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“The road we travel is equal in importance to the destination we seek. There are no shortcuts. When it comes to truth and reconciliation, we are all forced to go the distance.”

-Justice Murray Sinclair,
Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,
to the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples,
September 28, 2010

Introduction

Purpose

This interim report covers the activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada since the appointment of the current three Commissioners on July 1, 2009. The report summarizes:

- the activities of the Commissioners
- the messages presented to the Commission at hearings and National Events
- the activities of the Commission with relation to its mandate
- the Commission’s interim findings
- the Commission’s recommendations.

Background

Up until the 1990s, the Canadian government, in partnership with a number of Christian churches, operated a residential school system for Aboriginal children. These government-funded, usually church-run schools and residences were set up to assimilate Aboriginal people forcibly into the Canadian mainstream by eliminating parental and community involvement in the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual development of Aboriginal children.

More than 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children were placed in what were known as Indian residential schools. As a matter of policy, the children commonly were forbidden to speak their own language or engage in their own cultural and spiritual practices. Generations of children were traumatized by the experience. The lack of parental and family involvement in the upbringing of their own children also denied those same children the ability to develop parenting skills. There are an estimated 80,000 former students still living today. Because residential schools operated for well more than a century, their impact has been transmitted from grandparents to parents to children. This legacy from one generation to the next has contributed to social problems, poor health, and low educational success rates in Aboriginal communities today.

The 1996 Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and various other reports and inquiries have documented the emotional, physical, and sexual abuse that many children experienced during their school years. Beginning in the mid-1990s, thousands of former students took legal action against the churches that ran the schools and the federal government that funded them. These civil lawsuits sought compensation for the injuries that individuals had sustained, and for loss of language and culture. They were the basis of several large class-action suits that were resolved in 2007 with the implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the largest class-action settlement in Canadian history. The Agreement, which is being implemented under court supervision, is intended to begin repairing the harm caused by the residential school system.

In addition to providing compensation to former students, the Agreement established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada with a budget of $60-million and a five-year term.

The Commission’s overarching purposes are to:

- reveal to Canadians the complex truth about the history and the ongoing legacy of the church-run residential schools, in a manner that fully documents the individual and collective harms perpetrated against Aboriginal peoples, and honours the resiliency and courage of former students, their families, and communities; and
- guide and inspire a process of truth and healing, leading toward reconciliation within Aboriginal families, and between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal communities, churches, governments, and Canadians gen-
The process will work to renew relationships on a basis of inclusion, mutual understanding, and respect.

To guide its work, the Commission has developed a strategic plan with the following mission and vision statements.

**Mission Statement**

- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission will reveal the complete story of Canada’s residential school system, and lead the way to respect through reconciliation … for the child taken, for the parent left behind.

**Vision Statement**

- We will reveal the truth about residential schools, and establish a renewed sense of Canada that is inclusive and respectful, and that enables reconciliation.

**Setting Up the Commission: Governance and Operational Framework**

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established by Order-in-Council in June 2008. The initial Commission consisted of Justice Harry LaForme as chair, Claudette Dumont-Smith, and Jane Brewin Morley. Justice LaForme resigned in October 2008, stating that the Commission’s independence had been compromised by political interference, and that conflict with the other two Commissioners regarding his authority made the Commission unworkable. Commissioners Dumont-Smith and Brewin Morley resigned in January 2009, stating that the best way forward for a successful Truth and Reconciliation Commission process would be with a new slate of Commissioners.

The parties to the Settlement Agreement then selected three new Commissioners: Justice Murray Sinclair as chair, Chief Wilton Littlechild, and Marie Wilson. Their appointments took effect on July 1, 2009, stating that the best way forward for a successful Truth and Reconciliation Commission process would be with a new slate of Commissioners.

The resignation of the initial Commissioners led to a loss of time and momentum. By the time the new Commissioners took office, a full year of the Commission’s original five-year mandate had passed. From the moment they took office, the new Commissioners faced the challenge of restarting the Commission and restoring its credibility with survivors and the Canadian public.

The decision by the parties to the Settlement Agreement to establish the Commission as a federal government department—as opposed to a commission under the *Inquiries Act*—was made prior to the appointment of the current Commissioners, and is not one with which they would have concurred. That decision has created additional challenges for the Commission. The rules and regulations that govern large, well-established, permanent federal government departments have proven onerous and highly problematic for a small, newly created organization with a time-limited mandate.

Departmental staffing and other processes normally do not apply to federal commissions or special investigations. The requirement that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission comply with provisions that apply to the operations of a federal department has led to significant delays that will have an impact on the Commission’s ability to meet its deadlines. The Commission is required to create an entirely new federal department, subject to, and accountable for, the complete range of federal government statutes, regulations, policies, directives, and guidelines. It has to do this with a comparatively small staff and budget. Meeting these requirements has hampered the Commission’s ability to carry out its mandate to implement a statement-gathering process, hold National Events and community hearings, and establish processes for document collection and research activities.

One of the consequences of the resignation of the original Commissioners and the designation of the Commission as a department of government is the discrepancy between the original federal Treasury Board approval of the Commission budget in 2008 and the orders-in-council appointing the current Commissioners in 2009. The Commission expects its final public event to be held close to July 1, 2014. However, its current budget authority will have expired before then, and it is clear there will be a period of time after July 1, 2014, required to transfer records to the National Research Centre and to make final decisions concerning the Commission’s financial records, personnel resources, and physical assets. A period of time after July 1, 2014 also may be required for translation and production of the Commission’s final report. The Commission will require orders-in-council and funding authorities to be modified to expire at the end of the 2014–15 fiscal year.

**Recommendations**

1) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada issue the necessary orders-in-council and funding authorities to ensure that the end date of the Commission and Commissioners’ appointments coincide, including the necessary wind-down period after the Commission’s last public event.
July 1, 2011, the Commission employed seventy-five people, including forty-eight Aboriginal employees who work at all levels of the organization.

Despite these challenges, the Commission developed a strategic framework to guide its work, established a multi-year budget, and set about making and implementing several key operational decisions in its first year.

Head and Regional Offices

While the residential school system operated across Canada, the majority of schools were located in the West and the North. For this reason, the Commission established its head office in Winnipeg, Manitoba. It retained a small Ottawa office, and opened satellite offices in Hobbema, Alberta, and Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. To extend the Commission’s reach into smaller centres and communities and as required by the Settlement Agreement, seven regional liaison workers have been hired to work in Quebec and Atlantic Canada, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Inuit Sub-Commission

In recognition of the unique cultures of the Inuit, and the experiences and impacts of residential schools on them, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission also established an Inuit Sub-Commission. It is charged with ensuring that the Commission addresses the challenges to statement gathering and record collection in remote, isolated Inuit communities, and among Inuit throughout Canada. The Inuit Sub-Commission provides the environment and supports necessary to earn the trust of Inuit survivors.

Staffing

The Commission staff is drawn from the public service, private sector, and non-governmental organizations. As of
Commissioner Activities

From the moment of their appointment, the Commissioners made it a priority to meet with former residential school students and staff. When the Commissioners took office, they initially travelled to events already organized by former students. This took them to such places as Oromocto, New Brunswick; Spanish, Ontario; Kamloops, British Columbia; and Cut Knife, Saskatchewan. The Commissioners and Commission staff also have visited hundreds of Aboriginal communities to talk about the Commission, the residential school legacy, and reconciliation.

In their public education work, the Commissioners have attended numerous conferences of Aboriginal organizations and churches, and have appeared as speakers at over 200 conferences and events organized by universities, governments, and churches, as well as by various professional and social organizations. Initially, presentations dealt with the Commission and its mandate, and the history of the residential schools. Dialogue now has moved towards engaging Canadians in discussions about the importance and meaning of reconciliation.

Early in their mandate, the Commissioners received the generous support of Governor General Michaëlle Jean in raising awareness of the Commission and the residential school legacy. The Governor General’s primary interest was in engaging youth. In 2009, with the Commissioners, she hosted a special event, Witnessing the Future, at Rideau Hall. In 2010 she invited the Commissioners to help engage hundreds of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth at a forum in Vancouver immediately prior to the Vancouver Olympics. Later in the year, she attended the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s first National Event in Winnipeg, where, as the Commission’s first Honourary Witness, she participated in a Sharing Circle with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal young people to discuss the legacy of the schools.

The Commissioners also have been active in discussions with regional and federal leaders. In July 2009, they attended and addressed the Annual General Assembly of the Assembly of First Nations. In January 2010, they met with the board of the Métis National Council. In July 2010, they met with the board of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. In September 2010, the Commissioners made a formal presentation to the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples as part of the Committee’s review of Canada’s progress since the federal government’s formal apology to residential school survivors in 2008. The Commissioners also have had meetings with various federal ministers, and provincial and territorial premiers.

In addition, the Commissioners have been involved in the activities that are outlined further in this report. Map 1 provides an overview of where the Commission has been in the first two years after the appointment of the current Commissioners.

