
(58.0%)

Métis
624,220
(34.5%)

Total
Indigenous
population in 2021
1,807,250
*+9.4% since
2016*

Inuit
70,540
(3.9%)

Indigenous responses
not included elsewhere
35,225 *(1.9%)*

Multiple
Indigenous
responses
28,855 *(1.6%)*

Many diverse Nations & Cultures

First Nations
Over 600 communities representing over
50 Nations and languages

Métis
Various groups representing Métis
Nationhood

Inuit
Four regions in Arctic / 51 communities

Colonial violence in Canada

- **Colonialism in Canada**

  - Getting rid of the "Indian Problem"

  - Massacres, Indian Act, broken treaties, stolen land, forced relocations, forced sterilizations, many more

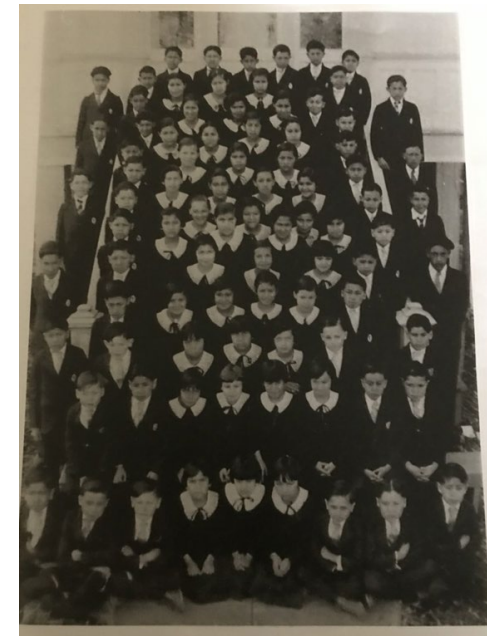- **Policies explicitly aimed at assimilation**

  - Laws prohibiting cultural practices and ceremonies

  - **Laws/policies targeting children**

    - **Indian Residential School system**

      - children deemed most suitable for "complete transformation"

    - **Sixties Scoop and ongoing systemic inequities in the Child Welfare system**

Exposing the harms of colonial violence

- **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), 1996**
  - Long-term negative effects of various aspects of colonialism
  - Health and social gaps relative to non-Indigenous population
  - Importance of culture-based healing practices
  - "*...tinkering with existing programs and services*" would not be enough to foster substantial improvements in the health of Indigenous peoples
  - Called for new and innovative approaches
  - Many of RCAP's recommendations were not implemented

- **Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), 2015**
  - Continued health/social gaps & intergenerational effects of colonialism
  - ***--Violent victimization and perpetration higher in some Indigenous communities***
  - Many of the same Calls to Action as RCAP

Knowledge about Indigenous peoples in Canada and blaming attitudes

"**It became clear over the course of the Commission's work that most adult Canadians have been taught little or nothing about the residential schools**..."

"…. **the poverty and social dysfunction in Aboriginal communities were emphasized without any historical context** to help students understand how or why these conditions came about. **This omission has left most Canadians with the view that Aboriginal people were and are to blame for the situations in which they find themselves**, as though there were no external causes. Aboriginal peoples have therefore been characterized as a social and economic problem that must be solved."

TRC Final Report, 2015

Reports contradict Stephen Harper's view on aboriginal women victims

Prime minister said issue of missing, murdered aboriginal women is not "sociological phenomenon"

By Jennifer Ditchbum, The Canadian Press   Posted: Sep 03, 2014 3:16 PM ET | Last Updated: Sep 03, 2014 7:31 PM ET


Prime Minister Stephen Harper recently dismissed renewed calls for a national inquiry into missing and murdered aboriginal women such as Maisy Odjick (left) and Shannon Alexander (right). "We should not view this as a sociological phenomenon." said Harper. (Sean Kilpatrick/Canadian Press)

"Dozens of federal, provincial and community studies compiled by the Conservative government appear to contradict the prime minister's contention that the problem of missing and murdered aboriginal women isn't a 'sociological phenomenon'."

Social-ecological model of violence

- Centers for Disease control and Preventions (CDC) in the United States uses a four-level social-ecological model to better understand violence and the effect of potential prevention strategies.[1]
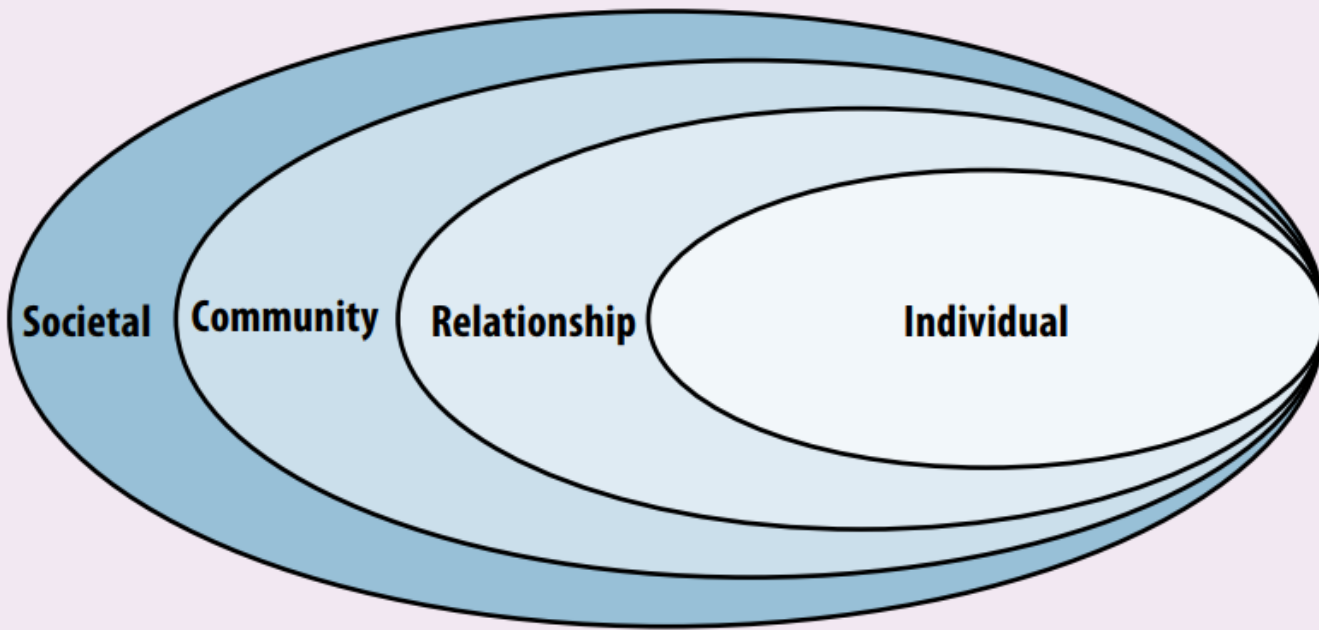
A CLOSER LOOK AT EACH LEVEL OF THE SEM

Individual
Identifies biological and personal history factors; such as age, education, income, substance use, or history of abuse, that increase the likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence.

Relationship
Examines close relationships that may increase the risk of experiencing violence as a victim or perpetrator. A person's closest social circle-peers, partners and family members-influences their behavior and contributes to their range of experience.

Community
Explores the settings, such as schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods, in which social relationships occur and seeks to identify the characteristics of these settings that are associated with becoming victims or perpetrators of violence.

Societal
Looks at the broad societal factors, such as health, economic, educational and social policies, that help create a climate in which violence is encouraged or inhibited and help to maintain economic or social inequalities between groups in society.

Societal | Community | Relationship | Individual

https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/overview/social-ecologicalmodel.html

Longitudinal predictors of domestic violence perpetration and victimization: A systematic review

Beth M. Costa [a] ✉, Christine E. Kaestle [b], Arlene Walker [a], Ashlee Curtis [a], Andrew Day [a], John W. Toumbourou [a], Peter Miller [a]
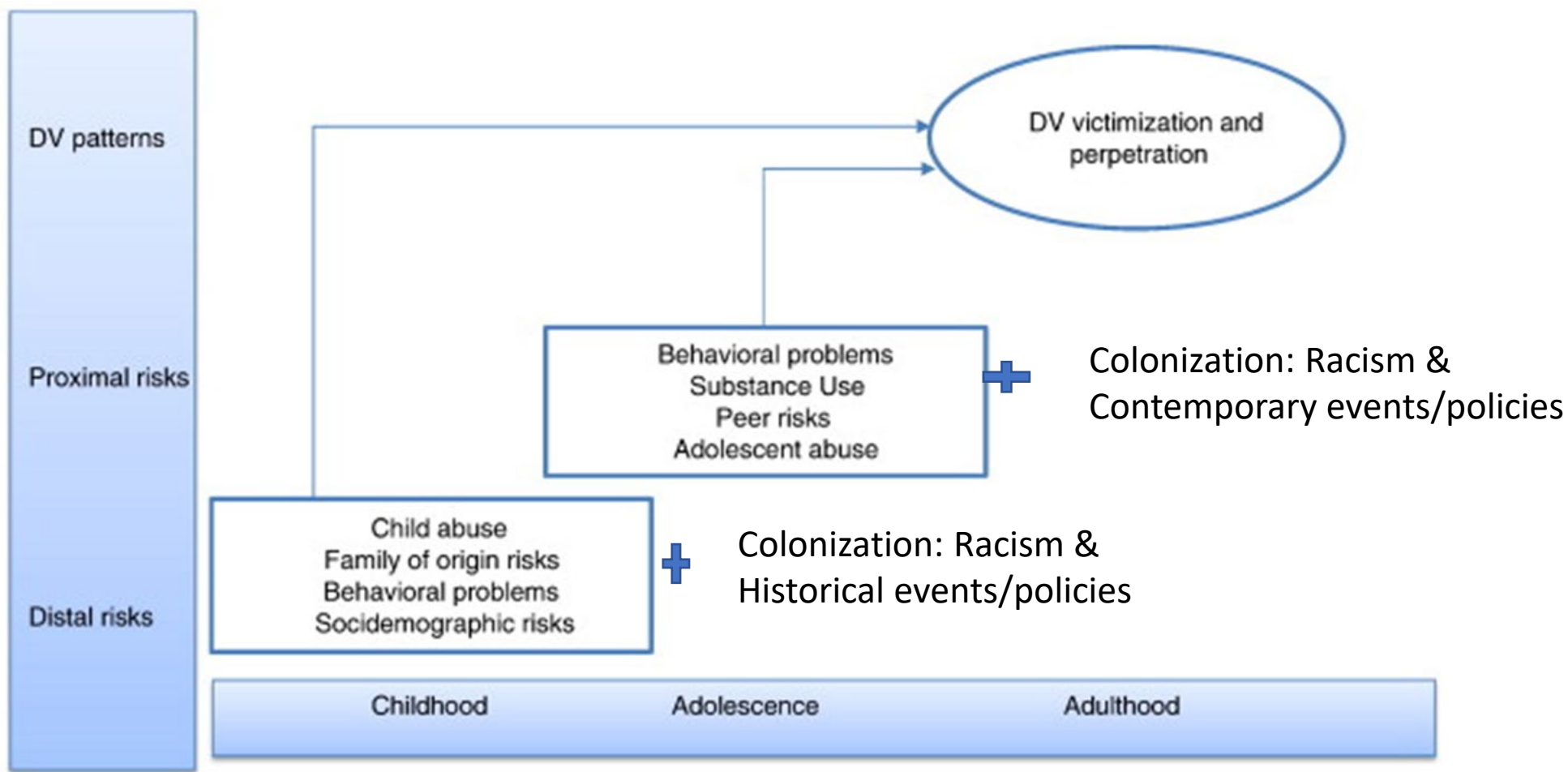
Racism in Justice System & Police forces

Shining Light on the Dark Places: Addressing Police Racism and Sexualized Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls in the National Inquiry

Pamela Palmater

PAM PALMATER ON MURDERED AND MISSING INDIGENOUS WOMEN & GIRLS
Root Causes, Public Discourse, and Call for a National Inquiry and Emergency Action Plan
Greg Macdougall

"Canada has had a long-standing problem with both societal and institutional racism against Indigenous peoples, especially within the justice system.

Numerous national inquiries, commissions, and investigations have all concluded that every level of the justice system has failed Indigenous peoples.

More recent inquiries indicate that racism against Indigenous peoples is particularly problematic in police forces in Canada… despite the evidence, little has been done in Canada to act on the recommendations.

This has resulted in the over-incarceration of Indigenous peoples, numerous deaths of Indigenous peoples in police custody, and the national crisis of thousands of murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls.

This article seeks to highlight the lesser-known problem of police-involved racialized and sexualized abuse and violence against Indigenous women and girls _as a root cause_ of the large numbers of murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls in Canada."

Residential Schools and Day Schools in Canada

- **Indian Day schools and Residential Schools over 2 centuries**

  - Early 1800s-1996: Indigenous children across Canada

  - "Take the Indian out of the child"

Thomas Moore before and after his entrance into the Regina Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan in 1874.
Library and Archives Canada / NL-022474

In speaking about the new legislation forcing First Nations children to attend in 1920, the DIA Deputy Minister Scott stated that **"I want to get rid of the Indian problem... That has been the whole purpose of Indian education and advancement since the earliest times... it is written in our law that the Indian was eventually to become enfranchised. Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian question, and no Indian Department. That is the whole object of this Bill".**

Residential Schools in Canada: Underfunding and widespread neglect

- **1907: Dr. Bryce described unhealthy conditions and neglect after visiting 35 residential schools between 1894 and 1908**

- Reported malnutrition, overcrowding, poor ventilation, and unsanitary conditions contributed to high instances of diseases.

- Almost all had tuberculosis cases and few indicated evidence of concern of dangers to other children. In one school that kept complete records, 76% of children died.

- He called for equitable access to tuberculosis treatment, noting that the budget for First Nations across Canada was much less than what was provided to the less populated city of Ottawa (as cited in Blackstock, 2016).

- **He concluded that "medical science knows just what to do" and implored for improved ventilation and to stop combining sick and healthy children.**

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Ottawa

Ottawa doctor who sounded alarm on residential schools remembered with exhibit

'It puts a red hot poker stick into this myth that people in the period didn't know any better back then'

CBC Radio's Ottawa Morning · CBC News · Posted: Jun 02, 2017 11:31 AM EDT | Last Updated: June 2, 2017

Dr. Peter Bryce's work to expose conditions at residential schools is the subject of an exhibition that opens Saturday at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in downtown Ottawa. (Peter Campbell)
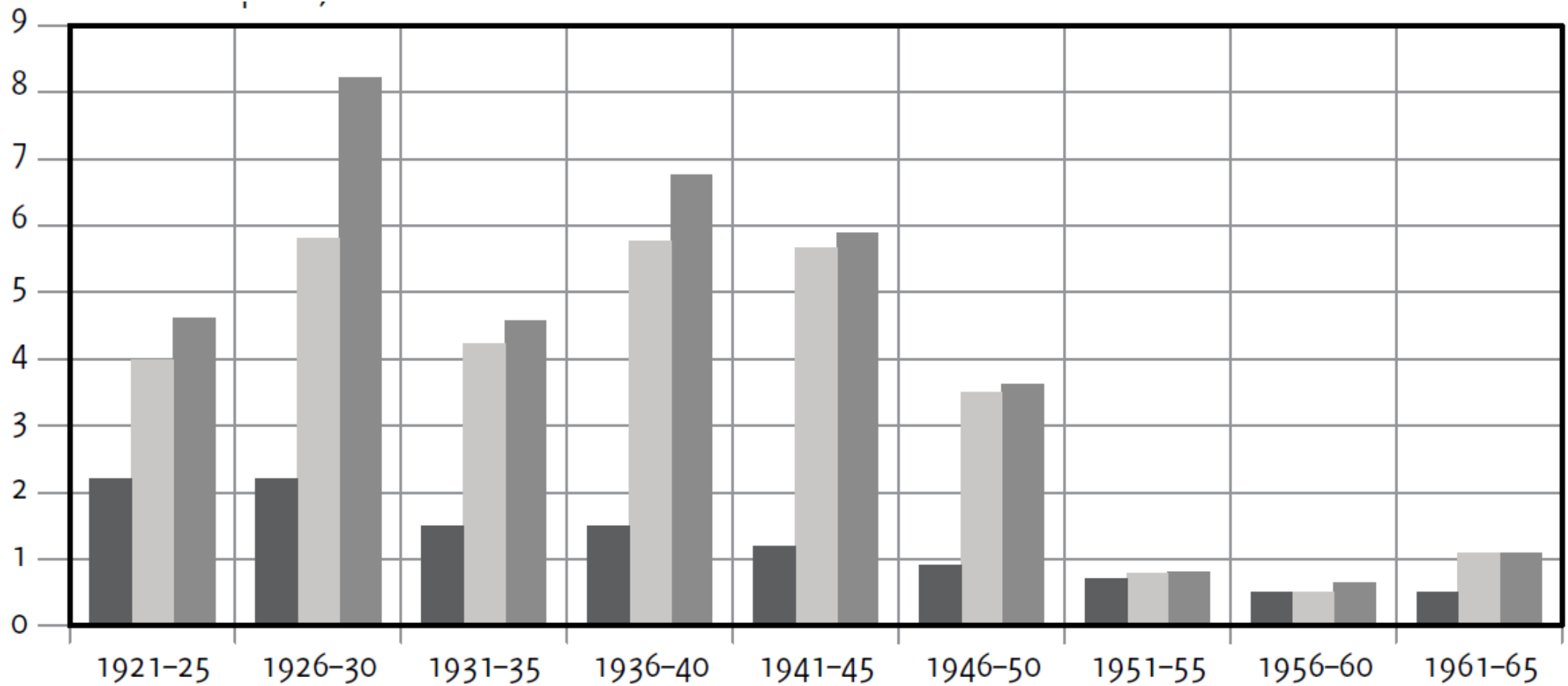
Source: Fraser, Vital Statistics and Health, Table B35-50, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/section-b/4147437-eng.htm; Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths," 13.