By the end of September 2011, the Commissioners had met with former residential school students in every province and territory in the country.

What People Told the Commission

Over the past two years, the Commission has made it a priority to take every opportunity to hear directly from the people most affected by the residential school system: the students and staff who worked in the schools. In this interim report, it is not possible to summarize all that the Commission was told. But, for a variety of reasons, including the advanced age of many of the former students, the Commissioners believe certain messages must be relayed to Canadians now.

People have come before the Commission to speak of tragic loss and heroic recovery. Their message is powerful because
it touches the lives of parents and children. It is important because it connects our nation’s past and future. It is inspiring because those who were oppressed, victimized, and silenced have struggled to heal themselves and regain their voice.

At event after event, people spoke of parents having to send children off to residential school against their will. They spoke of tearful farewells at train stations, shorelines, and in school parlours, of children crying throughout the entire flight to school, and of cold and impersonal receptions given to children on arrival.

People told the Commission of being sent to school hundreds and even thousands of kilometres from their homes. Once they were there, it was impossible for their parents to visit them. In many schools, children stayed in school over the Christmas holidays, and, in some cases, they stayed over the summer as well. Some did not return home for years at a time.

People spoke of the immediate losses they experienced at school. Traditional, and often highly valued, clothing and footwear, handmade by loving mothers and grandmothers, were taken from them and never seen again. Long hair, often in traditional braids that reflected sacred beliefs, was sheared off. Many people had bitter memories of being deloused with lye or chemicals, regardless of whether they had lice. Children lost their identity as their names were changed—or simply replaced with a number. The Commission has heard of how students lost their individuality, were forced to wear uniforms, to march in lines, to wash in communal showers—treated, as several former students said, like they were animals in a herd. In the words of countless students, it was a frightening, degrading, and humiliating experience.

Former students described how they came from loving families and were cast into loveless institutions. They spoke of tremendous loneliness, and of young children crying themselves to sleep for months. Brothers and sisters were separated from each other within the schools, and often were punished for hugging or simply waving at one another.

Food was strange, spoiled and rotten in many cases, poorly prepared, and often in short supply. Many people recalled being punished for being unable to clean their plates. Others recalled that they were always hungry, and were punished for taking food from the kitchen or the garden.

For many, little in the classroom related to their lives. The only Aboriginal people they could recall from their history books were savages and heathen, responsible for the deaths of priests. They told the Commission of how the spiritual practices of their parents and ancestors were belittled and ridiculed.

Children were separated from families to get an education, but many of them spoke of how they spent much of their school days doing manual labour to support the school. Children who had lived traditional lifeways told us that after a decade of education, they did not have the skills they needed to survive when they returned home.

Many people came with stories of harsh discipline, of classroom errors corrected with a crack of a ruler, a sharp tug of the ear, hair pulling, or severe and frequent strappings. The Commission heard of discipline crossing into abuse: of boys being beaten like men, of girls being whipped for running away. People spoke of children being forced to beat other children, sometimes their own brothers and sisters. The Commission was told of runaways being placed in solitary confinement with bread-and-water diets and shaven heads.

People spoke of being sexually abused within days of arriving at residential school. In some cases, they were abused by staff; in others, by older students. Reports of abuse have come from all parts of the country and all types of schools.

The students felt they had no one to turn to for help. If they did speak up, often it was impossible to find anyone who would believe them. Those who ran away from abuse said that in some cases, this only made their situation worse. Those who raised complaints often had the same experience. Many compared the schools to jail (in some cases, complete with barbed wire), and fantasized about being able to return home. Those who ran away could find themselves in trouble at home, at school, and with the police.

The Commission was told of children who died of disease, of children who killed themselves, of mysterious and unexplained deaths.

Many students who came to school speaking no English lost the right to express themselves. Students repeatedly told the Commission of being punished for speaking their traditional languages. People were made to feel ashamed of their language—even if they could speak it, they would not, and they did not teach it to their children.

It was made clear that not only language was lost: it was voice. People said their mouths had been padlocked. At school, boys and girls could not speak to each other, meaning that brothers and sisters were cut off from one another.

If they were abused, the only people they could complain to were the abusers. Later, as adults and parents, former students did not want to talk about their experiences to their children; husbands and wives did not wish to speak to one another about their residential school experiences. Some who were not abused or beaten said they had survived by trying to be as inconspicuous as possible. To stay out of trouble, they trained themselves to be silent and invisible. Students who witnessed violence and abuse spoke of how it left them traumatized.

The Commission heard about the hopes that some teachers had had when they started teaching in residential
schools. It heard from teachers who fought on behalf of students. Teachers spoke of how they came to question their own work: to wonder about the lack of resources and the wisdom of attempting to change a people’s culture.

Church representatives spoke about the difficult experience of learning such distressing truths about their own church’s past. They are struggling to rethink their theology and their mission in an effort to right the relationship between their church and Aboriginal peoples.

Many former students also expressed gratitude for the education they received, and spoke of the long-lasting relations that had developed between some teachers and students, and especially among the students themselves, who became family away from home.

The Commission also heard about the fun that children had in school. In the presence of a dedicated teacher, some children experienced the pleasure of learning. While traditional Aboriginal games were undermined, many told of how they survived through their participation in sports or the arts. In some cases, particularly in more recent years, parents had sent them to school to learn the skills needed to make a contribution on behalf of their people. The Commission heard about how these students made, and are continuing to make, those contributions.

Survivors described what happened after they left the schools. People no longer felt connected to their parents or their families. In some cases, they said they felt ashamed of themselves, their parents, and their culture. The Commission heard from children who found it difficult to forgive their parents for sending them to residential school. Parents told the Commission of the heartbreak of having to send their children away, and of the difficulties that emerged while they were away and when they returned.

Some said they felt useless in their community. Still others compared themselves to lost souls, unable to go forward, unable to go back. Many people lost years of their lives to alcohol, to drugs, or to the streets as they sought a way to dull the pain of not belonging anywhere. Deprived of their own sense of self-worth, people told us, they spent decades wandering in despair. People spoke of the former students who met violent ends: in accidents, at the hands of others, or, all too often, at their own hands.

Some people still find themselves reliving the moments of their victimization. For them, residential schools are not part of the past, but vivid elements of their daily life. Sights, sounds, foods, and even individuals can trigger painful memories.

People spoke of how the residential school left them hardened. People were determined not to cry or show emotion, not to react to discipline. People said that the prospect of going to jail had been of little consequence to them because they had already been through hard times at residential school and were familiar with the feeling of being locked up and isolated.

The government broke up families by sending children to residential school. The people who left the schools said they had not been given the skills needed to keep their families together. They had difficulty in showing love. Having known only harsh discipline, they treated their children harshly. People spoke of incredible anger, the damage it did to them and caused them to inflict on others. The abused often became abusers: husbands, wives, parents, children all fell victim.

People and communities have been left with the burden of pain and the responsibility of healing. It was left to the former students and their families to regain their voice. Thousands of them have launched what they so often refer to as healing journeys.

The Commission heard from proud people, people who asserted they were survivors. They had survived mental abuse, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and spiritual abuse. They were still standing. Many have reclaimed their culture, are relearning language, and are practising traditional spirituality. In other cases, they have remained Christians, while infusing their beliefs with a renewed sense of Aboriginal spirituality.

People who were not able to show their children love spoke of finding a way to love their grandchildren, and to make amends with their grandchildren.

It is clear from the presentations that the people who have been damaged by the residential schools—the former students and their families—have been left to heal themselves. It is also the former students who have led the way to reconciliation, and they continue to lead the way. By regaining their voice, they have instigated an important national conversation. All Canadians need to engage in this work.

People also came with requests.

- They want justice. People spoke about the difficulties they have experienced in claiming compensation under the Settlement Agreement. They spoke of how missing school records prevent them from being compensated. They spoke countless times of schools and residences that they believe should be included in the Settlement Agreement. They also said that, in addition to missing records, school-imposed variations in their names or spellings of their names have prevented them from being compensated for all their years at school.
- They want support for the work they have begun in healing. For too long, communities were left to shoulder this burden on their own. In many of the remote communities that are home to former students, health services of any kind are scarce, and there are virtually no mental health services available.
• They want support to allow them to improve parenting skills. In particular, people asked for support in regaining and teaching traditional parenting practices and values.
• They want control over the way their children and grandchildren are educated. Reconciliation will come through the education system.
• They want respect. People are angry at being told they should simply “get over it.” For them, the memories remain, the pain remains. They have started on their healing journey—usually with no help and no support. They told the Commission they will be the ones to determine when they have reached their destination.
• They want their languages and their traditions. With tremendous effort, people have sought out traditional teachings and practices, and worked at preserving endangered languages. They want the institutions that invested so much over many decades in undermining their cultures to invest now in restoring them.
• They want the full history of residential schools and Aboriginal peoples taught to all students in Canada at all levels of study and to all teachers, and given prominence in Canadian history texts.

As Commissioners, we have been moved, strengthened, softened by what we have heard. We were reminded afresh that all this happened to little children who had no control over their lives and whose parents found themselves powerless to prevent their children from being taken from them. People came to the Commission in openness and honesty, seeking to be faithful to what had happened to them. For many people, it was an act of tremendous courage even to appear before the Commission. Some people were so overwhelmed by grief and emotion that they could not complete their statements. In other cases, the pain was so intense that it was necessary to halt the proceedings and simply hold hands. These Canadians have been carrying a tremendous burden of pain for years. Finally, they are starting to be heard. Their messages will play a crucial role in shaping the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s final report.

Some issues presented to the Commission have been so clear, urgent, important, and persistent that the Commission is making recommendations about them in this report.

**Recommendations**

4) The Commission recommends that each provincial and territorial government undertake a review of the curriculum materials currently in use in public schools to assess what, if anything, they teach about residential schools.

5) The Commission recommends that provincial and territorial departments of education work in concert with the Commission to develop age-appropriate educational materials about residential schools for use in public schools.

6) The Commission recommends that each provincial and territorial government work with the Commission to develop public-education campaigns to inform the general public about the history and impact of residential schools in their respective jurisdiction.

**Languages and Traditional Knowledge**

Residential schools suppressed Aboriginal language and culture, contributing to the loss of culture, language, and traditional knowledge. Even when those direct attacks came to a stop, culture remained devalued. There is a need for the recognition of the continuing value to communities and society of Aboriginal traditional knowledge, including spiritual, cultural, and linguistic knowledge. This will require long-term financial investments in measures for the reclaiming and relearning and sharing of this knowledge. The resources spent on this should be commensurate to the monies and efforts previously spent to destroy such knowledge.

**Recommendation**

7) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada and churches establish an ongoing cultural revival fund designed to fund projects that promote the traditional spiritual, cultural, and linguistic heritages of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

**Parenting Skills**

It is clear that one of the greatest impacts of residential schools is the breakdown of family relationships. Children were deprived of the positive family environment necessary for the transmission of parenting knowledge and skills. That impact continues to be seen to this day; it is evidenced in high rates of child apprehensions and youth involvement in crime. The disruption of family relationships exacerbates the impact of high mortality rates and high birth rates in the Aboriginal community. There is a need for the development and provi-
sion of workshops aimed at reintroducing wise practices for healthy families, and to compensate for the loss of parenting knowledge experienced by generations of children raised in institutional settings.

**Recommendation**

8) The Commission recommends that all levels of government develop culturally appropriate early childhood and parenting programs to assist young parents and families affected by the impact of residential schools and historic policies of cultural oppression in the development of parental understanding and skills.

**Extension and Enhancement of Health Support Services**

Survivors have told the Commission repeatedly of their urgent need for specialized health supports available near where they live. This need is especially acute in the northern and more isolated regions of Canada. In those regions, the per-capita number of residential school survivors and the critical need for health support are higher than in the rest of the country. In many cases, a single mental-health nurse in the North is expected to service a region that is the geographic size of an entire province. They do this without the benefit of road transportation or colleagues. In some communities, there may be no such nurse at all. The suicide rates in Aboriginal communities are epidemic in some regions of the country. Many survivors increasingly are angry and outspoken about the need for more long-term help for themselves and their children, including the creation of a specialized treatment centre in the North.

Through its work supporting the Commission’s community hearings, Health Canada has been able to assess and refine its approach to providing mental-health support in keeping with its obligations under the Settlement Agreement. Ideally, Aboriginal health professionals who can combine their Western medical training with knowledge of their own healing traditions and culture should be found to do this work. However, given the lack of sufficient numbers of such professionals, the current ideal formula appears to be a balanced team approach: specially trained cultural supports and traditional knowledge keepers from within the respective Aboriginal communities, working together with academically trained health specialists from the non-Aboriginal community.

The loss of knowledge about, and access to, traditional spiritual practices, language, and culture are among the most frequently named abuses experienced by students at the residential schools. For this reason, many former students take greater comfort and strength from those health support workers who come from within their own culture and community, and who can help them through the use of traditional cultural methods or languages that value that part of their lost identity.

Long-term efforts will be needed to address the deep and prolonged community impacts of government policies that sent generations of Aboriginal people to residential schools. The Commission believes in the value of investing in the long-term capacity of Aboriginal communities. This will support their efforts to provide more of their own internal healing resources and to continue their healing work, following the completion of the Commission’s work and other activities associated with the implementation of the Settlement Agreement.

**Recommendations**

9) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada, and the federal Minister of Health, in consultation with northern leadership in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, take urgent action to develop plans and allocate priority resources for a sustainable, northern, mental health and wellness healing centre, with specialization in childhood trauma and long-term grief, as critically needed by residential school survivors and their families and communities.

10) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada, through Health Canada, immediately begin work with provincial and territorial government health and/or education agencies to establish means to formally recognize and accredit the knowledge, skills, and on-the-job training of Health Canada’s community cultural and traditional knowledge healing team members, as demonstrated through their intensive practical work in support of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and other Settlement Agreement provisions.

11) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada develop a program to establish health and wellness centres specializing in trauma and grief counselling and treatment appropriate to the cultures and experiences of multi-generational residential school survivors.

**Exclusions from Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement**

Compensation under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement is restricted to the former students or residents of schools listed in the Settlement Agreement or
those schools that have been added to the list under specific criteria.

Former students who attended schools or residences not included in the Settlement Agreement have told us they underwent the same deprivation of language and culture, imposition of religious practices, and physical and sexual misconduct by teachers and boarding-home parents or supervisors as experienced by students covered by the Settlement Agreement. Because the schools they attended are not on the list, they are not eligible for compensation under the Settlement Agreement. They say that, once again, they are being abused, injured, or traumatized because they have been left out and isolated.

In particular, the Commission has heard such concerns of exclusion from specific groups of former students:

- The Inuit and Innu of Labrador. None of the boarding schools in Labrador were included in the Settlement Agreement.

- Students who attended the same schools by day as students living in the residences, but who lived in home settings. In many cases, these ‘day scholars’ did not stay in their own homes with their own families, but in billeted accommodation.

- Hostel students in the northern territories. Community hostels provided housing for students whose parents were away making a traditional living off the land. Some hostels are included in the Agreement; others are not. There is no clearly understood reason why.

- Students who attended boarding schools where the federal government did not have responsibility for the operation of the residence and the care of the children resident there.

- Students who attended non-residential schools, as directed by the federal government, but who also were subjected to cultural denial, and harsh emotional and physical treatment.

The exclusion of these students is a serious roadblock to meaningful and sincere reconciliation.

**Recommendation**

12) The Commission recommends that the parties to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, with the involvement of other provincial or territorial governments as necessary, identify and implement the earliest possible means to address legitimate concerns of former students who feel unfairly left out of the Settlement Agreement, in order to diminish obstacles to healing within Aboriginal communities and reconciliation within Canadian society.

**Impact and Reach of Apology from Canada**

On June 8, 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada issued a “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools.” While not all survivors accept the apology, many have told the Commission that hearing the government’s apology has been very important to their healing.

Many of the people who have addressed the Commission have made reference to the Commission’s commitment to act “For the Child Taken; For the Parent Left Behind.” Often, they have mentioned their own parents, noting that no one had ever apologized to them. For their part, some parents have said they felt they had been left out of the apology.

The apology does talk about the impacts of the residential schools, not just on the students, but also on their families and communities. However, there appears to be limited awareness of its actual wording.

The Commission continues to face huge challenges in raising awareness, among non-Aboriginal Canadians, of the residential school history and legacy. This presents an enormous limitation to the possibility of long-term understanding and meaningful reconciliation. The Commission believes the Canadian school system has a major role to play in re-educating the country about this part of our long-term, shared history, with its present-day implications. Making the apology available to all Canadian students in their schools would be a positive step in this direction.

**Recommendations**

13) The Commission recommends that, to ensure that survivors and their families receive as much healing benefit as the apology may bring them, the Government of Canada distribute individual copies of the “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools” to all known residential school survivors.

14) The Commission recommends the Government of Canada distribute to every secondary school in Canada a framed copy of the “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools” for prominent public display and ongoing educational purposes.

**Establishing a Framework for Reconciliation**

There is a need for analysis, by governments at all levels and by churches, of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), in order to deepen understanding of, and appreciation for, the value of the Declaration as a framework for working towards ongoing reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.
RECOMMENDATION

15) The Commission recommends that federal, provincial, and territorial governments, and all parties to the Settlement Agreement, undertake to meet and explore the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as a framework for working towards ongoing reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

The Aboriginal Healing Foundation

In response to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Canada created a healing fund, administered primarily by Aboriginal peoples, that would specifically address the residential school legacy and assist former students who were physically and sexually abused. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF), established for this purpose in 1998, delivers a wide array of programs while conducting innovative research on the effects of the residential system on Aboriginal peoples. Its directors convinced the federal government to expand its mandate to include not only those who attended the schools but also those who were affected intergenerationally (the parents and descendants of the students) as well. In 2010 the federal government discontinued funding for the AHF, thus depriving former students and their families of a highly valued and effective resource. The closing of the Aboriginal Health Foundation will make Canada’s reconciliation journey even more challenging in the years to come.