Generations of children exposed to chronic abuse, neglect, and other adversities attending "Indian" Schools

- Residential School experiences
  - Separated from families, community, culture
  - Widespread abuse & neglect – 6000+ children died
  - Cultural denial and shaming

2008-10: Proportion of First Nations (on-reserve) Survivors who reported being negatively affected by adversities while at RS
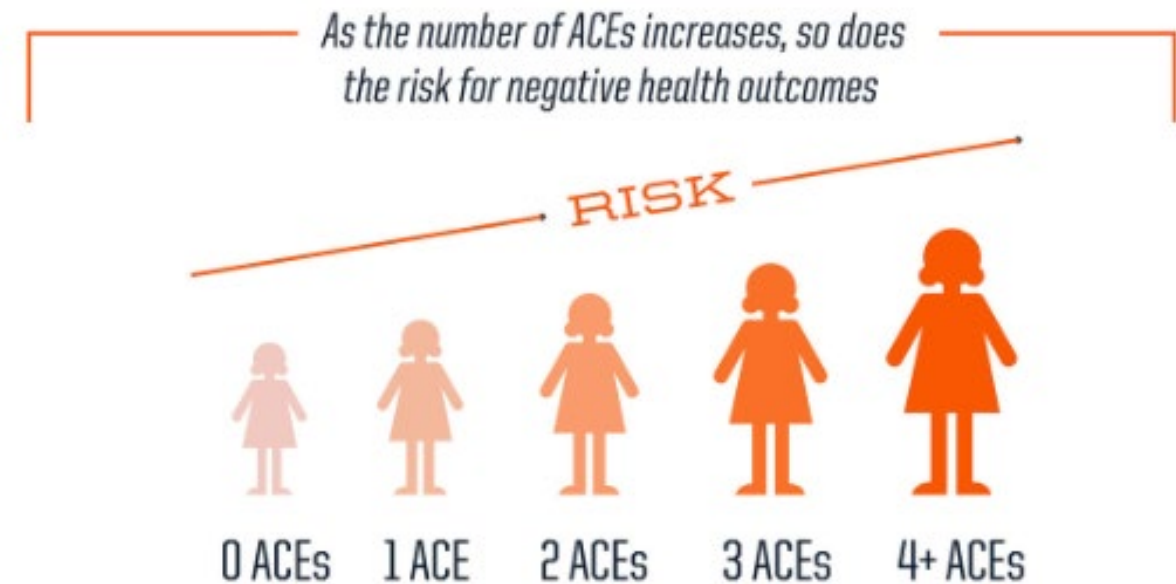
■ 3+ years ■ 0 to 2 years

Adversity	3+ years	0 to 2 years
Loss of Language	66.5%	56.0%
Loss of traditional spirituality	69.0%	47.9%
Loss of cultural identity	74.2%	59.0%
Sexual Abuse	41.2%	32.1%
Bullying from other children	66.4%	59.3%
Physical Abuse	72.7%	65.5%
Witnessing Abuse	72.9%	47.3%
Harsh Discipline	75.6%	56.9%
Emotional/Verbal Abuse	80.5%	58.8%
Lack of proper clothing	40.9%	31.6%
Lack of food	46.7%	32.0%
Harsh living conditions	49.5%	35.4%
Poor education	50.2%	37.1%

Health and Social Effects of Early Life Adversity

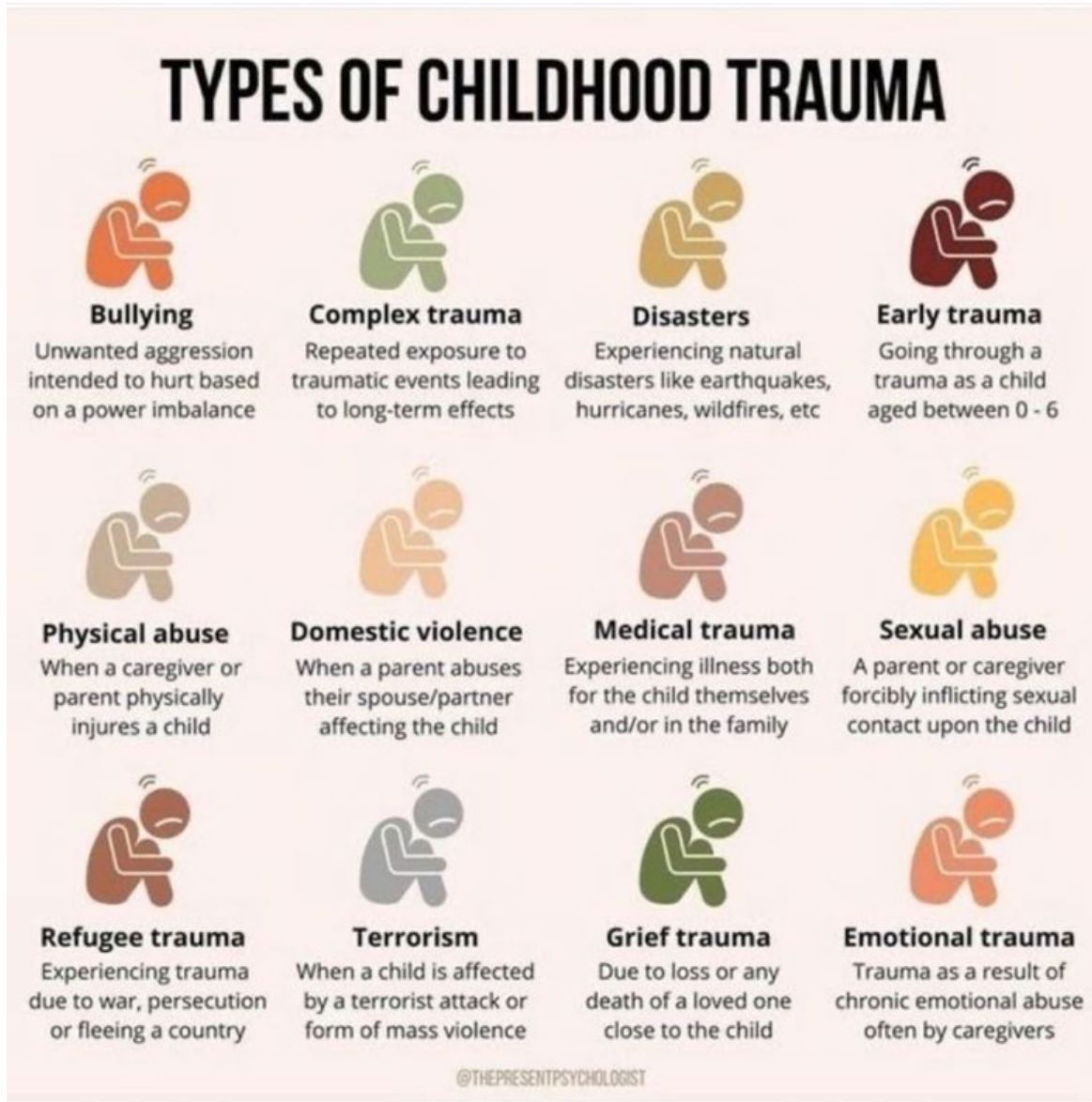**Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study in the United States**

17000 middle class, middle-aged Americans

- Emotional Abuse
- Physical Abuse
- Sexual Abuse
- Emotional Neglect
- Physical Neglect

- Domestic Violence
- Household Substance Abuse
- Household Mental Illness
- Parental Separation/Divorce
- Incarcerated Household Member

▪ Asked if they had experienced any of 10 ACEs before age 18

→ Prevalent across diversity of populations

As the number of ACEs increases, so does the risk for negative health outcomes

RISK

0 ACEs   1 ACE   2 ACEs   3 ACEs   4+ ACEs

http://www.cdc.gov/ace/index.htm

Cumulative exposure to adverse childhood experiences & negative outcomes

TYPES OF CHILDHOOD TRAUMA

Bullying
Unwanted aggression intended to hurt based on a power imbalance

Complex trauma
Repeated exposure to traumatic events leading to long-term effects

Disasters
Experiencing natural disasters like earthquakes, hurricanes, wildfires, etc

Early trauma
Going through a trauma as a child aged between 0 - 6

Physical abuse
When a caregiver or parent physically injures a child

Domestic violence
When a parent abuses their spouse/partner affecting the child

Medical trauma
Experiencing illness both for the child themselves and/or in the family

Sexual abuse
A parent or caregiver forcibly inflicting sexual contact upon the child

Refugee trauma
Experiencing trauma due to war, persecution or fleeing a country

Terrorism
When a child is affected by a terrorist attack or form of mass violence

Grief trauma
Due to loss or any death of a loved one close to the child

Emotional trauma
Trauma as a result of chronic emotional abuse often by caregivers

@THEPRESENTPSYCHOLOGIST

- **Physical & Mental health outcomes**
- Fetal death
- Ischemic heart disease
- Liver disease
- Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease
- Sexually transmitted disease
- Depression and Suicide attempts

- **Social/Behavioural outcomes**
- Indicators for impaired work performance
- Adolescent pregnancy
- Smoking & early initiation of smoking
- Early initiation of sexual activity
- **Delinquent behavior**
- **Violence perpetration & victimization**
- **Justice system involvement**

Effects of Adverse Childhood Experiences in Childhood

- **Adverse childhood experiences cumulatively linked with outcomes that begin to manifest in childhood/adolescence**:

  - depressed mood, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms, risk-taking behavior, early pregnancy, eating disorders, weight problems, substance use, physical health outcomes, sexually transmitted disease treatment, suicide attempts, mental health treatment (Flaherty et al., 2013)

  - **aggression, violence, delinquency, anti-social behaviour, gang involvement, sex offending, involvement in criminal justice system**

- Increasing exposure also associated with greater *range* of symptoms and/or diagnoses - comorbid illnesses (Anda et al., 2006; Copeland et al., 2007).

- **Complex trauma → aggression - emotional regulation, cognition, depressive, anxiety, dissociative symptoms** (D'Andrea et al., 2012; Finkelhor et al., 2009).
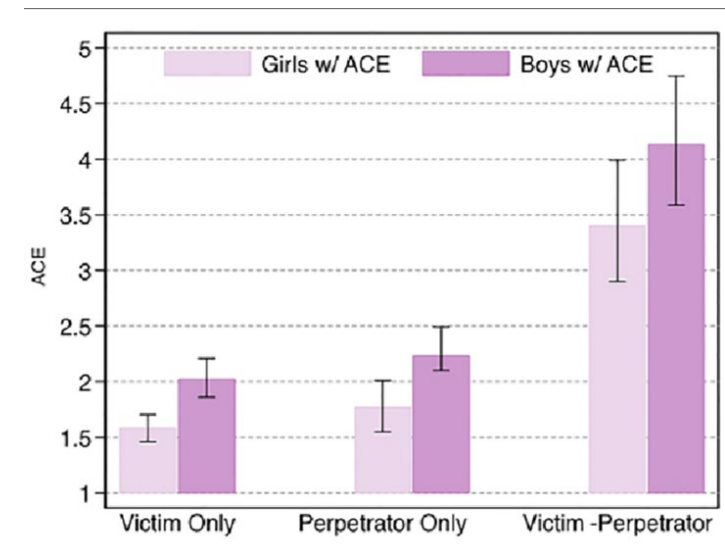
Cumulative exposure to adverse childhood experiences & negative outcomes

- Although ACEs are an important precursor of offending behaviors, it is important to note that not all who encounter adversity engage in criminal behavior

- Many youth exposed to adversity do not develop negative health, social, and behavioral outcomes --pointing to the importance of other conditions that can affect how youth respond to ACEs and whether they engage in delinquency
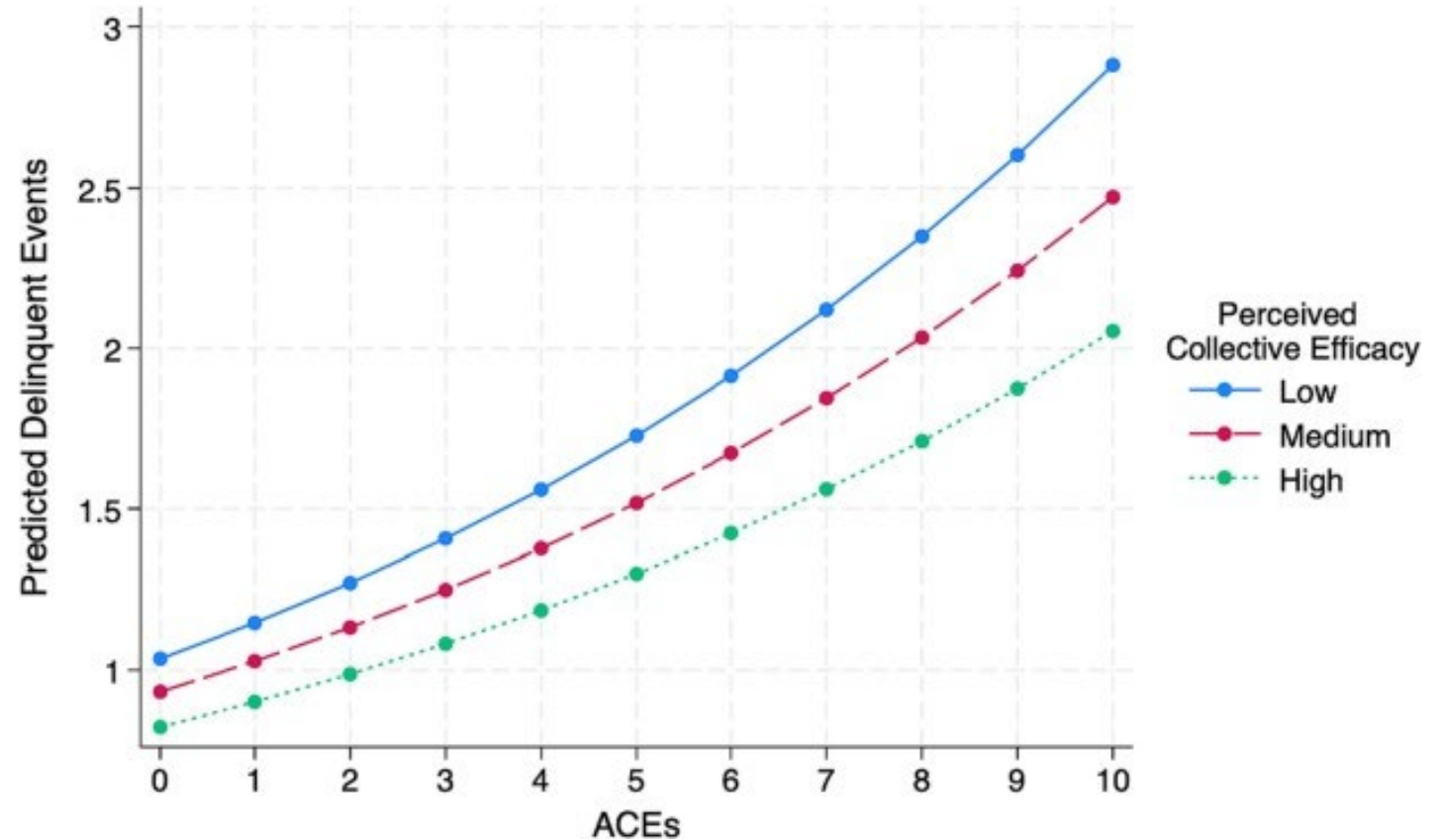
Lateral violence in Residential Schools: Student-to-student abuse

- Survivors being named as peer abusers by other Survivors
- Comments in Media:
  - "wasn't anticipated" (Puxley, 2009)
  - "unexpected" (Narine, 2011)
  - "bizarre" (Curry, 2010)

- Qualitative study exploring student-to-student abuse in IRSs conducted among 43 health service providers who have worked with IRS Survivors

- Addressed several questions:
  - Nature and prevalence of student-to-student abuse
  - Factors that contributed to student-to-student abuse
  - Effects of on those abused
  - Effects on those who perpetrated abuse
  - Collective effects in communities

ORIGINS OF LATERAL VIOLENCE IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF STUDENT-TO-STUDENT ABUSE IN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Aboriginal Healing Foundation

Peer violence common across populations and in Residential Care Settings

Bullying and peer violence among children and adolescents in residential care settings: A review of the literature

Angela Mazzone, Annalaura Nocentini, Ersilia Menesini

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Highlights

- A review of bullying and peer violence in residential care was conducted.

- Bullying and peer violence among institutionalized children are wide-spread phenomena.

- Peer hierarchies are associated with bullying and peer violence.

- Poor social bond with professionals and anti-grassing culture increase bullying and peer violence.

- Poly victimization increases the risk for behavioral and psychological problems.

Sexual abuse of children and youth in residential care: An international review

Margaretha C. Timmerman, Pauline R. Schreuder

This paper reports the results of an international review of academic literature on sexual abuse in residential child and youth care, 1945–2011. The review focusses on questions related to the nature and scope of sexual abuse, on personal and institutional factors providing either protection or risk, and on how residential institutions have responded to signals of sexual abuse. Empirical research did not appear until the 1990s, and is still scarce. A variety of research designs and of definitions of sexual abuse obscure the prevalence of sexual abuse in residential care. Sexual abuse by peers is often overlooked, while this accounts for almost half of the known cases. Histories of sexual abuse prior to placement, group dynamics, institutional culture and insufficient knowledge of professionals on how to address issues of sexuality, appear to be crucial factors in peer abuse. Gender also plays a significant role: most, though not all, victims are females, most, though not all, perpetrators are males. Instead of understanding sexual abuse as a phenomenon related to individual characteristics, it is important to address both institutional factors (culture) and group dynamics in order to provide children in residential homes with the care they need.

✚ in context of colonization, racism and forced removals

Nature and Characteristics of abuse at Residential Schools

- 80% of service providers indicated they heard reports of student-to-student abuse from clients, and many revealed that it was equally likely to be raised than was staff-to-student abuse

- Of 19 (44.2%) service providers who had seen over 100 clients
  - 100% heard reports of staff abuse
  - Student-to-student abuse equally likely to be raised

- **Physical/emotional abuse in context of daily bullying**
  - Sometimes perpetrated by groups/gangs formed on the basis of cultural differences and community rivalries

- **Sexual abuse less often – but not uncommon**

ORIGINS OF LATERAL VIOLENCE IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF STUDENT-TO-STUDENT ABUSE IN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Aboriginal Healing Foundation
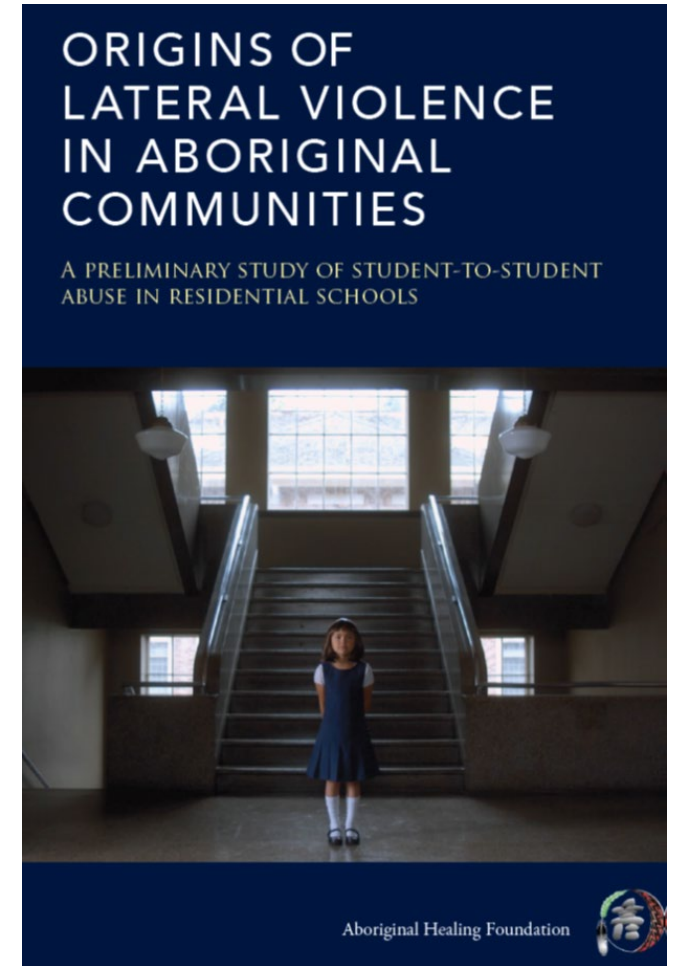
Contributing factors to student-to-student abuse: The residential school context

Step 1: isolate children from normal socialization processes

- Children removed from parents, community, and cultural traditions/teachings

Step 2: create punitive and deprived living conditions

- Administer arbitrary and unpredictable sexual, emotional, physical abuse

- Humiliate & denigrate cultural features & practices

- Deprive food, clothing, basics, health care

- **"When they saw staff physically abusing another student, at first they would tell other staff. But then nothing would happen, so they had no one to tell. So they would just stop trying to tell other people. They would go to the head of the school and they were told that they were lying, and that it was not true, and that the staff wouldn't do that.** A lot of them were told that when they tried to tell someone about it."