RECOMMENDATION

16) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada meet immediately with the Aboriginal Healing Foundation to develop a plan to restore funding for healing initiatives to the Foundation within the next fiscal year.

The International Context

The Commissioners also recognize it is important to place Canada’s residential school system within the international context, particularly now that the world community, including Canada, has endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The residential school system was not unique to Canada. Governments and missionary agencies in many countries around the world established boarding schools as part of the colonial process. The systems varied from time to time and place to place, but they shared many common elements and left a common legacy. For these reasons, the Commission has participated in international activities. Representatives from other countries that have a history of residential schooling for Indigenous children, or similar abuses of Indigenous peoples, also have travelled to Canada to observe Commission events.


In September 2010, Commissioner Wilton Littlechild addressed the United Nations Human Rights Council’s fifteenth session in Geneva, Switzerland, on the value that truth commissions bring to global reconciliation efforts. There, he expressed the Commission’s support for an international experts’ seminar on truth and reconciliation processes. Such commissions can play an important role in resolving conflict and improving relations between states and Indigenous peoples.

In September 2010, Commissioners Littlechild and Wilson presented at the sixth gathering of Healing Our Spirit Worldwide, an international forum and healing initiative that focuses on health, governance, and drug and alcohol issues and programs in Indigenous communities across the globe. Many former residential school students from Canada participated in this event.

In October 2010, the Commissioners co-hosted a youth retreat in British Columbia with the International Center for Transitional Justice. This initiative brought together Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth to learn about social justice, the role of truth and memory projects, and the specific history and purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, and to identify opportunities for youth to design and participate in truth and reconciliation activities here in Canada.

In March 2010, the Commission participated in the International Expert Group meeting on Indigenous Children and Youth in Detention, Custody, Adoption and Foster Care in
Vancouver. Commissioners Littlechild and Wilson attended a special forum on the Native American boarding schools in the United States that was held in Boulder, Colorado. Commissioner Wilson met with representatives of the Shoah Foundation in Los Angeles to gain insight into the recording, preservation, and educational usage of oral histories of Holocaust survivors. In May 2011, there was follow-up work at the Tenth Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in an international experts' seminar on truth and reconciliation processes.

In conclusion, the Commission has established relations with international organizations that enable it to learn from the work of other commissions, and to make contributions from its own experiences.
Commission Activities

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement sets out an extensive mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It ranges from research and report writing, holding national and community events, collecting statements from Canadians about their residential schools experience, and collecting documents from the parties to the Settlement Agreement, to educating the public through commemorative events. The work of the Commission to date is summarized best under the following headings:

- Statement Gathering
- Document Collection
- Research and Report Preparation
- A National Research Centre
- Commemoration
- National Events
- Community Events

Statement Gathering: Truth Sharing

Until now, the voices of those who were directly involved in the day-to-day life of the schools, particularly the former students, largely have been missing from the historical record. The Commission is committed to providing every former residential student—and every person whose life was affected by the residential school system—with the opportunity to create a record of that experience.

The work of other truth and reconciliation commissions has confirmed the particular importance of the statement-giving process as a means to restore dignity and identity to those who have suffered grievous harms. Statement gathering is a central element in the Commission mandate, and statement giving is voluntary. Since there are estimated to be at least 80,000 living former students, the magnitude and complexity of the Commission’s commitment are significant.

The statements gathered will be used by the Commission in the preparation of its report, and eventually will be housed in the National Research Centre (NRC, to be established by the Commission, and discussed in a following section).

Statement gathering has occurred at National Events, community events, and at events coordinated by the Commission’s regional liaisons. Trained statement gatherers now are present in most regions across the country, with more resources being added continually.

Statement gathering involves recording the biographies of those providing statements to the Commission. Statement providers are encouraged to talk about any and all aspects of their lives they feel are important, including times before, during, and after attending a residential school. The family members of survivors, former staff, and others affected by the residential schools also are encouraged to share their experiences.

The Commission recognizes that providing a statement to the Commission is often very emotional and extremely difficult for individuals. For this reason, statement providers are given the option of having a health support worker, a cultural support worker, or a professional therapist attend their session. These health supports ensure statement providers are able to talk to someone who can assist them if necessary before and after providing a statement.

Individuals are given the option of having an audio or video recording made of their experiences. If they wish, they are given a copy of their statement immediately at the end of the interview. They may choose to provide their statement in writing or over the phone if proper health supports are in place.

Privacy considerations surrounding statement gathering are extremely important to the Commission. All persons who make statements to the Commission do so voluntarily.
The Commission provides opportunities to give statements in a number of different ways. These include:

- at public Sharing Circles at national and community events
- at Commission hearings at scheduled locations across the country, including National Events
- at private statement-gathering sessions where only a trained statement gatherer and health worker are present.

At Sharing Circles and Commission hearings, statements are made in a public setting. People who make their statement in a private setting can choose from two levels of privacy protection. The first option ensures full privacy according to the standards of the federal Privacy Act. The second option allows the statement provider to waive certain rights to privacy in the interests of having their experiences known to, and shared with, the greater public.

People who waive those rights are giving consent to the Commission and to the National Research Centre to use their statement for public education purposes or to disclose their statement to third parties for public education purposes in a respectful and dignified manner (such as for third-party documentary films). The Commission and National Research Centre have the authority to decide whether to provide such access.

These options are explained carefully to the statement provider before a private statement-gathering session. To date, over half the statement providers have chosen to have their statements recorded for public education purposes.

The Commission also ensures that all digital information is transmitted and protected carefully during trips in and out of the field.

The Commission has made it a high priority to gather statements from the elderly or ill, as well as from particularly vulnerable and marginalized former students who are at risk. It has undertaken a number of innovative measures, including a day-long event facilitated by Métis Calgary Family Services at the downtown branch of the Calgary Public Library that focused on collecting statements from homeless individuals. Projects designed to reach those survivors in jails also are underway.

By the end of June 2011, the Commission had collected 1157 individual statements. An additional 649 statements had been given in Sharing Circles and at public hearings. One hundred and fifteen material and artistic submissions had been received. The Commission now has in place both the mechanisms and process to ensure it is able to meet its statement-gathering goals. Regional liaisons play a role in coordinating and organizing a series of specific and targeted visits to communities across the country. Future Commission National Events and the community hearings held in conjunction with those events will continue to play a significant role in statement gathering. Private statement-gathering options and Sharing Circles will be extended to communities and individuals in ever-increasing numbers in the coming year, with advance notice circulated to communities well before the planned visits.

Document Collection

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement commits the parties to the Agreement to providing the Commission with all relevant documents in their possession or control. This is to be done subject to the legislated privacy interests of an individual, and in compliance with privacy and access-to-information legislation. Exceptions are to be made in cases where solicitor-client privilege applies.

In keeping with that Agreement, documents from the Independent Assessment Process (IAP) established by the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, existing resolved litigation, and federal government dispute-resolution processes (all processes dealing with claims of abuse at the schools) are being sought by the Commission, to become part of the documents collected.

In February 2011, the Commission retained a consulting firm to assist in collecting all relevant documents from church and government holdings. The Commission is in the process of developing a fully functional and secure database, a team of historical researchers to review and audit the holdings of the various parties to the Settlement Agreement, and the technical resources to digitize the entire collection.

Each of the three main activities in document collection—developing the database, the digitization, and research—are extremely complex projects. The database will provide the Commission with state-of-the-art backup and secure storage, while delivering sophisticated search-and-report functions, and multi-media capacity. Researchers will identify, review, provide meta-data tagging, and report on all relevant documents. Digitization will involve the electronic conversion of material that currently exists in a host of formats, including photographs, glass-plate negatives, film, video, onionskin paper, cut-sheet paper, and microfilm.

This effort will involve the records of at least eighty-eight church archives and as many as thirty or more government institutions. In addition, the creation of a full record also would require the collection of relevant records held by organizations and individuals other than Canada and the churches, such as museums, provincial and university archives, and cultural and Aboriginal research centres.
From 2009-2011, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada took part in more than 400 outreach and statement gathering initiatives. This map illustrates the communities that were visited during that time period.
From 2009-2011, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada took part in more than 400 outreach and statement gathering initiatives. This map illustrates the communities that were visited during that time period.
The document-collection process has been placed at risk by two factors: the lack of federal government and church cooperation, and cost-related issues.

**Lack of Cooperation**

The federal government has been aware of its need to provide all relevant documents since the signing of the 2005 agreement-in-principle that preceded the final Settlement Agreement. Despite this, the federal government

- has provided the Commission with only a very limited portion of the relevant documents in its possession.
- has taken the position that it has no obligation to identify and provide relevant historical documents held by Library and Archives Canada to the Commission. Under this approach, departments would have to search and produce records only from active and recent files. This is inappropriate in dealing with matters dating back over a century.
- has informed the Commission that, despite the Commission’s request, it has not agreed to provide the Commission with the Settlement Agreement and Dispute Resolution (SADRE) database, which contains all the residential school research files of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada.
- has yet to provide the Commission with appropriate levels of access to federal archives—an issue that compromises both document collection and report preparation.

In addition, the federal government has taken the position that it cannot disclose records in its possession if those records were provided to it by the churches in response to specific residential schools court cases. It maintains this position even for records created by the federal government but that contain information first obtained from church records. The federal government asserts that since it obtained the church records and information through the litigation process, it is subject to an implied undertaking to use or disclose those records only in relation to the specific court decisions to which the records relate. The federal government asserts that the fact that the government and the churches settled such court cases through the Settlement Agreement, which includes an express obligation that Canada and the churches would disclose all relevant records in their possession, does not constitute a waiver of those implied undertakings. In the case of a conflict between the implied undertakings and the express obligation in the Settlement Agreement to produce all records in its possession to the Commission, the government maintains it must give preference to the implied undertakings. The Commission finds this position unacceptable.

In addition, while the Commission has received helpful cooperation from most of the churches and archivists it has dealt with, individual church archivists have sought to impose conditions before they will produce records to the Commission. Such conditions include:

- instructions as to how the Commission should caption photographs in its reports
- limitations on the Commission’s use of photographs to a “one-time only” use
- distinctions between their “internal” and “external” and “restricted” and “unrestricted” records
- restrictions as to how the Commission can use records in different categories.

Some archivists insist that the Commission acknowledge that the churches own copyright in the records located in their archives. With respect to such claims, the churches make no copyright distinctions based on who created the records or when, and do not explain what copyright interests they are seeking to protect.

All these issues have caused and continue to cause considerable delay for the Commission in its attempt to meet its mandated obligation and enforce compliance of the parties’ obligations to produce relevant records. It is unlikely that the document-collection process will be completed without a significant shift in attitude on the part of Canada and those parties who have been reluctant to cooperate.

**Cost-related issues**

The Settlement Agreement states that Canada and the churches must compile and produce all relevant documents and must bear the cost of producing those documents. Where only original documents are involved, the parties, once they have compiled and produced the documents, may request that the Commission pay the costs of making reproductions of the originals. To date, no such requests have been made.

In terms of the number of documents to be collected, the Government of Canada estimates that it has between five- and fifty-million relevant files in its active and semi-active collections. Beyond this, it may be necessary to review over 100,000 boxes of records held by Library and Archives Canada, including 40,000 boxes of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada records. In addition, there are at least 88 church archives from which the Commission must receive records.

Aside from providing Commission researchers general access to the federal archives, Canada has not provided any proposal or signalled any intention of fulfilling its obligation to identify, organize and produce the Library and Archives Canada documents. Based on current project estimates, it
is apparent that the costs of document collection would far exceed the Commission’s $60-million budget if the Commission were to assume Canada’s document compilation obligations in respect of federal archives. This clearly was not contemplated by the parties, given the funding and timing limitations set out in the Settlement Agreement.

These issues have placed the Commission’s ability to fulfill its mandate in jeopardy. They also threaten to undermine the National Research Centre that the parties have called on the Commission to establish. Having tried unsuccessfully to informally resolve these issues, the Commission has determined that it must seek judicial guidance. The Commission will be referring these matters to the supervising court for advice and guidance on how best to ensure timely compliance by all parties with their document production obligations.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

17) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada and the churches produce all their relevant records to the Commission as quickly as possible.

18) The Commission recommends that Canada and the churches make a dramatic change in the way they address the funding and timeliness of document production and digitization.

19) The Commission recommends that all agencies and organizations that are not parties to the Settlement Agreement, but have holdings relevant to the history and legacy of residential schools (such as provincial and university archives, libraries, museums, galleries, and Aboriginal organizations), contact the Commission and assist the Commission in receiving copies of all such relevant documents.

**Research and Report Preparation**

The Commission is undertaking research into both the history and legacy of the residential school system, and the concepts and practices of reconciliation as they relate to the Commission’s mandate. In December 2009, the Commission hosted a gathering of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars and practitioners with research expertise in various areas of relevance to the Commission’s work. They provided advice on the development of the research agenda. The Commission has conducted research to produce a number of public education tools, including a brochure on the history of residential schools, a short history of the system and its legacy, slide shows focusing on schools in regions where National Events have taken place, posters that highlight the history of individual schools and key themes in the history of the system, and national and regional maps identifying the location of residential schools. Several internal research projects required for the Commission’s final report are now underway, including one dealing with the experience of residential school staff. In August 2010, the Commission also invited external researchers to submit proposals for work in a number of key areas.

**Missing Children and Unmarked Graves**

In 2007 the Commission, at the request of Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Jim Prentice, undertook the Missing Children and Unmarked Graves Project. Large numbers of the Aboriginal children who were sent to residential schools never returned to their home communities because they ran away or died, or their fate is unaccounted for otherwise. Often, their parents and families never were informed of their disappearance or death. These students have come to be referred to as the Missing Children. Their fate is the focus of a series of research projects being conducted by a team of Commission researchers. Additional funding to carry out this work has not been provided to the Commission.

Working with the signatories to the Settlement Agreement, the federal government, the churches, and Aboriginal organizations, the Missing Children research projects will produce as complete a list as possible of children who died at the schools and the cause of their deaths. It will document the fate of those children who never returned to their home communities, and locate school burial sites and cemeteries where it is likely that many of these children are buried.

A research strategy and plans for a series of projects have been developed, and the Commission has begun to implement this strategy. The research team is mindful that this research must be carried out in a way that is respectful of cultural and traditional practices in each part of the country.

**A National Research Centre:**

**Establishing a National Memory**

The Commission is mandated to establish a National Research Centre that is accessible to former students, their families and communities, the general public, researchers, and educators.

To assist the Commission in developing plans for the National Research Centre, the Commission hosted an international forum in March 2011 in Vancouver, British Columbia. The forum brought together representatives of truth and memory projects from sixteen countries, former students, academics, archivists, representatives of international, fed-
eral, and provincial governments, members of the media, and Commission staff. The participants discussed the benefits and drawbacks associated with approaches for the development of a centre that will both house and make accessible the permanent record of the residential school system in Canada.

In November 2011, the Commission issued a Call for Proposals from organizations and agencies interested in working with the Commission to establish the National Research Centre.

Commemoration: Creating a Lasting Legacy

Under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the federal government is committed to funding commemoration initiatives that address the residential school experience. Former students, their families, communities, and groups of former students are eligible to submit proposals for regional or national commemoration projects to the Commission.

The Commission’s ten-member Indian Residential School Survivor Committee reviews the proposals and makes recommendations on funding. The Commission then forwards the recommended proposals to the federal government, which administers the $20-million commemoration fund.

The first of two calls for proposals was issued in 2011. It provided for the allocation of $10-million.

The first call for proposals set broad categories that would allow individuals and communities to explore a wide range of commemoration initiatives, each intended to honour, validate, heal, or memorialize the residential school experience.

A funding limit of $50,000 was established for individual community commemoration projects. If communities collaborate on a single project, the amount of funding can increase by $50,000 per community to a maximum of $500,000. The limit for any individual national commemoration project was set at $2-million.

Over 200 proposals were received in response to the first call for proposals. The recommendations have been reviewed by the Indian Residential School Survivor Committee and forwarded to the federal government.

The Commission believes there should be formal residential school commemorations in every province and territory in Canada. It encourages all governments, educational institutions, and churches to ask themselves what they will do to commemorate the residential schools system.

Recommendation

20) The Commission recommends that governments, educational institutions, and churches consult, design, announce, and publicly unveil residential school commemorations before the completion of the Commission’s mandate.

National Events

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement requires the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to hold seven National Events within the first two years of the launch of the Commission, and a closing ceremony at the end of the Commission’s mandate. However, the Commission, in consultation with the parties to the Settlement Agreement, has determined to hold the events over its full five-year mandate. The first National Event was held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in June 2010; the second in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, in June and July 2011; the third in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in October 2011. Subsequent National Events are planned for Saskatchewan, Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia, with the Commission’s closing ceremony taking place in Ontario.

The National Events provide the Commission with its greatest opportunities to reach out and connect with Canadians of all cultures and backgrounds. Intended to focus national attention on the residential school issue, they stimulate public engagement and education. Former students, families, and communities have been able to share their experiences in a context that allows for serious examination of the issues associated with residential schools. Simultaneously, the events have been defined by public acknowledgements of the schools’ legacy and history, and by celebrations and appreciation of Aboriginal culture.