- Even among those who were not victimized themselves, "witnessing other students abused by other students would affect the witnesses and withhold their reactions out of fear as they were almost totally helpless."

Step 3: foster aggression and abuse between students

- dissolution of a valued and protective identity
  - Explicit cultural shaming and racism

Thomas Moore before and after his entrance into the Regina Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan in 1874.
Library and Archives Canada / NL-022474

- division between perpetrators (become tied to staff) and victims

"because of the restrictive and abusive environments in the schools, the kids often were forced to identify with their aggressors, and displace and release their hurt and anger on their younger and weaker peers…. they would hit them or steal their stuff so they could feel like they were in control of something."

Step 3: foster aggression and abuse between students

- Traumatic reactions to early life complex trauma

"Young children who are processing a traumatic event, they process information by playing it out and re-enacting it. **So with young kids that are abused, the percentage of re-enacting on other students is very high**… **It [abuse] was common [in Residential School] and I think it was a typically traumatic re-enactment… This is how children react to trauma**; that is how they try to make sense of it. So of course it [the prevalence] is going to be high. Sexual abuse is not different than any other traumatic event, which is also re-enacted.."

Step 3: Foster aggression and abuse between students

- Modelling and the normalization of abuse

As described by one participant, **being chronically abused at a young age "tends to make people think that it is normal [pause] I can think of some men that simply thought, 'Well, that is what you do with people**… This effect is amplified when "the witness[ing] of student abuse was part of a "normal" childhood experience."

Illustrating how the chronic bullying that took place between students affected the perception of Survivors, one counsellor comments on how they were "personally, a little surprised that they were so nonchalant about the student abuse, even though, you know, they got knocked around a lot by the older students."

Some clients, who were perpetrators both during and after residential school, thought that "being sexually abused … some felt it was normal."

"Abuse was normal in the school and the clients felt that other students [student perpetrators] were doing what they did because it was sanctioned … [by] staff, encouraged by staff, or learned from staff."

Step 3: Foster aggression and abuse between students

- Perpetrators were taught/encouraged by staff

Several share stories about how "**staff gave the student abuser permission to handle or deal with the children in any way to maintain control over the student**," and another describes how some were given "**encouragement by staff to act as enforcers**." This is described both in relation to bullying as well as to sexual abuse. For example, a counsellor describes how some "**kids were taught in residential school that, in the absence of having loving and caring parents, you can substitute it for sexual things with each other [pause] and that this was condoned or even taught to them at the school**."

"Supervisors groomed the children to be the abusers … and in return these bullies only did what they were taught. I know from my own experience, one of my abusers was a male supervisor. What he did to these boys was sexually abuse them [pause] and of course, these boys would comply to his demands. He ordered them to sexually abuse defenseless little girls. The boys complied because they were scared of him. As one fellow male student said to me, 'You suffered because of what we did to you, but we suffered also.' It is horrific as I think about it."

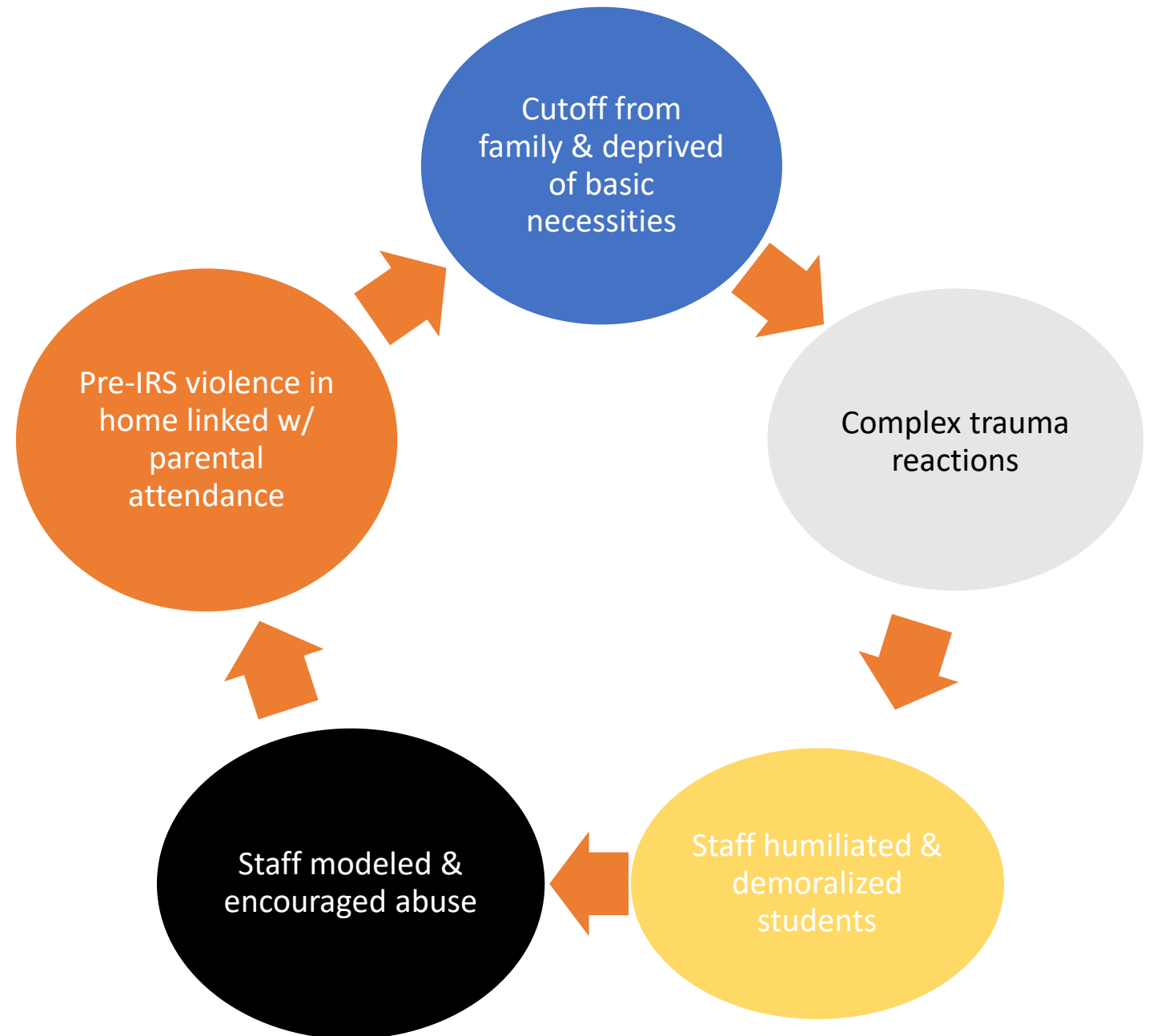# Step 4: Maintain segregation & marginalized status

- After years of 'schooling' return children back to their original community with neither traditional skills nor access to dominant group resources

- Victims and perpetrators sent back to same communities

- Effects of trauma and altered social norms (for instance, abuse seen as part of life)

"Fighting back was a way of saying, 'I'm not a victim'. Stealing was resilience. Lying was resilience"

IRS Context: Creating non-traditional identities and norms in which abuse is adaptive

"… the most dangerous people there were the other kids because their actions are a reflection of their pain."

Cutoff from family & deprived of basic necessities

Complex trauma reactions

Staff humiliated & demoralized students

Staff modeled & encouraged abuse

Pre-IRS violence in home linked w/ parental attendance

Effects of being abused by students (vs. staff)

- **Impact of Student-to-Student Abuse on Trust and Social Relationships**

"At the time it wasn't obvious of course, but when I think back, there was an inability to trust anyone after that [first student abuse experience]; even my own people … I remember as a child thinking, 'I should feel safer with my own kind' … I remember … I felt more angry at the adults, the White man, but then also feeling, 'How can this happen from own kind?'… more of a let-down feeling."

Effects on Survivors who were perpetrators in IRS

- **Normalization of Abuse**
- **Continued Perpetration of Abuse**

"**Some men that simply thought, well, that is what you do with people … we have a pool of older men who were mistreated as children, grew up as teens doing the same thing to other kids in residential school, so now they have become abusers.** Then they are out of the residential school setting [and] keep doing the same thing, get arrested and sent to jail, and they get very despairing because they think that they are innocent and are just not supposed to be there. And they almost always wind up in solitary confinement because they are on suicide watch."

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

- Commissioned by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation
  - Qualitative study conducted among 43 health service providers who have worked with IRS Survivors (2014)

- Question: Collective effects in communities – effects of abuse from staff versus other students

  - Silence regarding RS experiences and contemporary violence / abuse

"…it has not been safe for people to make those kind of disclosures in their own families and communities for fear of being ostracized and being told that they are lying and to stop making trouble."

ORIGINS OF LATERAL VIOLENCE IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

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Aboriginal Healing Foundation

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

- Collective effects in communities
  - Community relationships / lateral violence

"It is part of systematic way that people in power used to "teach" us [staff at residential school]. They were abusers. They had to make sure we also knew how to be abusers, not only of other people but to have hatred against ourselves. Abuse begat more abuse. Bullying was only one form of it. And today we see this in First Nations schools.

ORIGINS OF LATERAL VIOLENCE IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

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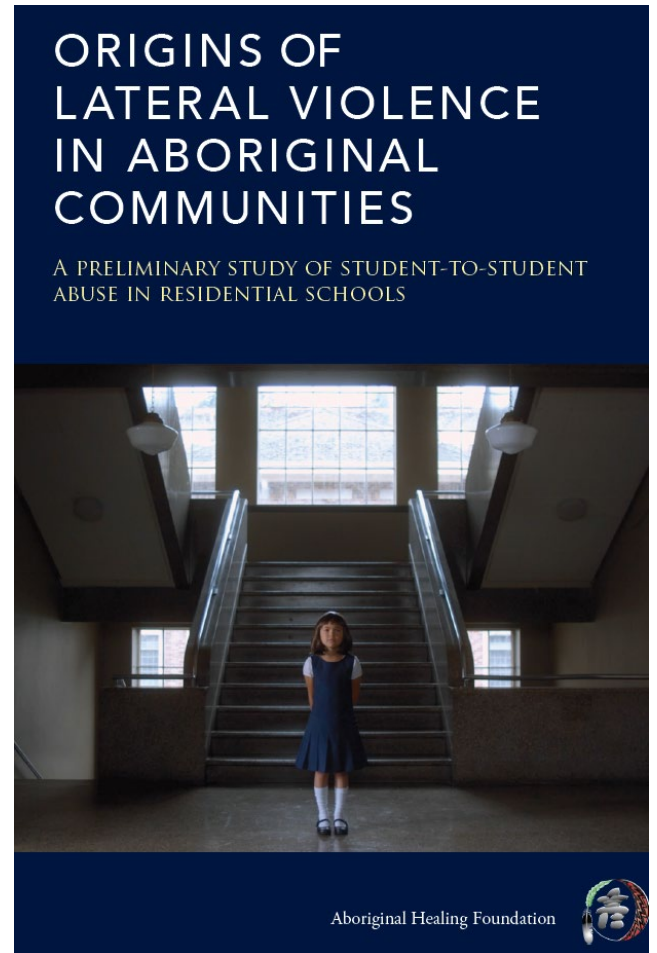
Indian Residential Schools: Long-term and intergenerational effects

- Residential school Survivors and their children/grandchildren at greater risk for negative health and social outcomes

First Nations Regional Health Survey (RHS)

Population-based data collected in First Nations communities

2008-10 National Report:
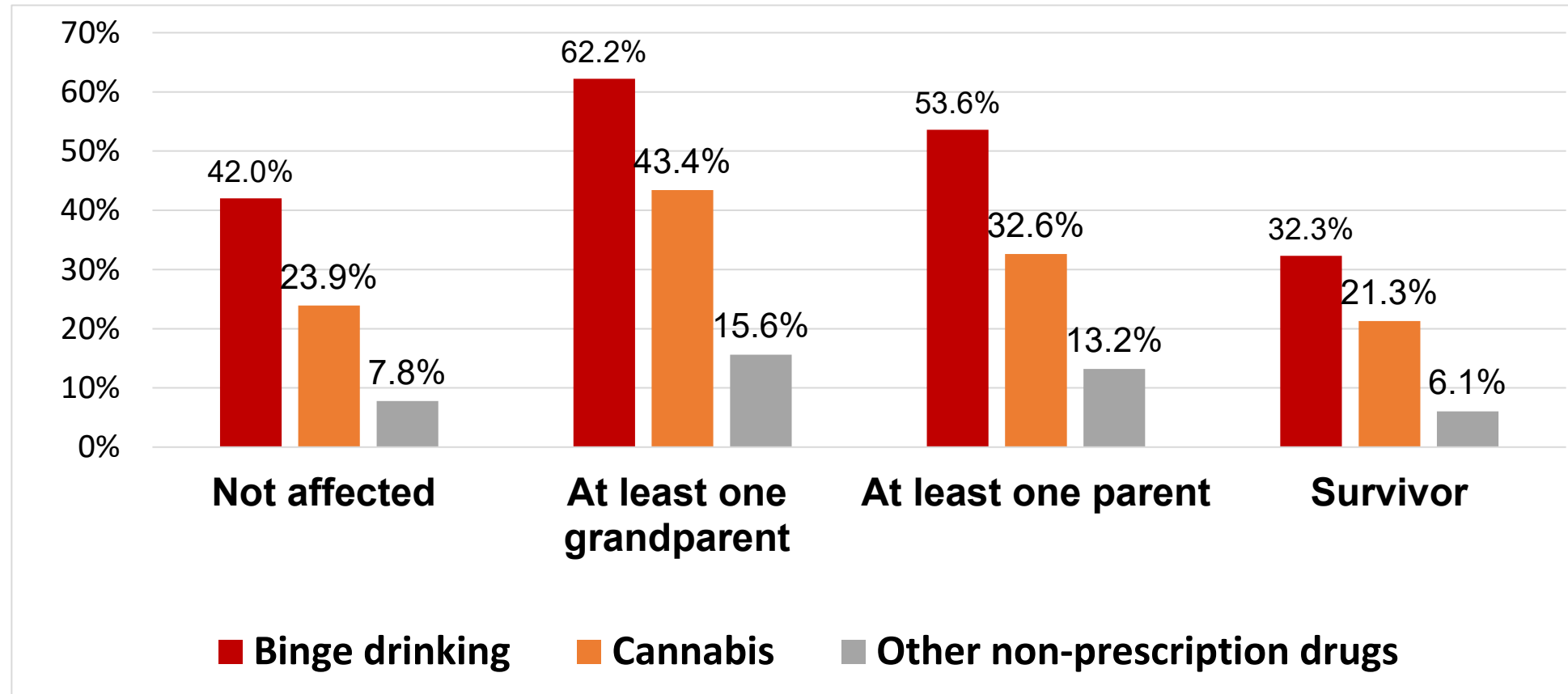**Proportion of adults with moderate or high psychological distress**

Bar chart:
- Non-Indigenous population: 33.5%
- Non-IRS: 40.6%
- Survivor: 55.8%
- At least one parent: 54.2%
- At least one grandparent: 54.5%

Bombay, A., Matheson, K., Yurkiewich, A., Thake, J., & Anisman, H., (2012). Adult personal wellness and safety. In First Nations Information Governance Centre (Eds.), First Nations Regional Health Survey (RHS) Phase 2 (2008/10) - National Report on Adults, Youth, and Children Living in First Nations Communities (pp. 212-228). Ottawa, ON: First Nations Information Governance Centre.

Indian Residential Schools: Long-term and intergenerational effects

2015/16 Adults

Proportion of First Nations adults reporting heavy alcohol use and frequent drug use, according to mutually exclusive categories of RS attendance

Bombay, A., McQuaid, R., & **Doria, N.** (2018). Indian Residential Schools. In First Nations Information Governance Centre (Eds.), National Report of the First Nations Regional Health Survey (RHS) Phase 3; Volume 1. Ottawa, ON: First Nations Information Governance Centre.

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

transcultural
psychiatry

Article

Non-representative national sample
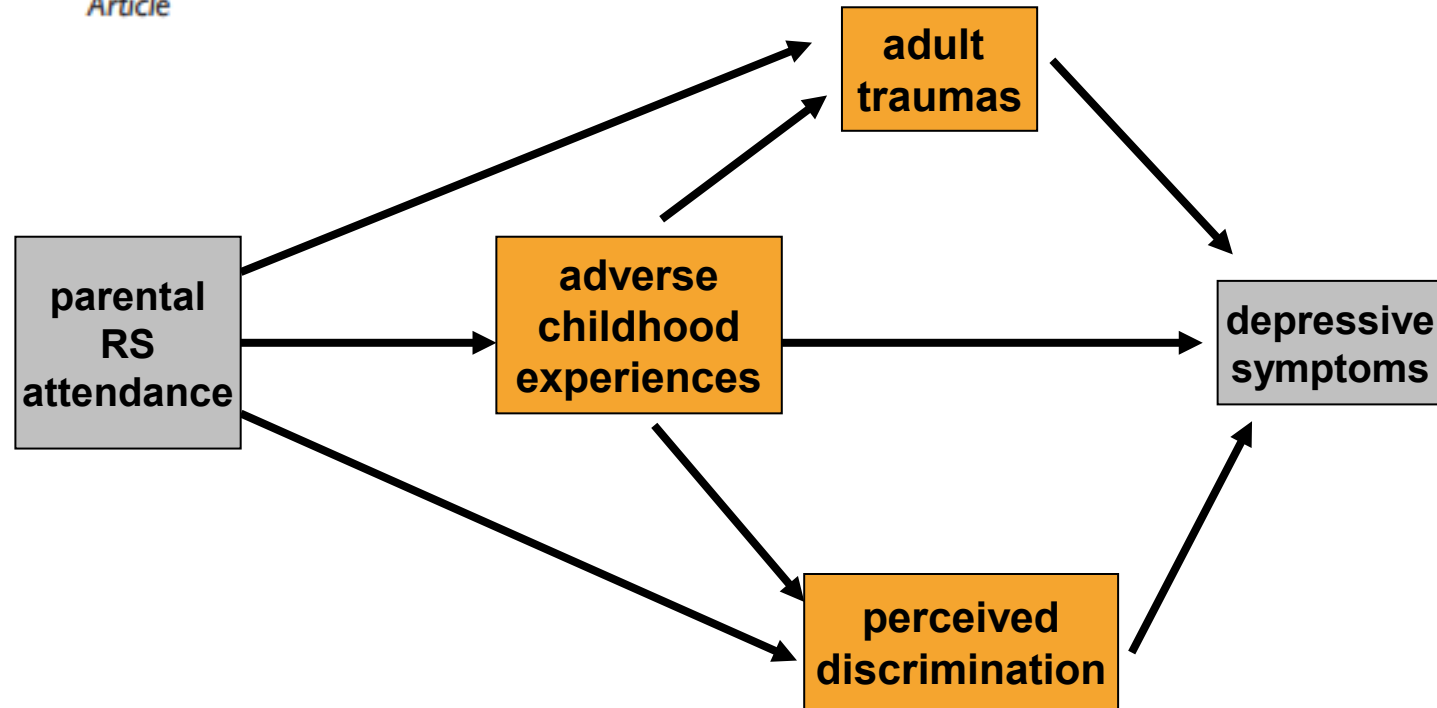
The impact of stressors on second generation Indian residential school survivors

Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman
Carleton University

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

Familial collective trauma history associated with vulnerability to effects of stressors and trauma
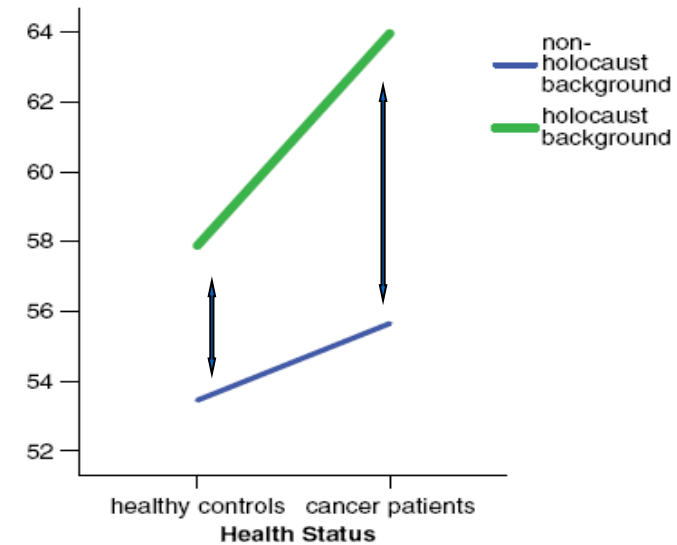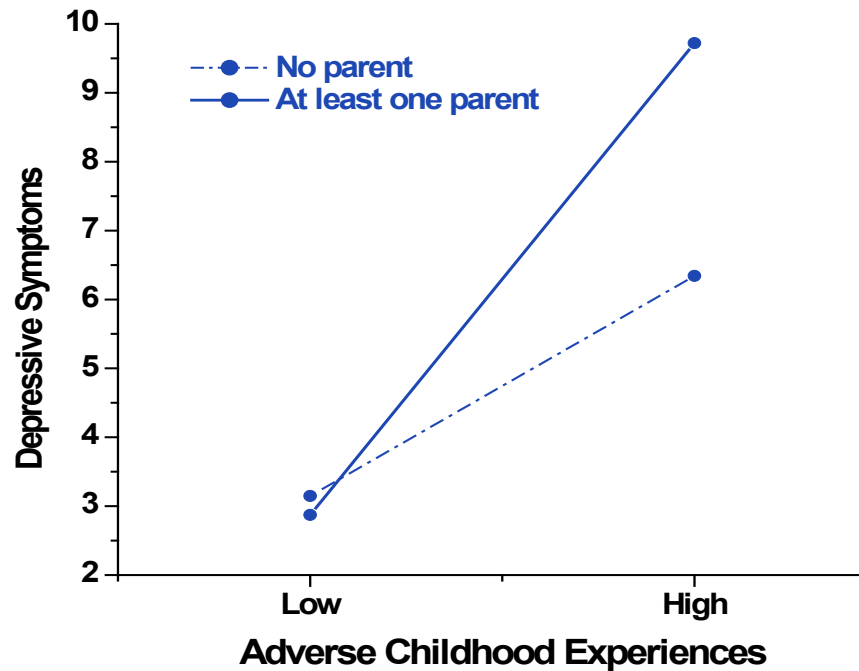
Figure 1. Mean depression level by health status and Holocaust background.

The impact of stressors on second generation Indian residential school survivors

Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman
Carleton University

Transmission of Response to Trauma? Second-Generation Holocaust Survivors' Reaction to Cancer

Lea Baider, Ph.D., Tamar Peretz, M.D., Pnina Ever Hadani, M.P.H., Shlomit Perry, M.S.W., Rita Avramov, M.P.H., and Atara Kaplan De-Nour, M.D.

Published Online: 1 Jun 2000

Indian Residential Schools: Long-term and intergenerational effects
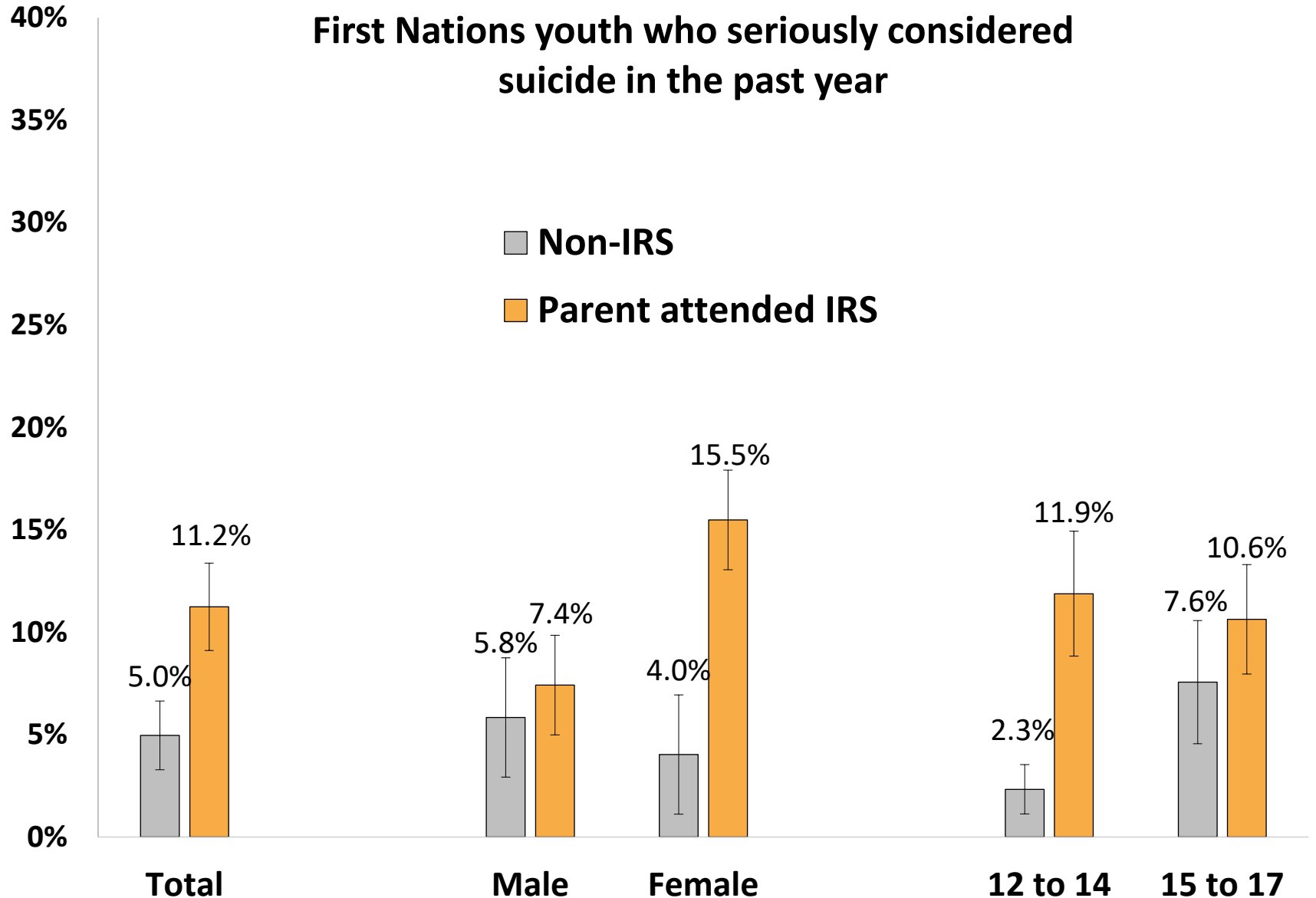
2008/10 Youth

FNIGC | CGIPN

Suicidal thoughts and attempts in First Nations communities: links to parental Indian residential school attendance

Journal of Developmental Origins of Health and Disease

2018

Bombay, A., McQuaid, R.J., Schwartz, F., Thomas, A., Anisman, H., & Matheson, K.

CIHR IRSC

First Nations youth who seriously considered suicide in the past year

□ Non-IRS
■ Parent attended IRS

Category	Non-IRS	Parent attended IRS
Total	5.0%	11.2%
Male	5.8%	7.4%
Female	4.0%	15.5%
12 to 14	2.3%	11.9%
15 to 17	7.6%	10.6%

Indian Residential Schools in Canada: Long-term and intergenerational effects

FNIGC | CGIPN

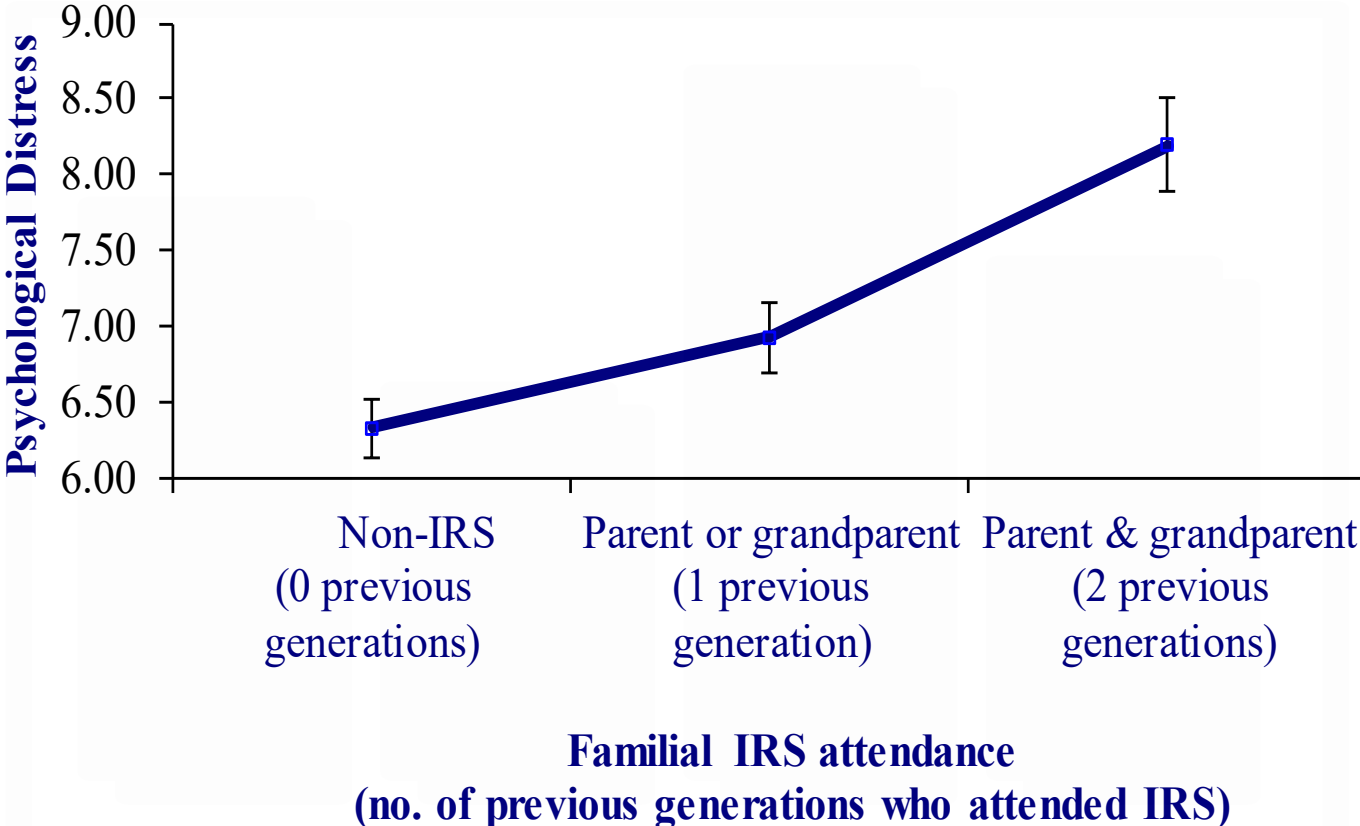The intergenerational effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the concept of historical trauma

Amy Bombay[1], Kimberly Matheson[2], and Hymie Anisman[2]

CIHR IRSC

Do intergenerational effects accumulate across generations?

Indian Residential Schools in Canada: Long-term and intergenerational effects

2008/10 Adults

FNIGC | CGIPN

Suicide Ideation and Attempts among First Nations Peoples Living On-Reserve in Canada: The Intergenerational and Cumulative Effects of Indian Residential Schools
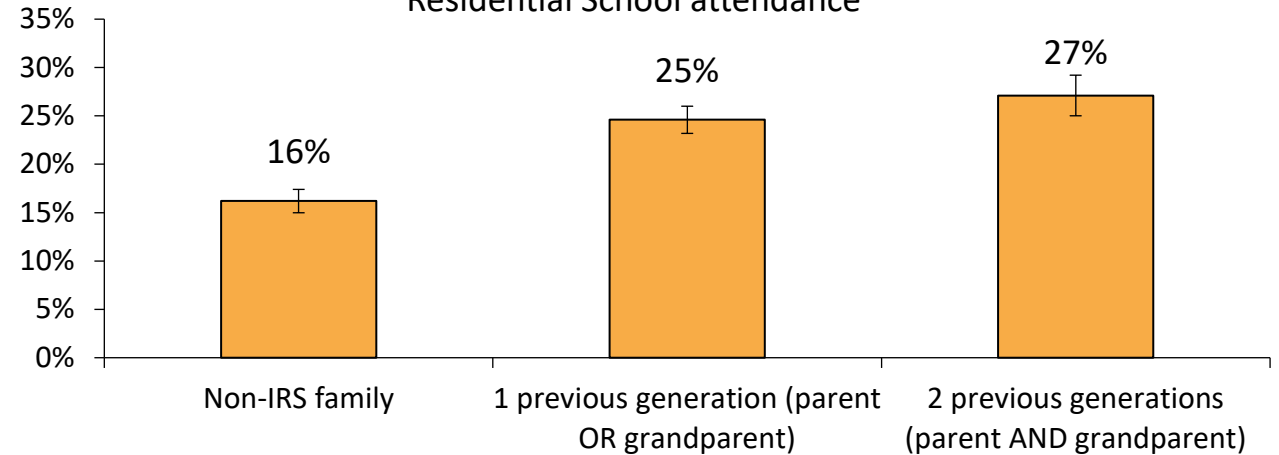
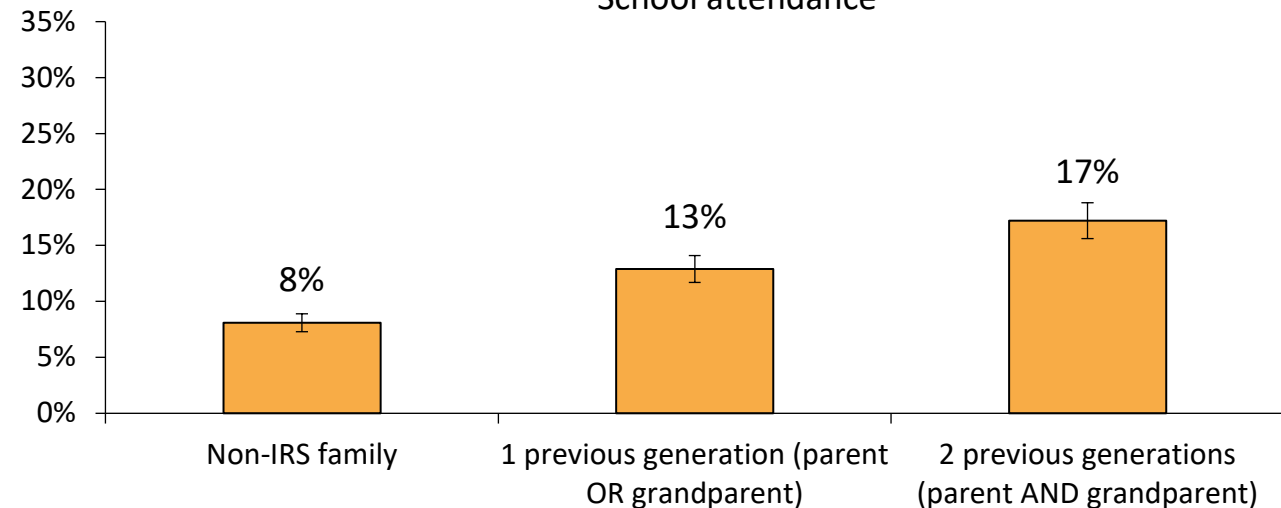**McQuaid, R.J., Bombay, A., McInnis, O.A., Humeny, C., Matheson, K. & Anisman, H.**
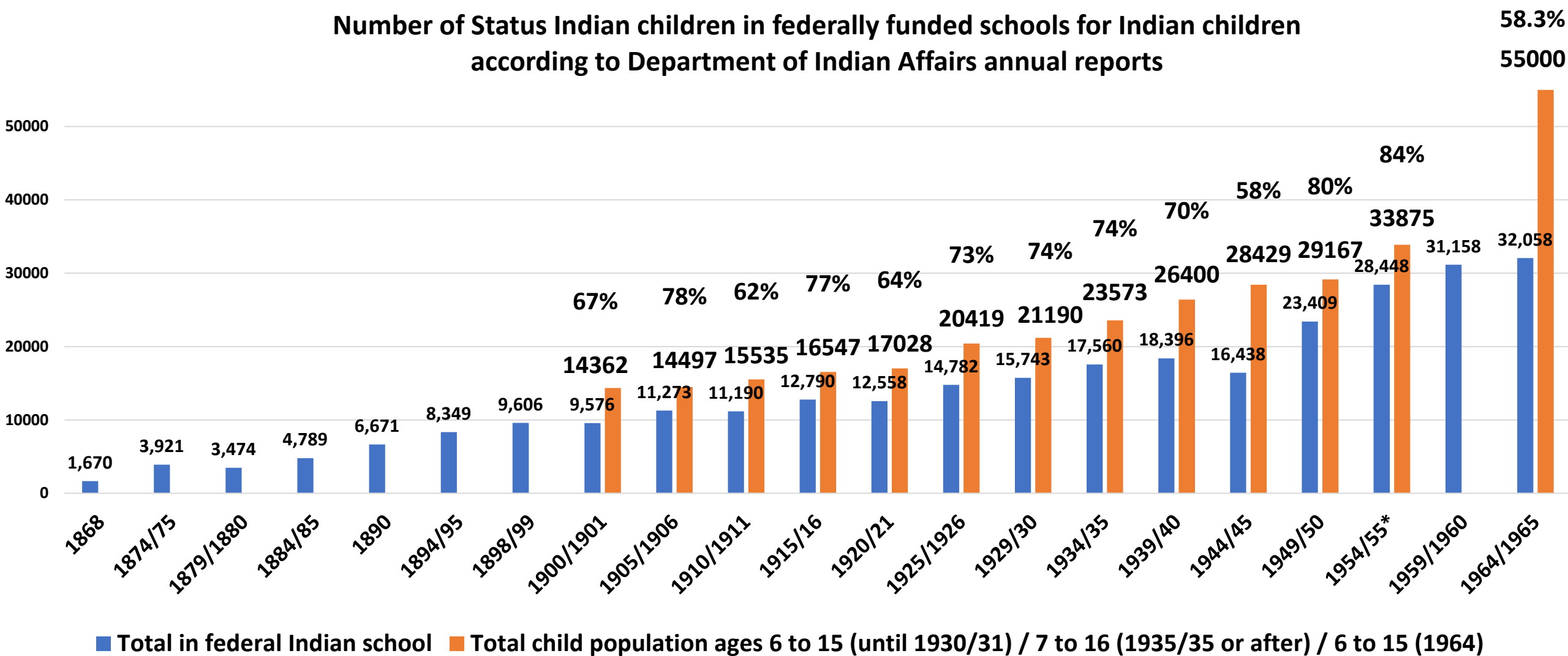
CIHR IRSC

First Nations adults who *seriously considered suicide* by familial Residential School attendance

First Nations adults who *attempted suicide* by familial Residential School attendance

Number of Status Indian children in federally funded schools for Indian children according to Department of Indian Affairs annual reports

Total in federal Indian school values: 1,670 (1868); 3,921 (1874/75); 3,474 (1879/1880); 4,789 (1884/85); 6,671 (1890); 8,349 (1894/95); 9,606 (1898/99); 9,576 (1900/1901); 11,273 (1905/1906); 11,190 (1910/1911); 12,790 (1915/16); 12,558 (1920/21); 14,782 (1925/1926); 15,743 (1929/30); 17,560 (1934/35); 18,396 (1939/40); 16,438 (1944/45); 23,409 (1949/50); 28,448 (1954/55*); 31,158 (1959/1960); 32,058 (1964/1965)

Total child population: 14362 67% (1900/1901); 14497 78% (1905/1906); 15535 62% (1910/1911); 16547 77% (1915/16); 17028 64% (1920/21); 20419 73% (1925/1926); 21190 74% (1929/30); 23573 74% (1934/35); 26400 70% (1939/40); 28429 58% (1944/45); 29167 80% (1949/50); 33875 84% (1954/55*); 55000 58.3% (1964/1965)

Legend: ■ Total in federal Indian school ■ Total child population ages 6 to 15 (until 1930/31) / 7 to 16 (1935/35 or after) / 6 to 15 (1964)

- The process of closing day and residential schools was slow
- Absolute numbers attending continued to increase through the 1960s due to the increasing size of the population and lobbying by churches - The last school closed in 1996
- Similar trauma experienced in Day Schools

Indian Residential Schools in Canada: Long-term and intergenerational effects

Adults, Youth, & Children (total population)

FNIGC | CGIPN

First Nations children, youth, and adults directly or intergenerationally affected by Residential Schools

2002/03	2008/10	2015/16
75.0%	77.7%	74.4%
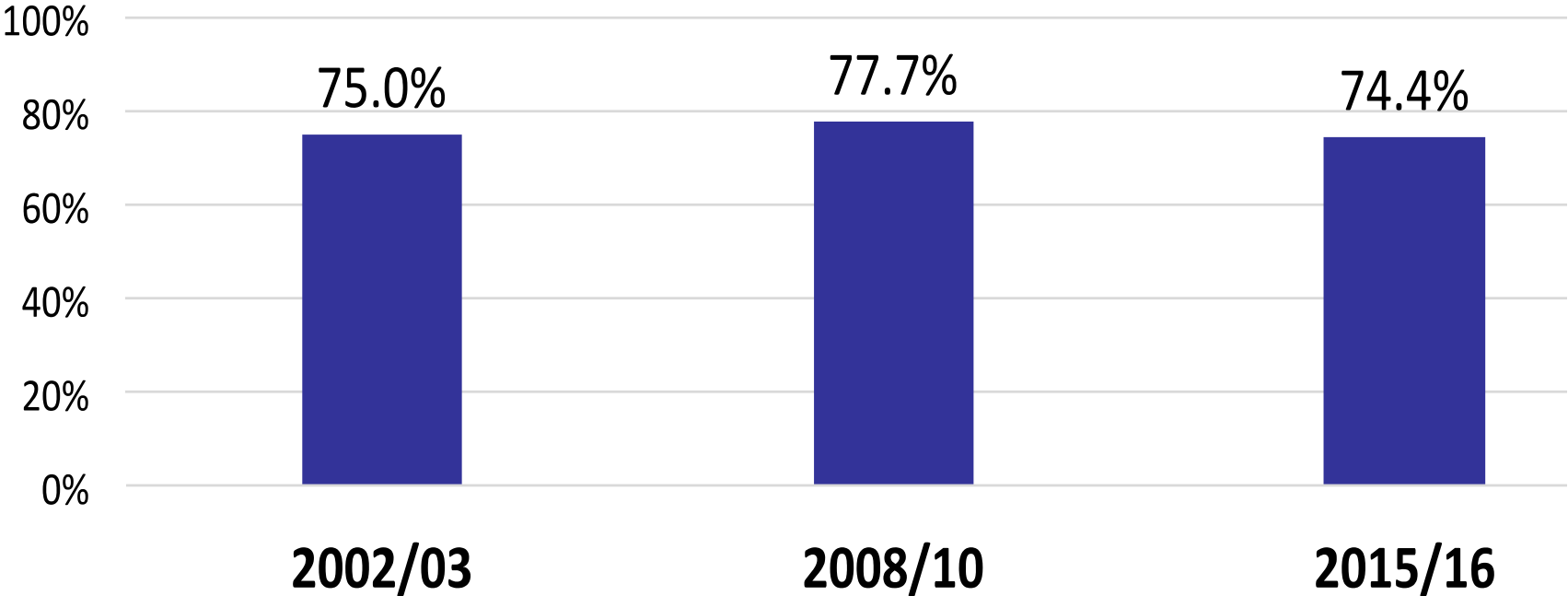
Bombay, A., Young, J., Anisman, H., & Matheson, K. (2019). Assessing the current needs for continued healing among Indigenous peoples in Canada: Responding to the legacy of the Indian residential school system and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Calls to Actions. Commissioned by FNIGC to submit to Indigenous Services Canada.

Indian Residential Schools : Long-term and intergenerational effects

Research in other populations:
Intergenerational effects of individual and collectively experienced stress/trauma

Intergenerational Transmission of Stress in Humans

Mallory E Bowers[1] and Rachel Yehuda*[1,2,3]

[1]Department of Psychiatry, Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai, NY, NY, USA; [2]Mental Health Care Center, James J. Peters Veterans Affairs Medical Center, Bronx, NY, USA; [3]Department of Neuroscience, Icahn School of Medicine at Mount, NY, NY, USA

Intergenerational health consequences of the 1959–1961 Great Famine on children in rural China

Qiang Li [a] ⊠, Lian An [b, 1] ⊠
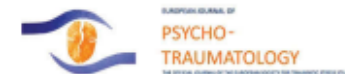
REVIEW ARTICLE

OPEN ACCESS

Intergenerational consequences of the Holocaust on offspring mental health: a systematic review of associated factors and mechanisms

Patricia Dashorst[a], Trudy M. Mooren[b,c], Rolf J. Kleber[b,c], Peter J. de Jong[d] and Rafaele J. C. Huntjens[d]
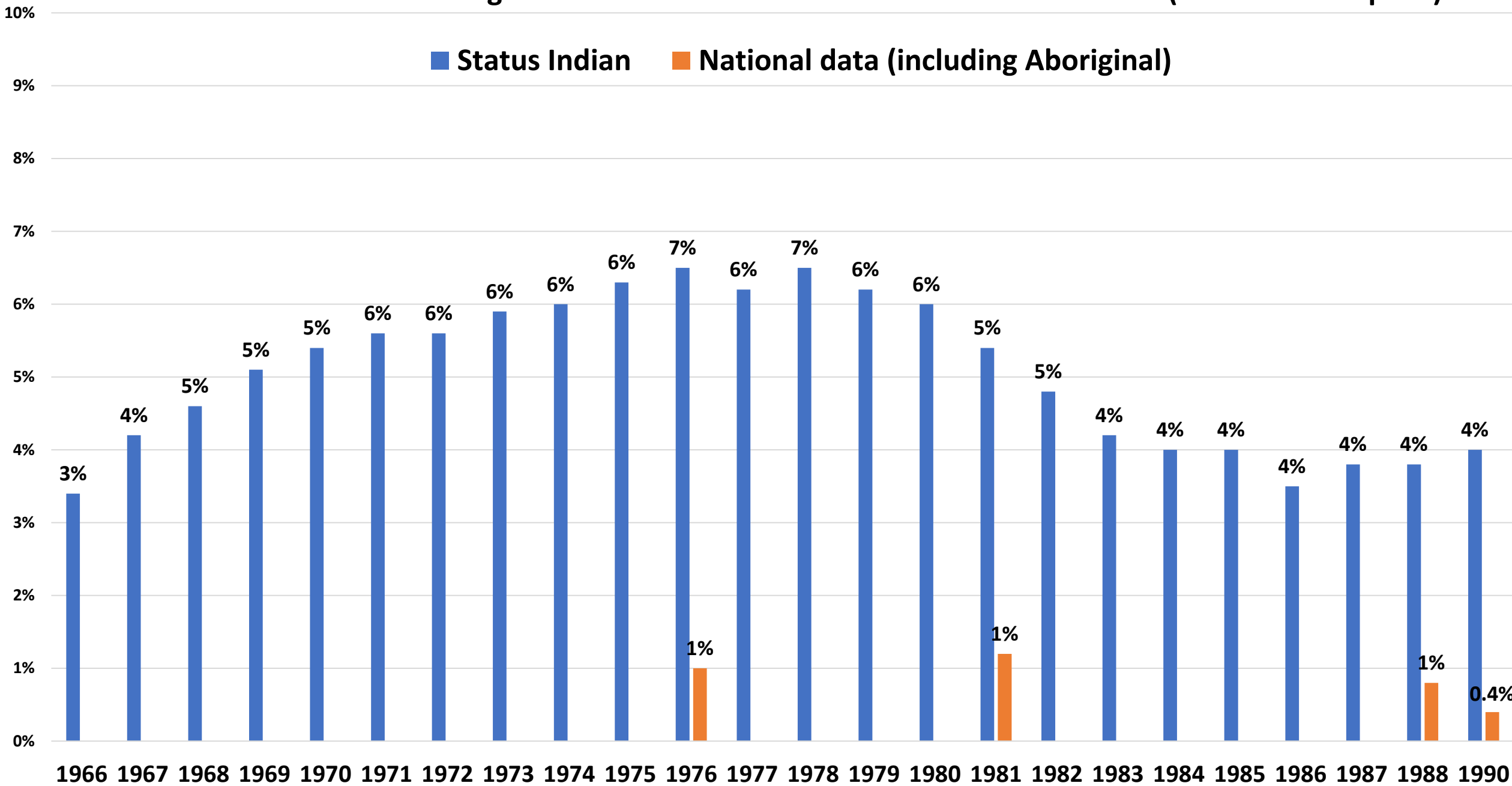
REVIEW PAPER

Intergenerational Trauma in Refugee Families: A Systematic Review

Cindy C. Sangalang[1] · Cindy Vang[2]

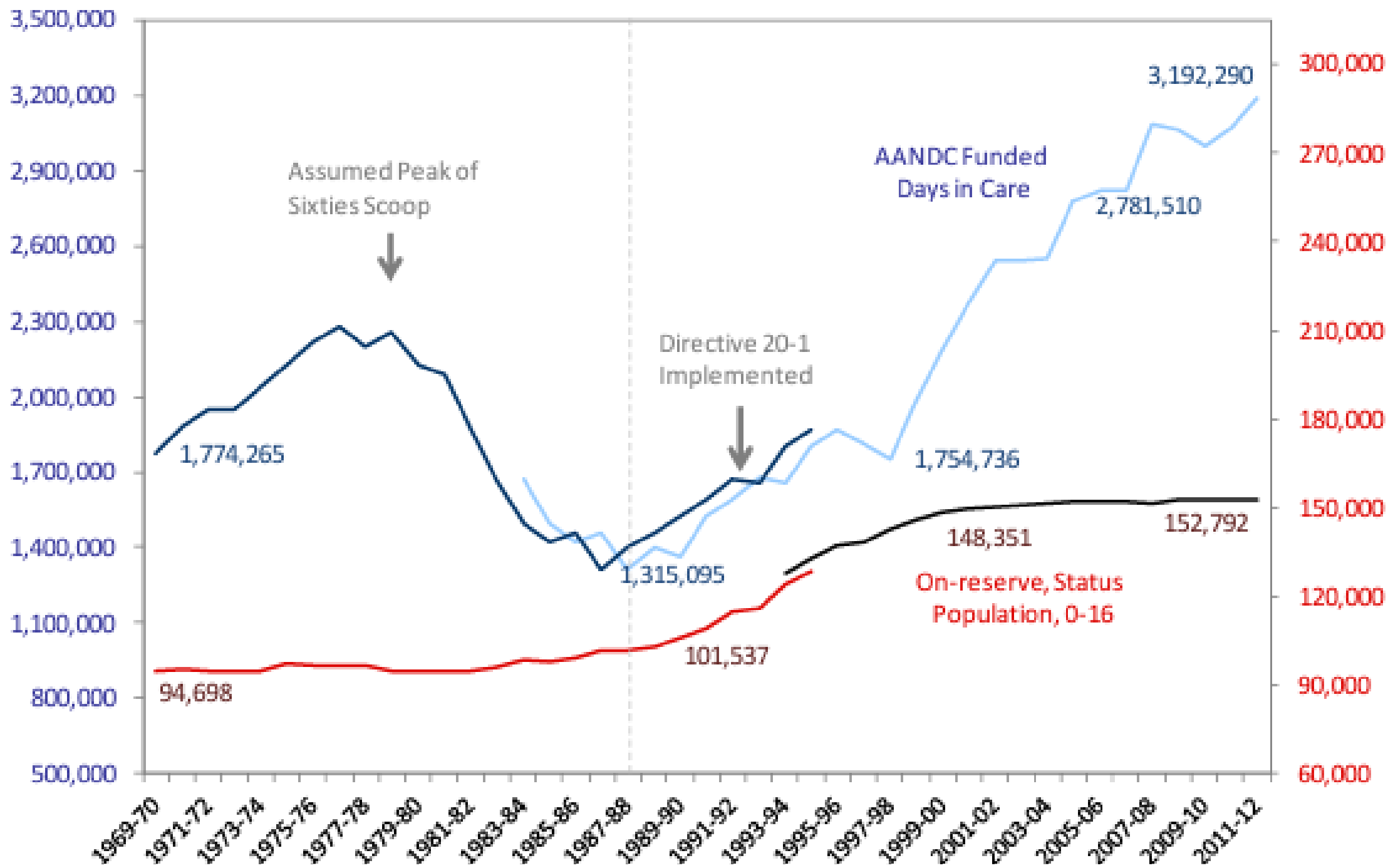# Percentage of Status Indian Children in Care of Government (as cited in Timpson)

■ Status Indian   ■ National data (including Aboriginal)

Year	Status Indian	National data (including Aboriginal)
1966	3%	
1967	4%	
1968	5%	
1969	5%	
1970	5%	
1971	6%	
1972	6%	
1973	6%	
1974	6%	
1975	6%	
1976	7%	1%
1977	6%	
1978	7%	
1979	6%	
1980	6%	
1981	5%	1%
1982	5%	
1983	4%	
1984	4%	
1985	4%	
1986	4%	
1987	4%	
1988	4%	1%
1990	4%	0.4%

The Sixties Scoop

- Although it was accepted in the professional social work community that apprehension should be the last resort, Indigenous children were particularly vulnerable to the harms of removal

- Johnston reported on how child apprehension had become the standard operating procedure for First Nations children.

- In his 1983 report, he described how provincial child-protection workers in BC used the term "Sixties Scoop" to refer to the increasing apprehension of Indigenous children.

- One social worker admitted that they "would, quite literally, scoop children from reserves on the slightest pretext."

- Quoting Hawthorn's 1966 report, Johnston concluded in that "the child welfare situation for Native people, with some exceptions, could still be described as varying from unsatisfactory to appalling".

Assumed Peak of Sixties Scoop

AANDC Funded Days in Care

Directive 20-1 Implemented

1,774,265

3,192,290

2,781,510

1,754,736

1,315,095

On-reserve, Status Population, 0-16

148,351

152,792

101,537

94,698
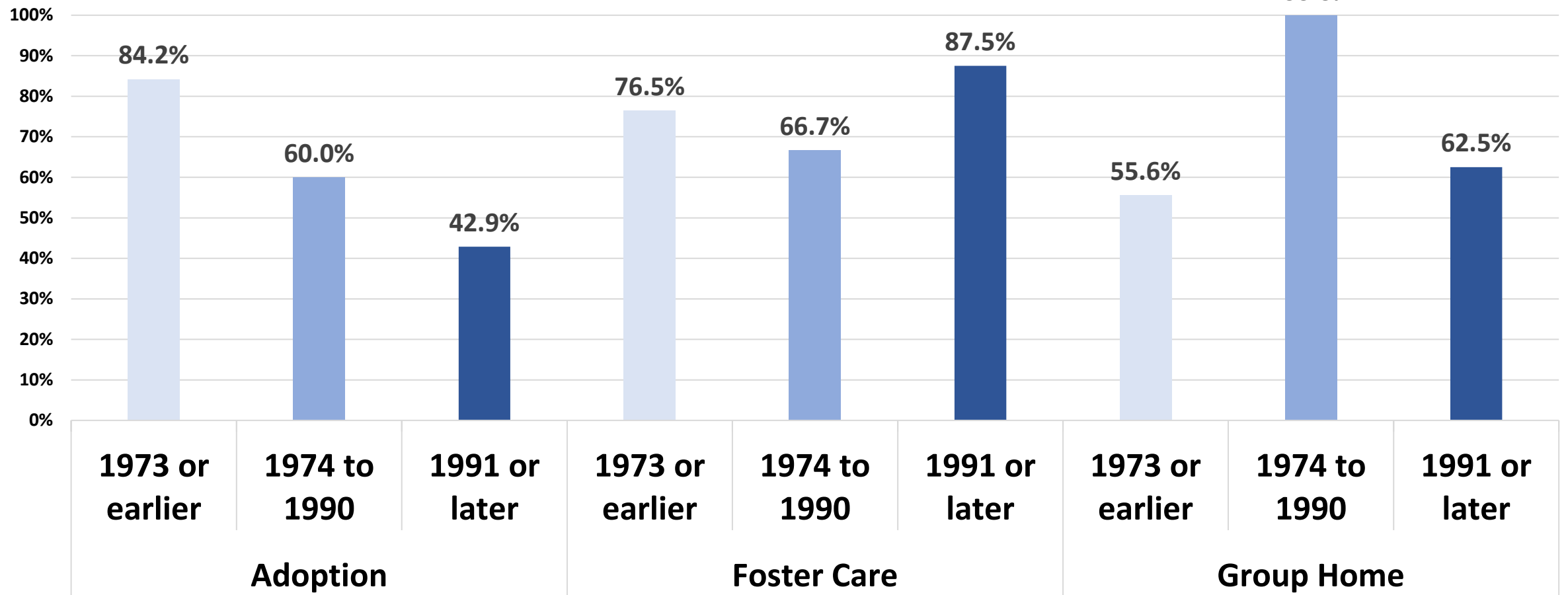
Extreme trauma of parental separation

From Timpson 1994

- The risk of damage by separation trauma through removal of children from their parents is viewed as more serious than most parental acts of omission or commission.