The Winnipeg National Event, June 16–19, 2010

The Winnipeg National Event, whose theme was It’s About Respect—A Journey of Survival, Strength and Resilience, commenced with a sunrise ceremony on June 16, 2010, at the Forks National Historic Site. Located where the Red and Assiniboine rivers meet, the Forks has a long history as a gathering site. Much of the event was staged in tents during a very rainy week. Despite this, an average of more than 10,000 Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people per day came together in the spirit of understanding and respect, to learn about residential schools and honour the experiences of survivors. For many, the event was their first exposure to the residential school story. For many survivors, it was their first opportunity to speak publicly about their experiences.

Many former students came to the Winnipeg event so they could provide a statement about their residential school experience. In the weeks leading up to the event, the Commission coordinated a significant volunteer effort that brought former students to Winnipeg and housed them at a variety
of residences. The people who walked the 1200 kilometres from Cochrane, Ontario, to Winnipeg epitomized the determination of the former students and their families. In addition, over 400 volunteers contributed their time and energy to ensure the event’s success.

Sharing Circles throughout the Winnipeg event provided participants with an opportunity to enter their experience into the public record, and to share it with others. Private statement-gathering opportunities were offered as well.

Representatives of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, and Presbyterian churches held a luncheon for former students immediately after the official opening. At the close of each day, a Gestures of Reconciliation event was held at a large gathering tent.

One of the key public education activities was “Prairie Perspectives on Indian Residential Schools,” a one-day conference sponsored by the University of Manitoba Centre for Human Rights Research Planning Initiative. It brought together prairie-based researchers, politicians, academics, and researchers who made presentations on the schools and their legacy. An evening panel discussion explored the international impact of truth and reconciliation commissions.

In a more informal way, learning took place in a series of tents where various aspects of the residential school experience were explored.

- The Learning Tent presented Commission-produced educational materials. Church and government archivists made photographs of Manitoba and northwestern Ontario residential schools available to former students.
- In the Interfaith Tent church representatives and Aboriginal people discussed reconciliation efforts in their communities.
- The Athletes Tent highlighted Aboriginal contributions to amateur and professional sport.
- The Inuit Tent showcased Inuit art and entertainment, and depicted the residential school experience from the Inuit perspective.
- The Métis Tent reflected the experience of residential schools in cultural activities such as music, dance, photographs, documents, and video.
- The Legacy of Hope’s photo exhibit *Where are the children* depicted the national residential school experience. (The Legacy of Hope is a national Aboriginal charitable organization dedicated to raising awareness and understanding of the legacy of residential schools.)

Two outdoor concerts featured a wide range of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal musicians. Performers included Buffy Sainte-Marie, Susan Aglukark, Inez, and Blue Rodeo. Other cultural events included:
- a film festival featuring films such as *Older than America*, a film about the residential school experience by Georgina Lightning, recipient of the 2010 White House Project Epic Award for Emerging Artist
- an exhibition at the Winnipeg Art Gallery of *We Are Sorry*, a work by Cathy Busby that contrasts the formal apologies issued to Aboriginal peoples by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd
- the world première of the play *Fabric of the Sky* by Ian Ross
- an evening of readings by Aboriginal writers Beatrice Culleton Mosionier, Rosanna Deerchild, Joseph Boyden, Basil Johnston, and Richard Van Camp.

On the final day, Governor General Michaëlle Jean presided over a special Youth Forum, where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth shared their perspectives on their understanding of residential schools. She enjoined the young people present “to confront history together.” The event concluded with a vibrant pow-wow and closing ceremonies witnessed by hundreds of people.

**The Northern National Event, Inuvik,**

**Northwest Territories, June 28–July 1, 2011**

The theme of the Northern National Event was *It’s about Courage—A National Journey Home*. The event was held in Inuvik from June 28 to July 1, 2011, in the Northwest Territories. Located in the Beaufort Sea, Mackenzie Delta, Inuvik is a cultural crossroads, with overlapping homelands of the Inuvialuit (Inuit) and Gwichin (Dene), as well as significant Métis and non-Aboriginal populations throughout the Mackenzie Valley to the south, and the Yukon to the southwest.

The event attracted over 2500 people in a community that normally has a population of approximately 3500. In addition, viewers from across Canada and ten countries observed the proceedings via live webcast.

Former residential school students make up a large percentage of the population of northern Quebec (Nunavik), the Yukon, and the Northwest and Nunavut territories. In fact, Canada’s North has the highest ratio of residential school survivors per capita. Until the mid-1990s, Aboriginal children across the North still were being taken from their homes and sent to residential schools away from their families.

Due to the vast geography of the North, and to reach as many survivors as possible, the Commission introduced pre-event hearings. Leading up to the Inuvik event, the Commis-
The Northern National Event held hearings in eighteen communities throughout the Territories and northern Quebec (Nunavik) from March to May 2011. The Northern Hearings were an opportunity for residential school survivors, who otherwise might not be able to attend the Northern National Event, to inform the Commission and Canadians of the unique experiences of children who attended the schools in Canada’s North. Through extensive daily media coverage, the hearings helped inform the public about the Commission’s work and statement-gathering process, and provided survivors with time to reflect and share their experiences in leading up to the Northern National Event.

During the community hearings, more than 550 survivors in the North shared their personal experiences with the Commission, and inspired the Northern National Event theme. Prior to each future National Event, the Commission will be holding community hearings in the region in which the event is being held.

The Northern National Event was the largest event of its kind ever held in Inuvik. Organizing it was no small undertaking.

- One thousand survivors travelled to Inuvik by car, bus, boat, and plane.
- Hotels and nearby camps were filled to capacity, while 100 families opened their homes to welcome participants.
- Simultaneous translation was provided in Chipewyan, Dogrih, Gwich’in, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, North Slavey, South Slavey, and French.
- The Department of National Defence flew 30,000 kilograms of technical equipment and essential services from Edmonton to Inuvik in a Hercules aircraft.

The Northern National Event began with the lighting of the Sacred Fire and the Qulliq, the traditional Inuit oil lamp. The opening ceremony included drumming, prayers, speeches by the representatives of the parties to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, and the transferring of the ashes from the Sacred Fire from the first National Event held in Winnipeg.

Following the opening ceremonies, six individuals from four continents were inducted as official Honourary Witnesses for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. They observed the proceedings and accepted the responsibility of sharing what they have learned with peoples around the world. They also worked with local youth to bear witness to each day’s activities.

During the event, survivors expressed themselves through Commissioners’ Sharing Panels, Sharing Circles, and private statement gathering. There were approximately 120 trained health support workers on the ground, many of whom were Aboriginal and former students themselves. They worked tirelessly to provide support to those who needed it.

A Dialogue on Resilience was facilitated with a group of survivors who have exemplified courage and strength throughout their lives, resulting in public achievements. It was an inspirational event, and provided insight into the critical factors that led to these successes.

A particularly touching event was the birthday party for the former students that was held to mark all the birthdays that went uncelebrated at residential school.

The parties to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement took part in the Circle of Reconciliation. These elected leaders and senior officials, including the premier of the Northwest Territories, himself a former residential school student, spoke of forging new relationships between Aboriginal peoples and all Canadians.

The program also provided opportunities for learning about the residential school experience.

- Expressions of Reconciliation—opportunities for individual organizations and representatives of the parties to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement to make statements, presentations, or apologies directly to survivors.
- The Learning Place—through speakers, posters, photographs, and videos, the history of residential schools in Canada was explored, with a particular focus on the northern schools that were included in the Settlement Agreement.
- The Churches’ Listening Area—survivors were provided with an opportunity to share their experience in one-to-one meetings with church representatives.
- Interactive Traditional Sports History and Demonstrations with Elders—dialogue on traditional sports history and its cultural importance.
- Children and Youth Programming—cultural activities, sports, education, and artistic expression were highlighted.
- Special Film Screenings—screenings of My Own Private Lower Post and The Experimental Eskimos, two films about the residential experience impacts on northern Aboriginal people.
- Daily Call to Gather - hosted by a master of ceremonies, a video summary of the day’s activities, which included the sharing of experiences by the Honourary Witnesses for that day.

Evening activities were intended to showcase Aboriginal cultures. These included:

- A special, historical, concert performance—acknowledging the history of northern people and residential
schools, as told by northern singers, writers, drummers, and other artists. All the performers had been affected directly by the residential school experience.

- A fashion show with designers from across the Arctic, featuring traditional styles, motifs, and materials.
- A talent show that brought drums, harmonicas, fiddles, songs, and voices to the stage for an evening of laughter, sharing, and inspiration.

During the closing ceremonies, the mayor of Inuvik, Denny Rodgers, announced the town would commemorate the Northern National Event by preserving the Sacred Fire site as a permanent memorial. The Survivor Committee gathered ashes from the Sacred Fire, to be carried on to the Atlantic National Event in Halifax, in October 2011.