- If children are being removed from very dangerous situations of abuse or neglect, resources should be diverted to programs for treatment and prevention of abuse and neglect.

- If children are being removed inappropriately from parents, this must change. Whether the child is removed by a Native or non-Native agency, or placed in a Native home or non-Native home, the emotional damage of separation could be as damaging as the conditions leading to the need for care.
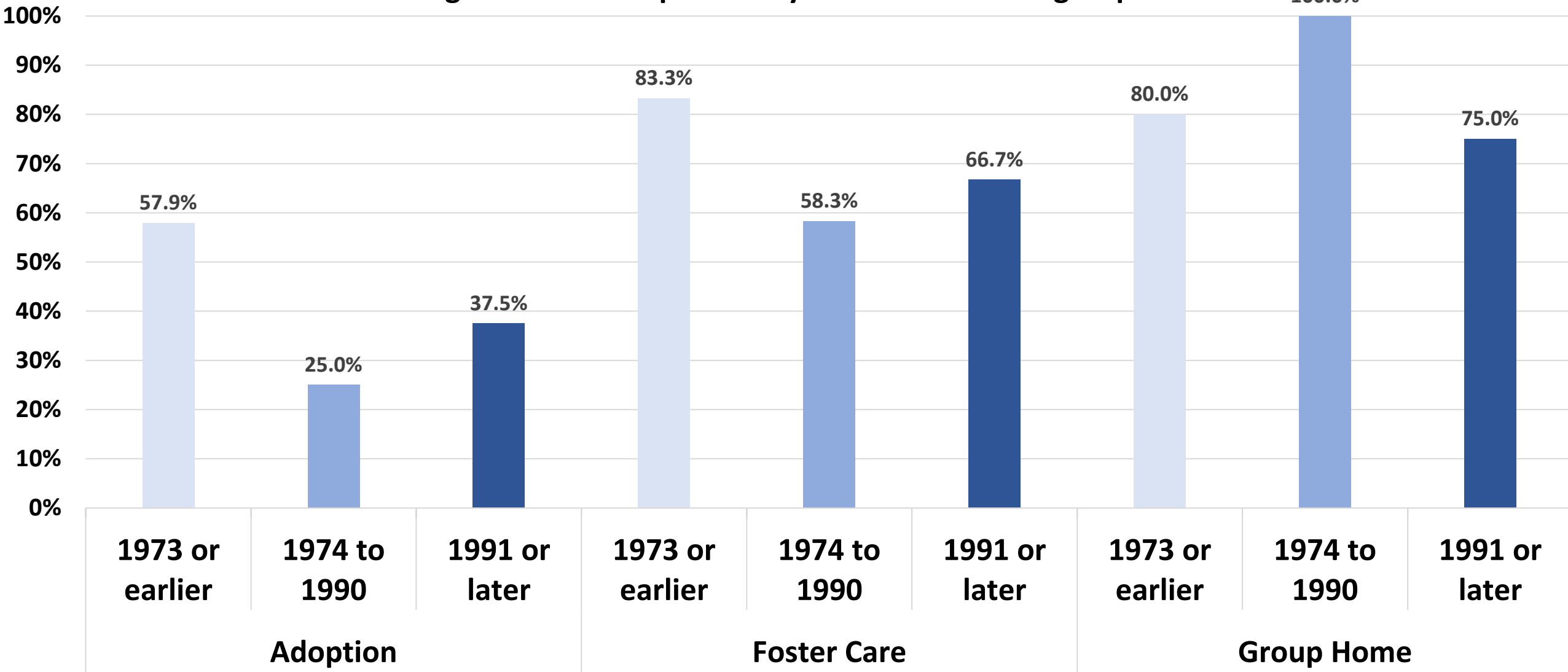
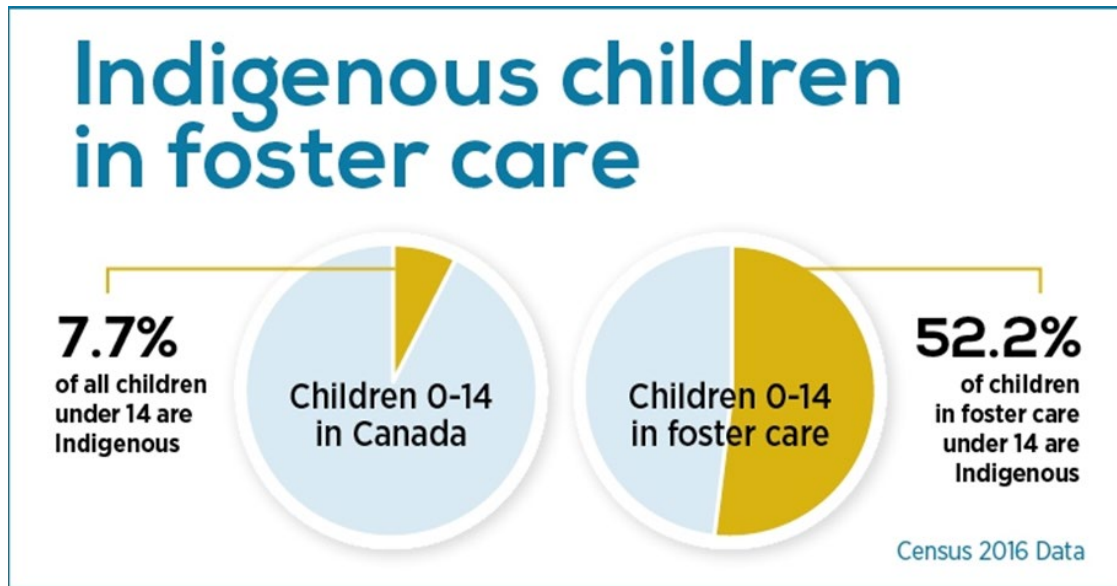# Indigenous Peoples in Manitoba: Child Welfare Experiences

Proportion who experienced <u>physical abuse</u> from caregiver in adoptive home or while under government responsibility in foster care or a group home

	Adoption			Foster Care			Group Home	
1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later	1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later	1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later
84.2%	60.0%	42.9%	76.5%	66.7%	87.5%	55.6%	100.0%	62.5%

Indigenous Peoples in Manitoba: Child Welfare Experiences

2.22. Proportion who experienced <u>racism</u> from caregiver in adoptive home or while under government responsibility in foster care or a group home

	Adoption			Foster Care			Group Home		
	1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later	1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later	1973 or earlier	1974 to 1990	1991 or later
Value	57.9%	25.0%	37.5%	83.3%	58.3%	66.7%	80.0%	100.0%	75.0%

Links between Residential Schools and other Collective Traumas

Does Risk Accumulate Across Different Collective Traumas?

Inequities in the child welfare system

Indigenous children in foster care

7.7% of all children under 14 are Indigenous — Children 0-14 in Canada

52.2% of children in foster care under 14 are Indigenous — Children 0-14 in foster care

Census 2016 Data

- Sixties Scoop (1950's-1990) & Child Welfare System
  - "Many have argued that the child welfare system through its large-scale removal of Aboriginal children from their families, culture, and communities be considered a continuation of the policies of forced assimilation of the residential school system"

    - Kirmayer et al., 2007 (also Chrisjohn & Young, 1997; Fournier & Crey, 1997; Sinclair, 2007, and more)

Links between the Residential School System & Child Welfare System

First Nations Child & Family Caring Society

Parent-Child Separations and Mental Health among First Nations and Métis Peoples in Canada: Links to Intergenerational Residential School Attendance

International Journal of *Environmental Research and Public Health*

CIHR IRSC

Proportion of youth who have been affected by CWS according to familial RS history

Non-representative sample of First Nations and Métis adults from across Canada

McQuaid, R.J., Schwartz, F.D., Blackstock, C., Matheson, K., Anisman, H., Bombay A. (2022).

Links between the Residential School System & Child Welfare System

Familial Attendance at Indian Residential School and Subsequent Involvement in the Child Welfare System Among Indigenous Adults Born During the Sixties Scoop Era

Amy Bombay,[a] Robyn J. McQuaid,[b] Janelle Young,[c] Vandna Sinha,[d] Vanessa Currie,[e] Hymie Anisman,[f] and Kim Matheson[f]

Figure 3

The Unstandardized Coefficients in the Mediation Model

Note. The coefficient in brackets represents the direct link without cumulative exposure to household risk factors in the model.
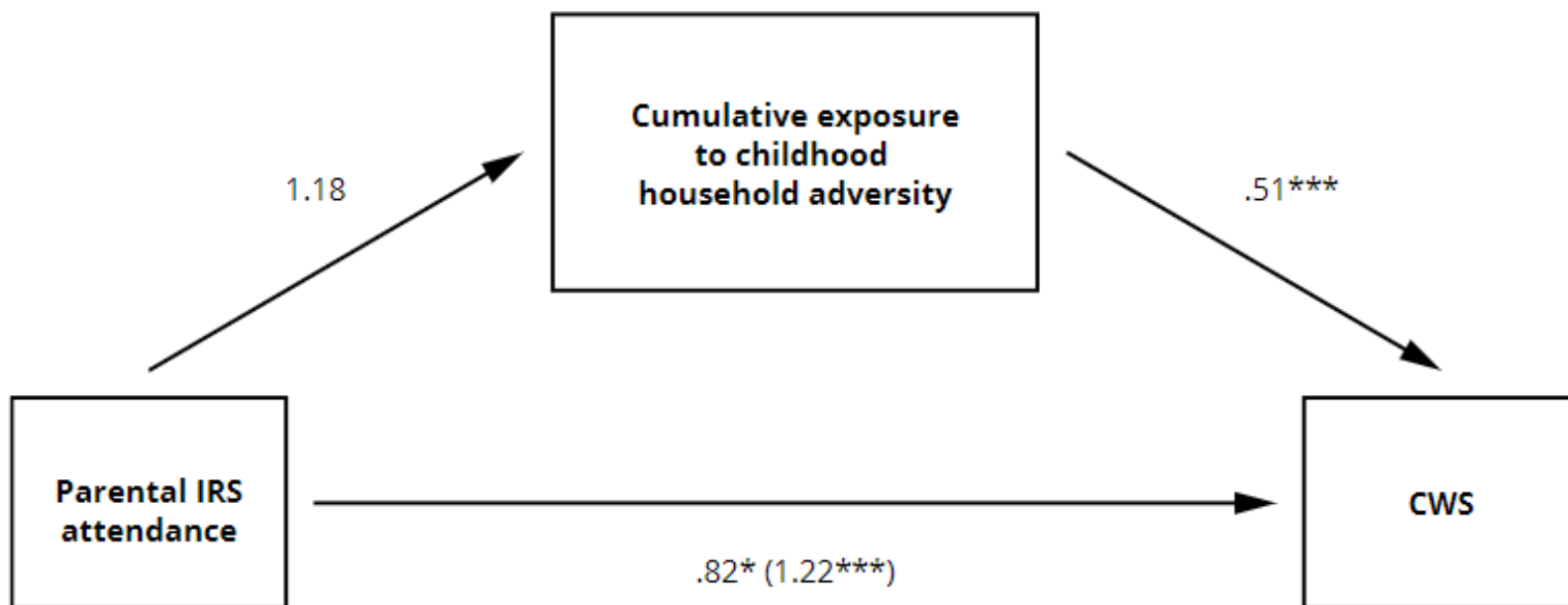
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
†p < .10.

Artist: Shandra Spears Bombay

Links between the Residential School System & Child Welfare System

Parent-Child Separations and Mental Health among First Nations and Métis Peoples in Canada: Links to Intergenerational Residential School Attendance
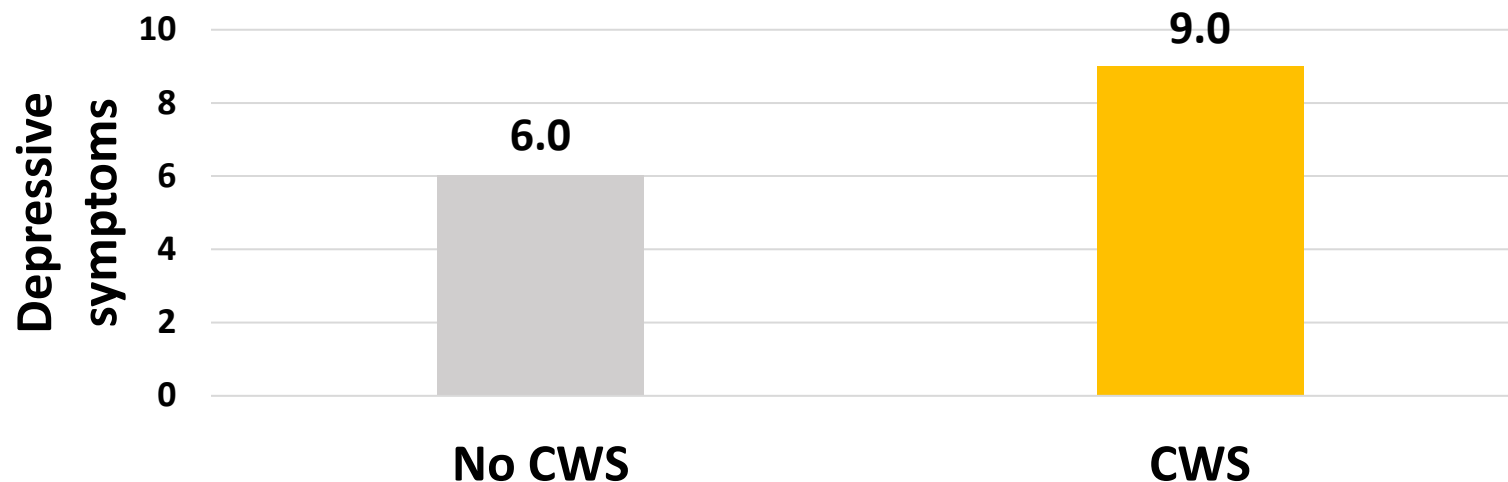
First Nations & Family Caring Society

CIHR IRSC

Non-representative sample of First Nations and Métis adults from across Canada

Mean depressive symptoms according to personal CWS history

Personal involvement in Child Welfare System

→ **ANCOVA predicting Depressive symptoms (controlling age + gender): familial IRS + CWS history both significant**

McQuaid, R.J., **Schwartz, F.D.,** Blackstock, C., Matheson, K., Anisman, H., Bombay A. (2022).
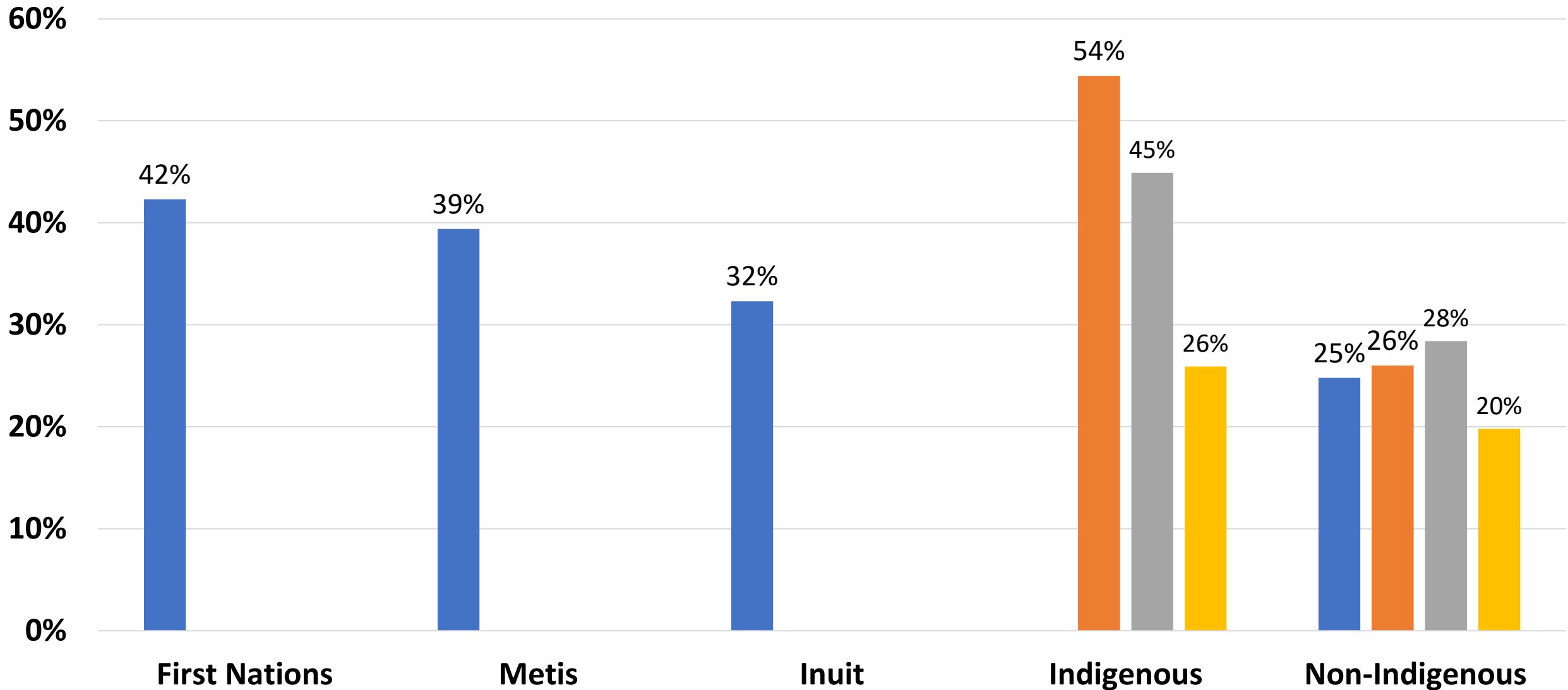
Intergenerational effects of other aspects of colonization

- The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families
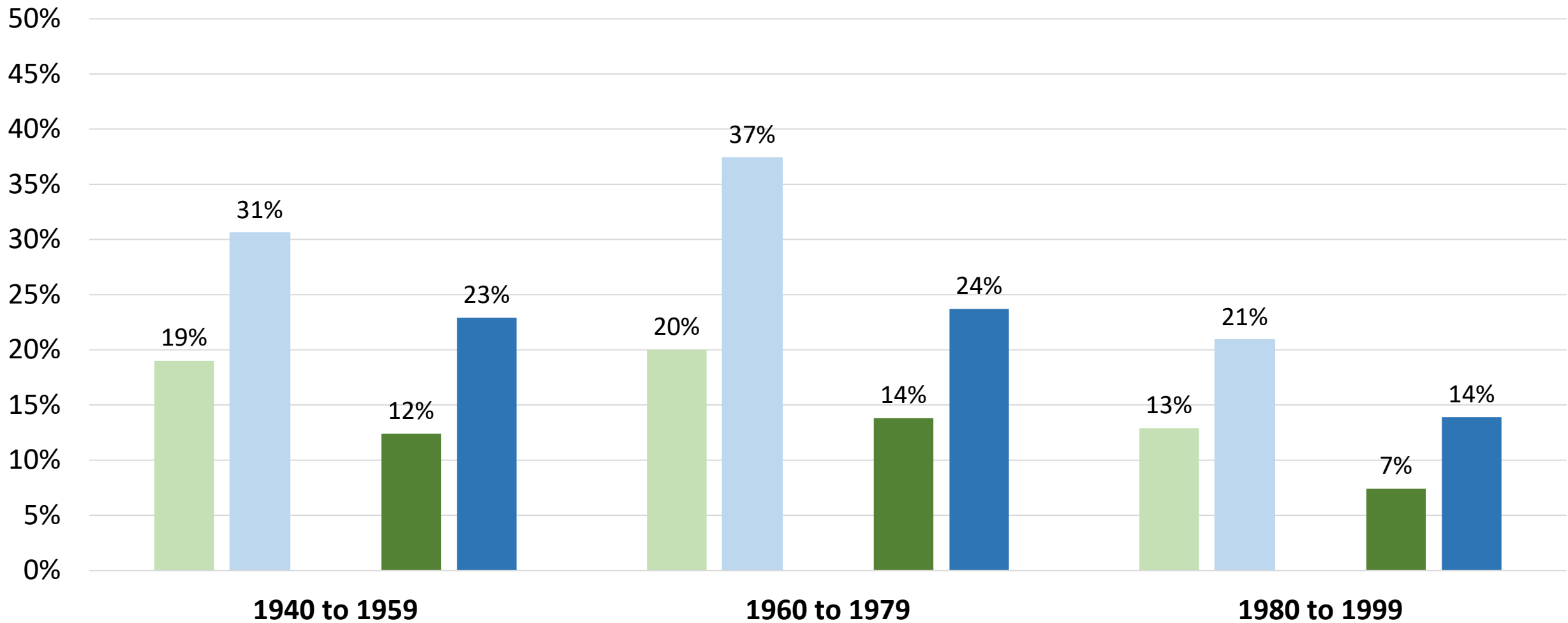- Depressive symptoms (CESD) and delinquency in youth
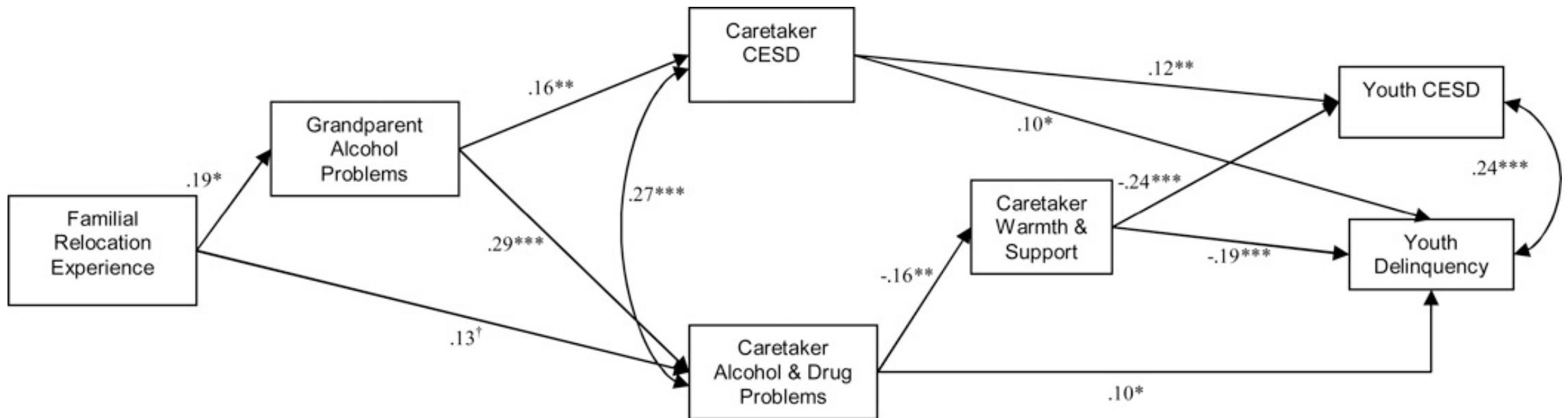
2019 National data: Proportion reporting childhood sexual and/or physical abuse

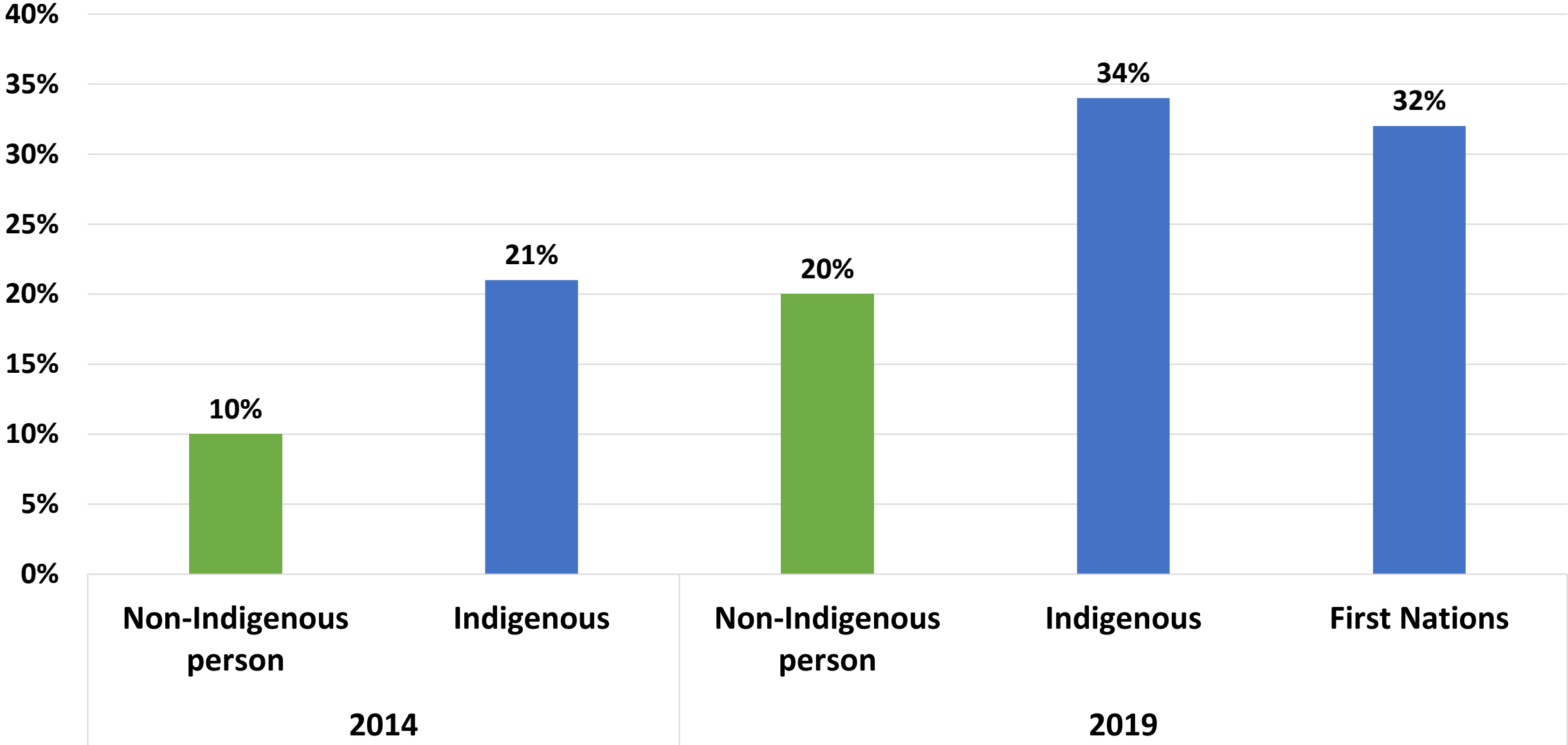■ Total sample ■ 1964 or before ■ 1965 to 1984 ■ 1985 to 2004

First Nations: 42%

Metis: 39%

Inuit: 32%

Indigenous: 1964 or before 54%, 1965 to 1984 45%, 1985 to 2004 26%

Non-Indigenous: Total sample 25%, 1964 or before 26%, 1965 to 1984 28%, 1985 to 2004 20%

2014 National data: Proportion reporting any form and any severe form of childhood physical abuse
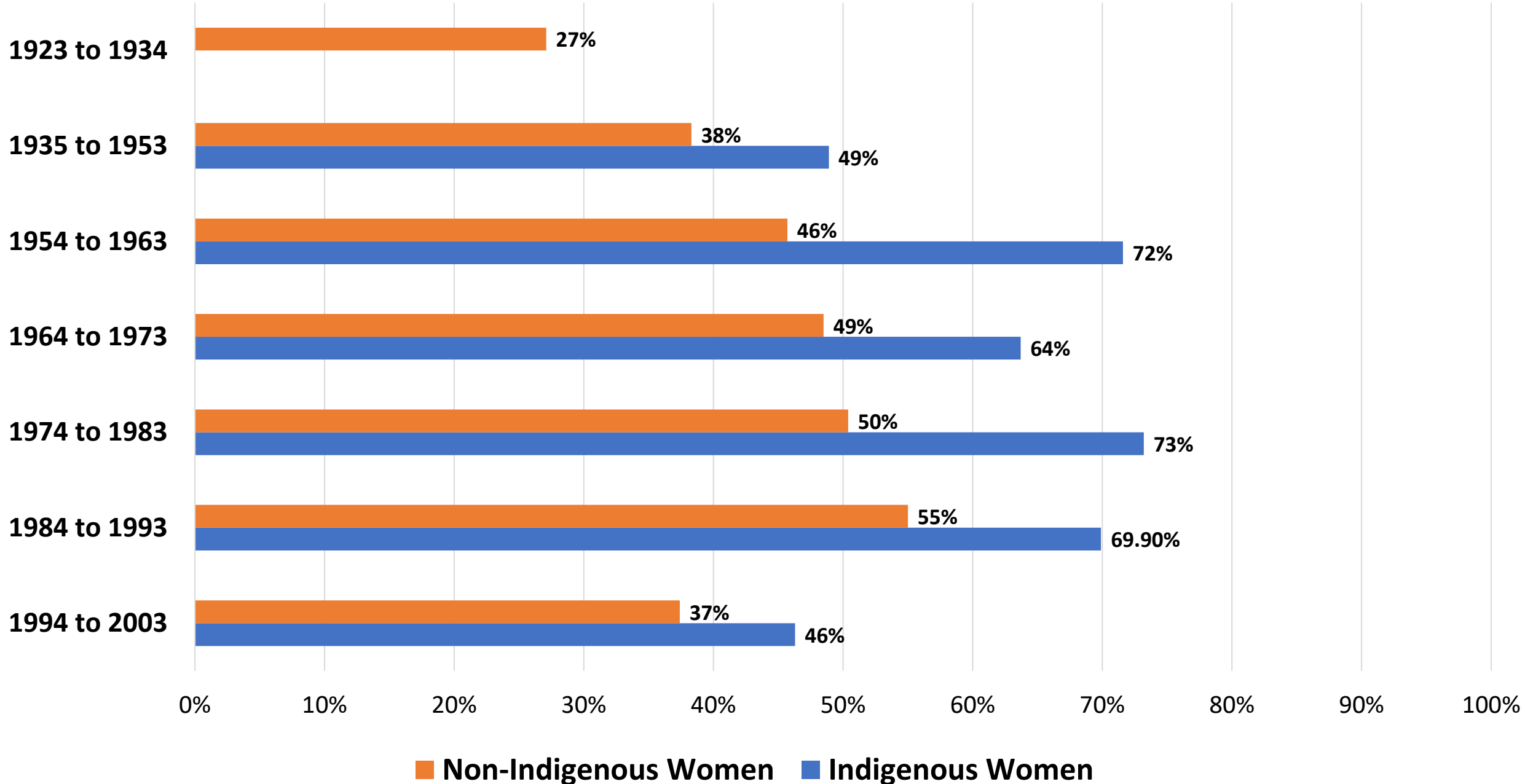
Legend:
- Any abuse Non-Indigenous
- Any abuse Indigenous
- Severe abuse Non-Indigenous
- Severe abuse Indigenous

1940 to 1959
- Any abuse Non-Indigenous: 19%
- Any abuse Indigenous: 31%
- Severe abuse Non-Indigenous: 12%
- Severe abuse Indigenous: 23%

1960 to 1979
- Any abuse Non-Indigenous: 20%
- Any abuse Indigenous: 37%
- Severe abuse Non-Indigenous: 14%
- Severe abuse Indigenous: 24%

1980 to 1999
- Any abuse Non-Indigenous: 13%
- Any abuse Indigenous: 21%
- Severe abuse Non-Indigenous: 7%
- Severe abuse Indigenous: 14%

2014 & 2019 National data: Witnessed domestic violence

	2014		2019	
	Non-Indigenous person	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous person	Indigenous	First Nations
%	10%	21%	20%	34%	32%

2022: Violent victimization since age 15 across birth cohorts

Birth cohort	Non-Indigenous Women	Indigenous Women
1923 to 1934	27%	
1935 to 1953	38%	49%
1954 to 1963	46%	72%
1964 to 1973	49%	64%
1974 to 1983	50%	73%
1984 to 1993	55%	69.90%
1994 to 2003	37%	46%

■ Non-Indigenous Women ■ Indigenous Women

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

Are biological pathways involved in the transmission across generations?

BODIES DON'T JUST TELL STORIES, THEY TELL HISTORIES

Embodiment of Historical Trauma among American Indians and Alaska Natives[1]

– Dr. Karina Walters, 2011
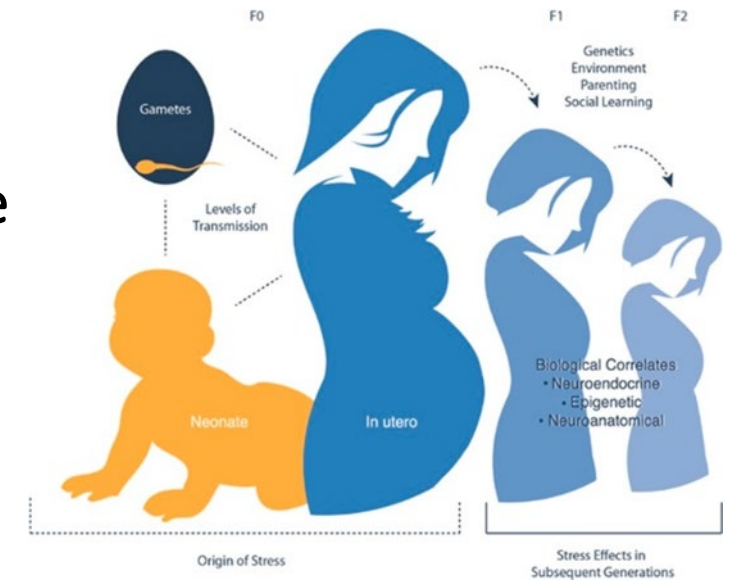
Biological Psychiatry
Available online 12 August 2015
In Press, Corrected Proof — Note to users

ELSEVIER

Archival Report

Holocaust Exposure Induced Intergenerational Effects on *FKBP5* Methylation

Rachel Yehuda[a,b], Nikolaos P. Daskalakis[a,b], Linda M. Bierer[a,b], Heather N. Bader[a,b], Torsten Klengel[c,f], Florian Holsboer[d,e], Elisabeth B. Binder[c,f]

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

Intergenerational communication regarding Residential schools

- **7 themes identified in response to questions about parental communication**

  - **Theme: Cultural disruption**

"I have no prior knowledge of being a father. I should have been taught how to raise my children traditionally but my father lost that in residential school and therefore so have I."

"The loss of culture and language was by far the largest impact. English was the first language in our house growing up and I was not even aware that I was aboriginal until 10 years old or so".

Exploring pathways involved the intergenerational transmission of Residential School Experiences

Intergenerational communication regarding Residential schools

- **7 themes in response to questions about parental communication**

  - **Theme: Cultural Pride**

"I have made a concerted effort with my own children to reintroduce them to our language and culture and to instill pride in their Aboriginal roots."

SAGE journals

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Transcultural Psychiatry Podcast Number 19

Kimberly Matheson and Amy Bombay discuss their article, 'Indigenous identity transformations: The pivotal role of student-to-student abuse in Indian Residential Schools'
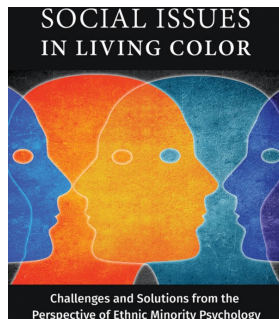
⬇ Download MP3

Links between cultural identity & engagement with well-being

RESISTANCE & RESILIENCE:
Intergenerational transmission of cultural pride & engagement

Intergenerational communication about cultural identity

"I think my mom showed me more than she told me, she is very traditional and has practiced our culture in front of me when she could. My mother remained a very traditional woman and has maintained her language. **My mother has always been a very proud native woman**."
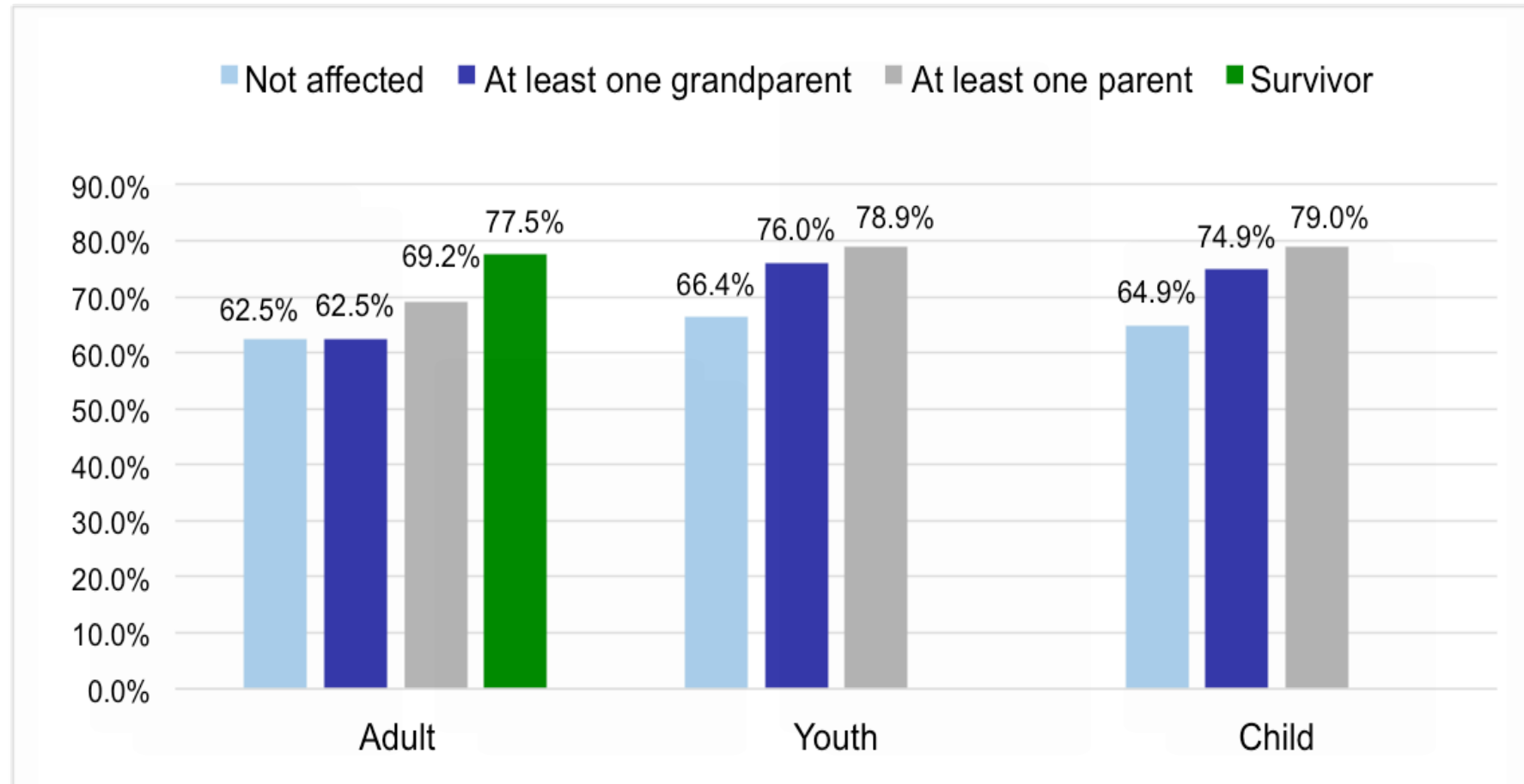
"I was ashamed growing up but I have since reclaimed my identity... Now that I am on my own, I have more pride and I am learning to love my identity. I gave my son a traditional Ojibwe name and I vow to raise him to be proud of who he is."