Community Events

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement also mandates organizing and supporting community events. These events are to be designed by communities, and respond to the needs of the former students, their families, and those affected by the schools. In many cases, representatives of the churches that were involved in running the schools have participated in these events.

These events can provide people with an opportunity to share their residential school experience with the Commissioners and/or a statement gatherer. Communities also have a chance to offer gestures of reconciliation that are representative of the community, and to showcase the ways in which they have begun the work of reconciliation. To help communities prepare such events, the Commission has developed a Community Events Guide.
Review of Past Reports

The Commission was established to reveal the truth about the residential school system, and to identify pathways to reconciliation for its survivors and for all Canadians. In order to understand the current context for reconciliation in Canada, the Commission is conducting research into previous reconciliation efforts, and will report on these in future reports.

The most ambitious attempt to reconcile the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada was the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). It was launched in response to the Oka crisis of 1990. That summer, a bitter land-claim dispute led to a military siege of the Mohawk community of Kanesatake, and galvanized many long-standing Aboriginal grievances across Canada.

Established in 1991, the Royal Commission was mandated to conduct hearings across the country and offer recommendations on how to improve Canada’s relationships with its original peoples. Released in 1996, its five-volume Final Report included over 3500 pages and offered over 400 recommendations thematically organized into categories of renewed relationships, treaties, governance, lands and resources, economic development, family, health and healing, housing, education, arts, and heritage. The Commission also dedicated a volume of its Final Report to multiple Aboriginal perspectives: Women, Elders, Youth, Métis, as well as Northern and Urban. Most of RCAP’s recommendations were directed to the federal government; many were aimed at other governments, whether Aboriginal, municipal, provincial, and territorial, as well as other elements of civil society including colleges and universities, industry, mass media, and labour unions. The following two sections review the RCAP recommendations that specifically address 1) residential schools, and 2) reconciliation.

Residential-School Recommendations

The Royal Commission made several recommendations regarding residential schools. The most substantive, Recommendation 1.10.1, called for a public inquiry that would:

(a) investigate and document the origin and effects of residential school policies and practices respecting all Aboriginal peoples, with particular attention to the nature and extent of effects on subsequent generations of individuals and families, and on communities and Aboriginal societies;

(b) conduct public hearings across the country with sufficient funding to enable the testimony of affected persons to be heard;

(c) commission research and analysis of the breadth of the effects of these policies and practices;

(d) investigate the record of residential schools with a view to the identification of abuse and what action, if any, is considered appropriate; and

(e) recommend remedial action by governments and the responsible churches deemed necessary by the inquiry to relieve conditions created by the residential school experience, including as appropriate,

- apologies by those responsible;
- compensation of communities to design and administer programs that help the healing process and rebuild their community life; and
- funding for treatment of affected individuals and their families.¹

Recommendation 1.10.3 called for the establishment of a "national repository of records and video collections related to residential schools." This national repository would:

- facilitate access to documentation and electronic exchange of research on residential schools
- provide financial assistance for the collection of testimony and continuing research
- work with educators in the design of Aboriginal curriculum that explains the history and effects of residential schools
- conduct public education programs on the history and effects of residential schools and remedies applied to relieve their negative effects.

Unfortunately, the majority of these recommendations were not adopted or even acknowledged by the federal government. In 1998 the Minister of Indian Affairs finally responded with a “Statement of Reconciliation” that specifically addressed the residential school system as part of her government’s formal response to RCAP, entitled Gathering Strength—Canada’s Aboriginal Action Plan.

The Government of Canada acknowledges the role it played in the development and administration of these schools. Particularly to those individuals who experienced the tragedy of physical and sexual abuse at residential schools, and who have carried this burden believing that in some way they must be responsible, we wish to emphasize that what you experienced was not your fault and should never have happened. To those of you who suffered this tragedy at residential schools, we are deeply sorry.²

It would take another decade of litigation and negotiation following the release of the RCAP report before the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement was reached. In that agreement, Canada and the churches agreed to survivors’ demands for individual compensation for all students, independent assessment process for victims of abuse, the establishment of a truth commission, and the creation of a national archive dealing with residential schools. This addressed, but did not fulfill, many of the elements in the RCAP residential school recommendations. In this respect, the TRC is a living testament to former students’ perseverance in demanding an inquiry into the residential school system.

Reconciliation Recommendations

RCAP’s Final Report is a particularly rich resource. It invites Canadians to participate in a national dialogue on possible pathways to reconciliation. It offered hundreds of relevant recommendations, too numerous to be reviewed here, but their main message was the need for a new relationship between Canada and Aboriginal peoples. Four guiding principles for the new relationship were proposed: mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing, and mutual responsibility. Aboriginal nations would be recognized as the third order of government in Canada alongside the federal and provincial or territorial branches. Recognition of Aboriginal peoples’ inherent right to self-determination would be the only pathway to Aboriginal reconciliation with Canada.

One of the most prominent recommendations was the issuing of what was termed a “New Royal Proclamation” to symbolize the beginning of a new era between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. RCAP hoped that this gesture would “establish the infrastructure for the new relationship … [with] critical institutions for the shift to the nation as the basic unit of Aboriginal government and for structuring the negotiating process.”³ A New Royal Proclamation should contain:

- acknowledgement of “the profoundly harmful elements of the past … as a means of reconciliation”
- creation of a process to recognize Aboriginal nations in which would be vested the right of self-determination
- establishment of a treaty process framework that commits the government to “respect and implement existing treaties in accord with their spirit and intent”
- clarification regarding Aboriginal Title and the removal of any extinguishment requirements for land-claims settlements
- recognition of Métis land rights and governance.⁴

The 1998 federal response to RCAP ignored the “Royal Proclamation” recommendation. It did include an expression of regret for past wrongs and a federal pledge to focus on four priority areas: renewing the partnership, strengthening Aboriginal governance, developing a new fiscal relationship, and supporting strong communities.

There have been several attempts to assess the implementation of the RCAP recommendations but their number and scope complicate such an assessment. While the Auditor General has produced periodic reviews of Aboriginal programs, the majority of these audits look at the performance of existing programs. They do not, however, assess the government’s progress in implementing programs that the RCAP Final Report recommended in order to meet needs identified by the Commission.

Thus far, the federal government has made little effort to monitor its own progress in implementing RCAP’s recommendations. For example, Canada committed to developing an “Aboriginal Report Card” in 2004 but this was never completed. Treasury Board did provide two Aboriginal-specific sections in its 2004 and 2005 “Canada’s Performance” reports. These reports were discontinued in 2006.

In 2006 the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) issued a ten-year report card that looked at the RCAP Final Report’s recommendations. This report card gave Canada a failing grade in over half (thirty-seven of sixty-five) the categories of recommendations.5

Academic as well as political assessments have been critical of Canada’s failure to acknowledge, let alone implement, the majority of RCAP’s recommendations. In his 2008 book A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada, political philosopher John Ralston Saul lamented the federal government’s missed opportunity to “engage” with RCAP’s recommendations as a “most foolish refusal.”6 However, he pointed hopefully to examples where Canadians have made progress in adopting RCAP’s core principles, and he cites its Final Report directly: “This great document is slowly making its way because it is the most important statement we now have of our reality—one that embraces ‘a relationship of mutual trust and loyalty’ and deals with the real role of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.” He also notes that Aboriginal peoples have much to teach the rest of the country about reconciliation.

Non-Aboriginals appear to be moving ever so tentatively toward reconciliation, which would be a first step toward understanding the situation differently. As always in our history, the elegance and generosity when it is a matter of reconciliation comes largely from the indigenous side, from those who have been wronged. All around us there are a multitude of negotiations and complaints and concerns. As they are resolved in a pattern that increasingly gives Aboriginals room to manoeuvre and re-establish their role as players and leaders in their own worlds, so they also gain the room to play an important role in Canada as a whole.7

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is of the opinion that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples identified the key issues to be addressed in righting the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Although RCAP did not identify a specific role for the churches in addressing a reconciliation process, such participation clearly is captured by the spirit of RCAP’s recommendations. Furthermore, RCAP’s guiding principles of mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing, and mutual responsibility are critical to any reconciliation process.

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Conclusions

There can be no movement toward reconciliation without an understanding of the rationale, operation, and overall impact of the schools. Through its work, the Commission has reached certain conclusions about the residential school system. The truth about the residential school system will cause many Canadians to see their country differently. These are hard truths, but only by coming to grips with these truths can we lay the foundation for reconciliation.

The Commission has concluded that:

1) Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal children.
2) Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal families.
3) Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal culture.
4) Residential schools constituted an assault on self-governing and self-sustaining Aboriginal nations.
5) The impacts of the residential school system were immediate, and have been ongoing since the earliest years of the schools.
6) Canadians have been denied a full and proper education as to the nature of Aboriginal societies, and the history of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

1) Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal children.

- The residential school system separated children from their parents without providing them with adequate physical or emotional care or supervision.
- Due to this lack of care and supervision, the schools often were sites of institutionalized child neglect, excessive physical punishment, and physical, sexual, and emotional abuse.