Links between cultural identity & engagement with well-being

Proportion who reported taking part in community cultural events "sometimes" or "almost always".

Resistance and resilience following intergenerational RS experiences

2015/16

FNIGC | CGIPN

Legend: Not affected | At least one grandparent | At least one parent | Survivor

Adult: 62.5%, 62.5%, 69.2%, 77.5%
Youth: 66.4%, 76.0%, 78.9%
Child: 64.9%, 74.9%, 79.0%

Bombay, A., McQuaid, R., & Doria, N. (2018). Indian Residential Schools. In First Nations Information Governance Centre (Eds.), *National Report of the First Nations Regional Health Survey (RHS) Phase 3; Volume 1*. Ottawa, ON: First Nations Information Governance Centre.

Links between cultural identity & engagement with well-being

Decomposing Identity: Differential Relationships Between Several Aspects of Ethnic Identity and the Negative Effects of Perceived Discrimination Among First Nations Adults in Canada

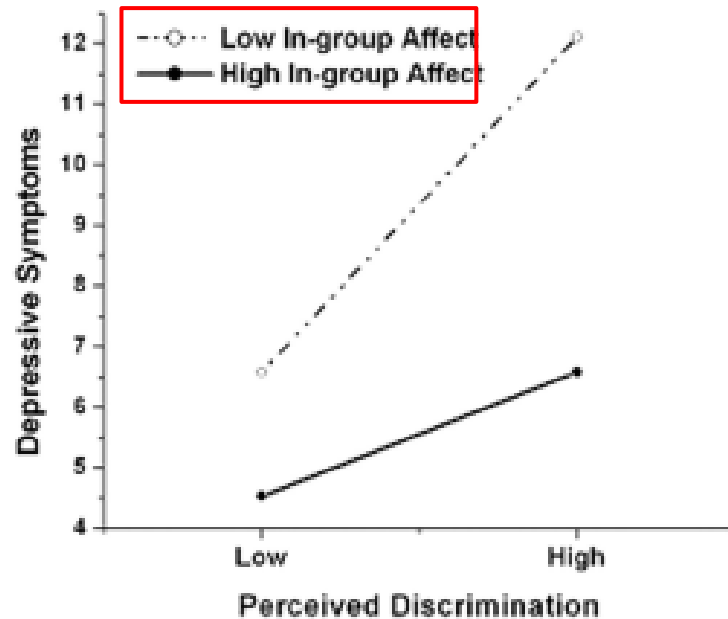Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman
Carleton University

Figure 1.   Beck Depression scores as a function of perceived discrimination and in-group affect (feelings regarding one's Aboriginal heritage). Depression scores are plotted at one standard deviation above (high) and below (low) the means of standardized perceived discrimination and in-group affect scores.
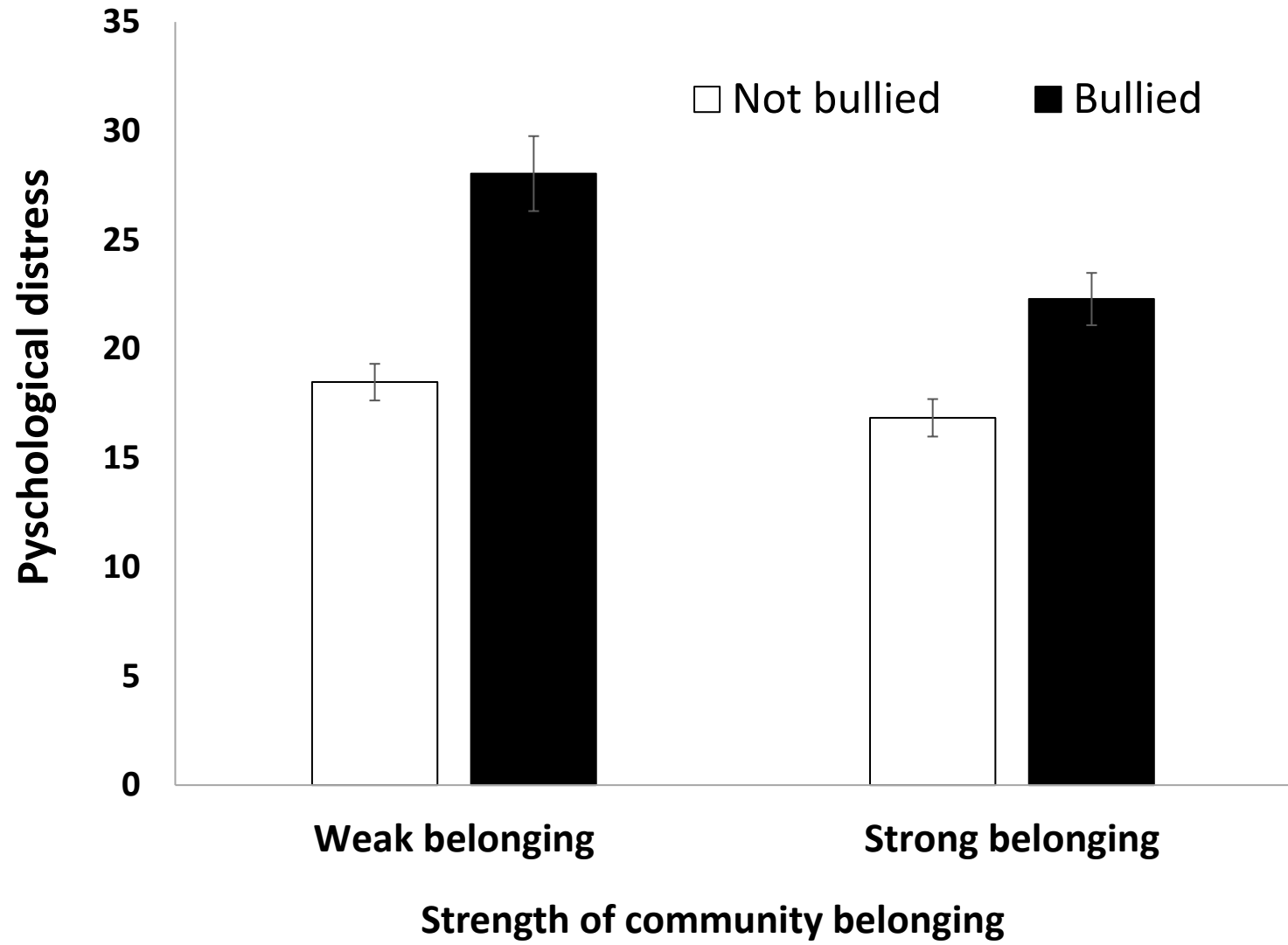
Links between cultural identity & engagement with well-being

2015/16 Youth

Relations between bullying and distress among youth living in First Nations communities: Assessing direct and moderating effects of culture-related variables

Paul, J., McQuaid, R.J., Hopkins, C., **Perri, A.,** Stewart, S., Matheson, K., Anisman, H., & Bombay, A. (2022).

Advocacy and evidence in support of trauma-informed and culture-based approaches to First Nations health and wellness

- Support for the importance of culture and culture-based interventions for Indigenous peoples
  - First Nations Mental Wellness Continuum Framework

- The *First Nations Mental Wellness Continuum* (*FNMWC*) is a national framework that addresses mental wellness among First Nations

- It identifies ways to enhance service coordination among various systems and supports culturally safe delivery of services.

- **Emphasizes importance of culture and culture-based approaches to healing, health, and wellness**
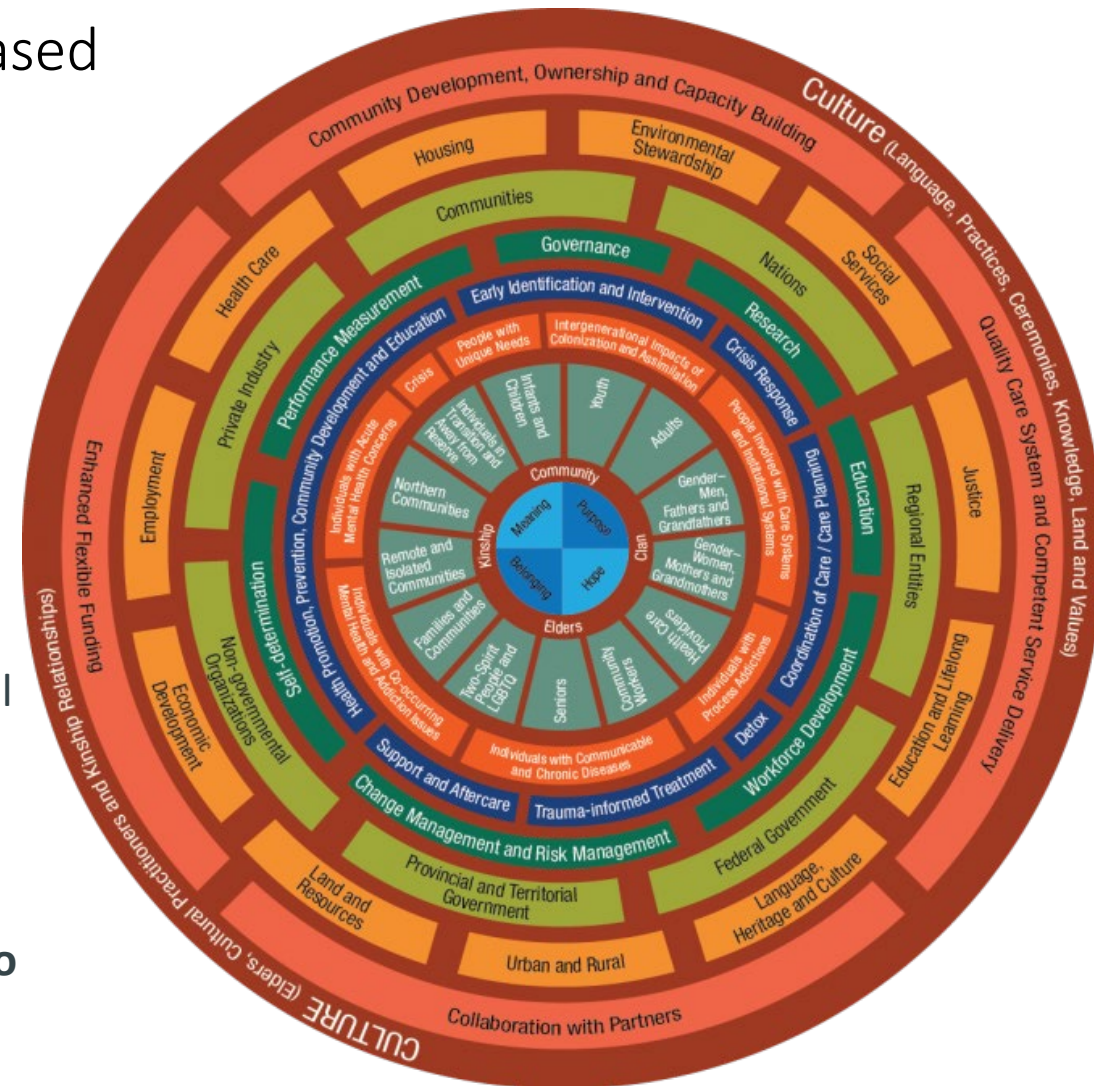
Growing residential school denial 'the last step in genocide': report

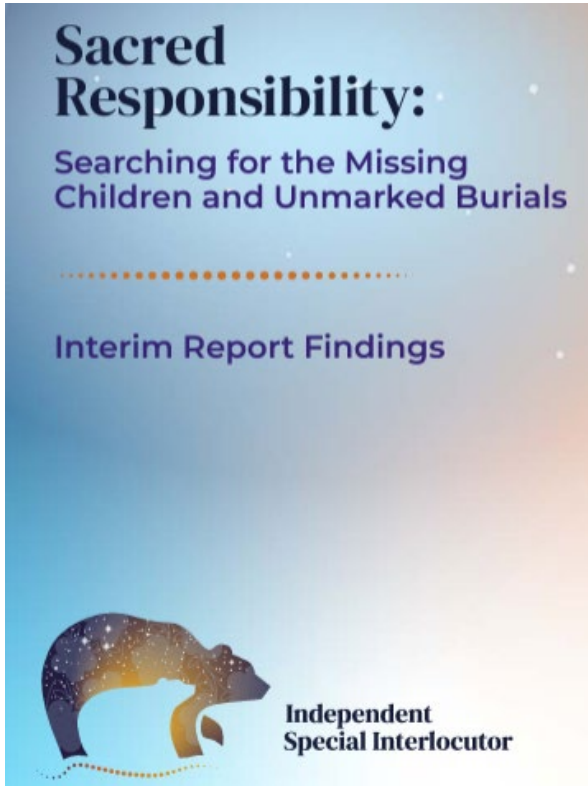B.C.'s Indigenous Relations Minister 'deeply disturbed' by denialism outlined in recent re

Wolf Depner
Jun 20, 2023 11:30 AM

...warns of an increase **"in the violence of denialism"** following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the continuous discovery of unmarked graves on the grounds of former residential schools.

Sacred Responsibility:

Searching for the Missing Children and Unmarked Burials

Interim Report Findings

Independent
Special Interlocutor

"A core group of Canadians continue to defend the Indian Residential Schools System," it reads.

"Some still deny that children suffered physical, sexual, psychological, cultural, and spiritual abuses, despite the TRC's indisputable evidence to the contrary.

Others try to deny and minimize the destructive impacts of the Indian Residential Schools. They believe Canada's historical myth that the nation has treated Indigenous Peoples with benevolence and generosity is true."

Denialism is the "last step in genocide" and can fuel disputes between Indigenous communities and governments over various issues jurisdictional control, ownership and land uses → collective gaslighting

# Growing residential school denial 'the last step in genocide': report

B.C.'s Indigenous Relations Minister 'deeply disturbed' by denialism outlined in recent re

Wolf Depner
Jun 20, 2023 11:30 AM

Sacred Responsibility:

Searching for the Missing Children and Unmarked Burials

Interim Report Findings

Independent
Special Interlocutor

Other denialists attack the credibility of residential school survivors … "They claim that (survivors) are lying, exaggerating, or misremembering what happened because such atrocities could never have occurred in Canada. They characterize the existence of unmarked burials to be 'fake news', despite the fact that these are well documented…"
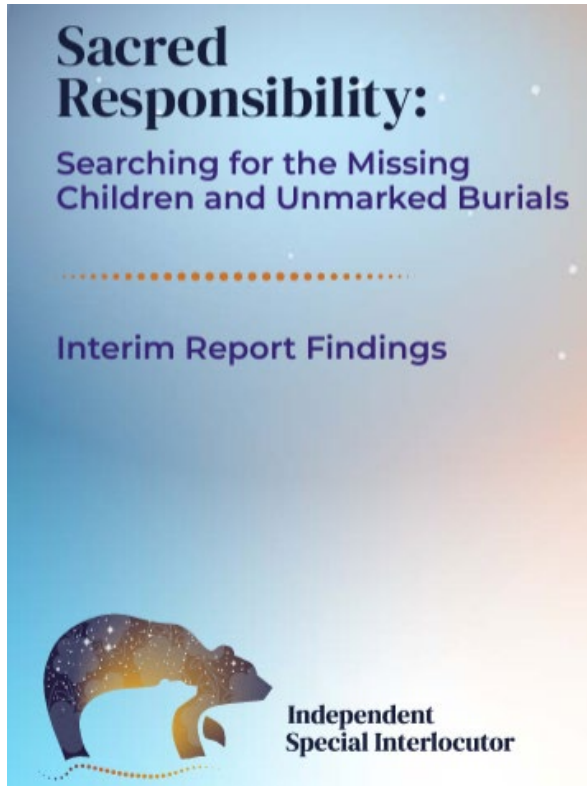
Murray's report also calls for public education about the history and ongoing legacy of residential schools in Canada and personal responsibility among non-Indigenous Canadians.

"Denialism is a uniquely non-Indigenous problem; it therefore requires non-Indigenous people to actively work to counter denialism and to create and implement strategies to do so," it reads.

Quotes from phenomenal Canadian women on International Women's Day 2021

"Following the lead of Black and Indigenous peoples, Canadians and Americans have the numbers, the wealth, the power and the influence to force the radical change that is needed to end racism, violence and injustice in government and society."

DR. PAM PALMATER MI'KMAQ LAW PROFESSOR & SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVIST

CRRF FCRR

THE STORY OF A NATIONAL CRIME

CLASSIC REPRINT SERIES

BY P. H. Bryce
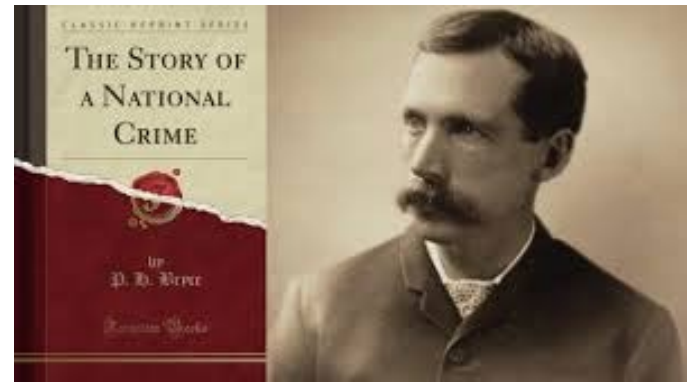
"I'm inviting non-Aboriginal Canadians to embrace what hurts. To me, true patriotism is when you face up to to the issues that aren't in alignment with your national values."

- Cindy Blackstock
  First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada

This week's guest on Mansbridge One on One

Dalhousie University

Debbie Martin, CRC

Mohammad Hajizadeh, CRC

Sherry Stewart, CRC

Carolyn Melro (Postdoctoral fellow)

Jocelyn Paul (PhD Candidate)

Nicole Doria (Postdoctoral fellow)

Lakehead University

Chris Mushquash, CRC

Alex Thomas (PhD Candidate)

Amy Bombay
Email:
amy.bombay@dal.ca

Carleton University

Robyn McQuaid

Kim Matheson

Hymie Anisman

University of Toronto

Billie-Jo Hardy

Taylor Morisseau (Postdoctoral fellow)

McGill University

Cindy Blackstock

Laurence Kirmayer

University of British Columbia

Min Hu