- Persistent underfunding left the schools dependent on student labour.
- Several generations of children were traumatized by their residential school experience: by having been abused, by having witnessed abuse, or by having been coerced to participate in abuse.
- All these factors contributed to high mortality rates, poor health, and low academic achievement.

Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal families.

- The residential school system was established with the specific intent of preventing parents from exercising influence over the educational, spiritual, and cultural development of their children.
- The schools not only separated children from their parents and grandchildren, but because of the strict separation of girls from boys, they also separated sisters from brothers. Older siblings were also separated from younger siblings.
- As each succeeding generation passed through the system, the family bond weakened, and, eventually, the strength and structure of Aboriginal family bonds were virtually destroyed.
- Given the high mortality rates that prevailed for much of the system’s history, many parents spent their lives grieving, never having been given a proper description of how their child died or where they were buried, and not being able to hold an appropriate ceremony of mourning.
3) Residential schools constituted an assault on Aboriginal culture.

- The residential school system was intended to “civilize” and “Christianize” Aboriginal children, replacing Aboriginal cultural values with Euro-Canadian values.
- The residential school system belittled and repressed Aboriginal cultures and languages. By making students feel ashamed of who they were, the system undermined their sense of pride and self-worth. This deprived them of the cultural and economic advantages and benefits that come from knowing two languages.

4) Residential schools constituted an assault on self-governing and self-sustaining Aboriginal nations.

- The residential school system was intended to assimilate Aboriginal children into broader Canadian society. With assimilation would come the breaking up of the reserves and the end of treaty obligations. In this way the schools were part of a broader Canadian policy to undermine Aboriginal leaders and Aboriginal self-government.

5) The impacts of the residential school system were immediate, and have been ongoing since the earliest years of the schools.

- The damage extended far beyond the numbers of children who attended these schools: families, communities, and cultures all suffered. Students were estranged from their families and communities; cultural, spiritual, and language transmission was disrupted; education did not prepare children for traditional lifestyles or emerging economic opportunities (which often were limited); parenting skills were lost; and patterns of abuse were developed that continue to have an impact on communities today.
- The schools’ legacy shaped people’s whole life experience, including their employment and their interactions with social service agencies, the legal system, and the health care system. The system’s impact does not stop with the survivors; it affects their interactions with their children and grandchildren—the intergenerational survivors. The impact of the schools is felt in every Aboriginal community in the country.

6) Canadians have been denied a full and proper education as to the nature of Aboriginal societies, and the history of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

- Canadians generally have been led to believe—by what has been taught and not taught in schools—that Aboriginal people were and are uncivilized, primitive, and inferior, and continue to need to be civilized. Canadians have been denied a full and proper education as to the nature of Aboriginal societies. They have not been well informed about the nature of the relationship that was established initially between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples and the way that relationship has been shaped over time by colonialism and racism. This lack of education and misinformation has led to misunderstanding and, in some cases, hostility between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians on matters of importance.

It will take time and commitment to reverse this legacy. The schools operated in Canada for well over a century. In the same way, the reconciliation process will have to span generations. It will take time to re-establish respect. Effective reconciliation will see Aboriginal people regaining their sense of self-respect, and the development of relations of mutual respect between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In future reports, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be making specific recommendations as to how reconciliation can be furthered.

There are three points we would like to leave with all readers.

**The first is that this story has heroes.** The work of truth telling, healing, and reconciliation was commenced well over two decades ago by the people who, as children, had been victimized by this system. They continue to do the heavy labour of sharing their stories, and, by so doing, educating their children, their communities, and their country.

**The second is obvious: a commission such as this cannot itself achieve reconciliation.** Reconciliation implies relationship. The residential schools badly damaged relationships within Aboriginal families and communities, between Aboriginal peoples and churches, between Aboriginal peoples and the government, and between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples within Canadian society. The Commissioners believe these relationships can and must be repaired. The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement is a positive step in this process since it formally recognized the need to come to terms with the past. The process of reconciliation will require the passionate commitment of individuals and the genuine engagement of society. There are people today who are living with the direct impacts of the schools: the survivors and their families. Specific attention will have to be paid to their needs. The conflicts that have arisen within communities as a result of the school system must be recognized and addressed.
Churches have to define their role in this process as Aboriginal people reclaim what is of value to them.

Reconciliation also will require changes in the relationship between Aboriginal people and the government of Canada. The federal government, along with the provincial governments, historically has taken a social welfare approach to its dealings with Aboriginal people. This approach fails to recognize the unique legal status of Aboriginal peoples as the original peoples of this country. Without that recognition, we run the risk of continuing the assimilationist policies and the social harms that were integral to the residential schools.

Finally, there is no reason for anyone who wants to contribute to the reconciliation process to wait until the publication of the Commission's final reports. There is an opportunity now for Canadians to engage in this work, to make their own contributions to reconciliation, and to create new truths about our country. As Assembly of First Nations National Chief Phil Fontaine observed when he accepted Canada’s apology in June 2008, “Together we can achieve the greatness our country deserves.” Our challenge and opportunity will be to work together to achieve that greatness.

Justice Murray Sinclair
Chair, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Chief Wilton Littlechild
Commissioner, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Marie Wilson
Commissioner, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
Recommendations

1) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada issue the necessary orders-in-council and funding authorities to ensure that the end date of the Commission and Commissioners’ appointments coincide, including the necessary wind-down period after the Commission’s last public event.

2) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada work with the Commission to ensure the Commission has adequate funds to complete its mandate on time.

3) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada ensure that Health Canada, in conjunction with appropriate provincial, territorial, and traditional health care partners, has the resources needed to provide for the safe completion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s full mandate, and to provide for continuous, high-quality mental health and cultural support services for all those involved in Truth and Reconciliation and other Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement activities, through to completion of these activities.

4) The Commission recommends that each provincial and territorial government undertake a review of the curriculum materials currently in use in public schools to assess what, if anything, they teach about residential schools.

5) The Commission recommends that provincial and territorial departments of education work in concert with the Commission to develop age-appropriate educational materials about residential schools for use in public schools.

6) The Commission recommends that each provincial and territorial government work with the Commission to develop public-education campaigns to inform the general public about the history and impact of residential schools in their respective jurisdiction.

7) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada and churches establish an ongoing cultural revival fund designed to fund projects that promote the traditional spiritual, cultural, and linguistic heritages of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

8) The Commission recommends that all levels of government develop culturally appropriate early childhood and parenting programs to assist young parents and families affected by the impact of residential schools and historic policies of cultural oppression in the development of parental understanding and skills.

9) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada, and the federal Minister of Health, in consultation with northern leadership in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, take urgent action to develop plans and allocate priority resources for a sustainable, northern, mental health and wellness healing centre, with specialization in childhood trauma and long-term grief, as critically needed by residential school survivors and their families and communities.

10) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada, through Health Canada, immediately begin work with provincial and territorial government health and/or education agencies to establish means to formally recognize and accredit the knowledge, skills, and on-the-job training of Health Canada’s community cultural and traditional knowledge healing team members, as demonstrated through
their intensive practical work in support of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and other Settlement Agreement provisions.

11) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada develop a program to establish health and wellness centres specializing in trauma and grief counselling and treatment appropriate to the cultures and experiences of multi-generational residential school survivors.

12) The Commission recommends that the parties to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, with the involvement of other provincial or territorial governments as necessary, identify and implement the earliest possible means to address legitimate concerns of former students who feel unfairly left out of the Settlement Agreement, in order to diminish obstacles to healing within Aboriginal communities and reconciliation within Canadian society.

13) The Commission recommends that, to ensure that survivors and their families receive as much healing benefit as the apology may bring them, the Government of Canada distribute individual copies of the “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools” to all known residential school survivors.

14) The Commission recommends the Government of Canada distribute to every secondary school in Canada a framed copy of the “Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools” for prominent public display and ongoing educational purposes.

15) The Commission recommends that federal, provincial, and territorial governments, and all parties to the Settlement Agreement, undertake to meet and explore the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as a framework for working towards ongoing reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

16) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada meet immediately with the Aboriginal Healing Foundation to develop a plan to restore funding for healing initiatives to the Foundation within the next fiscal year.

17) The Commission recommends that the Government of Canada and the churches produce all their relevant records to the Commission as quickly as possible.

18) The Commission recommends that Canada and the churches make a dramatic change in the way they address the funding and timeliness of document production and digitization.

19) The Commission recommends that all agencies and organizations that are not parties to the Settlement Agreement, but have holdings relevant to the history and legacy of residential schools (such as provincial and university archives, libraries, museums, galleries, and Aboriginal organizations), contact the Commission and assist the Commission in receiving copies of all such relevant documents.

20) The Commission recommends that governments, educational institutions, and churches consult, design, announce, and publicly unveil residential school commemorations before the completion of the Commission’s mandate.


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