

**The Pursuit of Social Justice by the Care-leavers from the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured
Children and the Production of Knowledge**

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In Memory of My Ancestors

To my West African Ancestors, your struggles were unimaginable. You were ripped from your homes, and forced into slavery. Your biology and biography were transformed and forever altered. I stand humbled in your presence, as one of your descendants. I write my thesis in memory of you. A memory which speaks to your unwavering determination to be free, your perseverance of surviving a slave society. The power of faith which you instilled into your future generations allowed your descendants to achieve unprecedented accomplishments. Your sacrifices are unmatched. The atrocities committed against you were crimes against humanity. And your hope became the pedagogy of hope: as an existential existence that has been imbedded into your descendants. I say to you my ancestors, that your pain, your sufferings and your tribulations have not gone unrecognized. All was not in vain. Black Nova Scotians evolved into a distinct cultural group. We know that our strength lies within you.

To my First Nation Ancestors, so many of you were slaughtered. Your kindness for helping the newcomers known as Europeans to your home, was an authentic act of humanity. The Europeans returned your kindness with acts of annihilation. Millions were massacred. You underwent both genocide and later cultural genocide. But yet you survive to reclaim your heritage, your culture and to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. In your memory, I write my thesis knowing the meaning of the spirit. As one of your descendants, I understand spirituality and the meaning of humanity which, is connected to the spiritual world and the living world. Because of you, I understand the Creator, knowing that all people are spiritually connected, and humanity is connected to the cosmos, to the universe and to all of creation. In all due respect, I acknowledge that Nova Scotia resides on unceded territory of the Abegweirt Mi'kmaq First Nation. The history of the Mi'kmaq people goes back 13 thousand years to the end of the Ice Age. For thousands of years, the Mi'kmaq territory included what is known as the Atlantic Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland—as well as portions of the Gaspé Peninsula. We must always remember that the land we call home, is the territory of the Abegweirt Mi'kmaq First Nation.

In Honour of My Mother

Grace May (Francis) Lawrence



So much of what you instilled into me, years later I understood to be true. Your knowledge and wisdom were beyond any understandings that historians could write. For these scholars lack the contextual understandings which you shared with me. Your insight into the pedagogy of the oppressed would impress Freire. Your understanding of how women were positioned in society, outshines the feminist's movement, and the many feminist theories that have emerged over the generations.

I shall always remember your words. *We were descendants of the African Slaves and First Nations peoples. We were Black Nova Scotians. We come from the strongest of the strong. The weak ones, perished on the slave ships, others died on the plantations, and more died trying to make Nova Scotia their home.* Your words were so poetic and your knowledge constructs, I still find astonishing. I am so proud that the Creator chose you to be my mother.

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To the Care-leavers of the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children, your unwavering determination seeking recognition and demanding an inquiry is unmatched. You stood your ground in the face of resistance from within the Black community. The Black community try to silence you throughout your social justice journey. The Government of Nova Scotia dismissed your outcries for an inquiry. Your perseverance was to take you on a 15-year journey seeking social justice. This journey became a social justice movement. Because of your dedication to social justice, the Government of Nova Scotia acceded to your demands for an inquiry. You exceeded all expectations, in so doing, you have created history. It is your extraordinary dedication which will be remembered. And because of you, the NSHCC's legacy will be the Restorative Inquiry. Imagine, the NSHCC is now situated on the global landscape with truth commissions and transnational justice—creating new knowledge constructs! Our ancestors must be proud of your accomplishments.

To my supervisor, Dr. Susan Brigham, you demanded nothing less than excellence. This made me work more diligently, striving to meet your standards. It was a difficult process for me, because I wanted to ensure that, I conveyed the distinct culture of the Black Nova Scotian Community. I wanted the reader to understand how the Black Nova Scotian community evolved. I thank you for your patience. The suggestions you made, although difficult at times, I learn to appreciate. This appreciation expanded my learning, and new ways of understanding research. Indeed, this is the purpose of education, to challenge oneself through critical reflection and to interrogate one's epistemology. To embrace new learning is a process. From you, I understand that lifelong learning is always conflated with the filtered lens we bring into the learning environment. And understanding our filters is in fact, how we can reconfigure our worldviews. A worldview that is inclusive of all peoples, lifestyles and cultures. Lifelong learning is truly a campaign of advancing humanity. Thank you for your role in my learning journey.

Abstract

My study is essentially about the marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community by the Province of Nova Scotia. The impact of marginalization has made lifelong learning strategies more difficult for Black Nova Scotian learners. This study focuses on people who, as youth, lived at the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children. These people will be referred to as “Care-leavers”, which is a term to describe former residents residing in congregate care facilities and out-of-home care settings (Daly, 2014; Skold, 2016; Wright, 2017). I assert that the experiences of the care-leavers from the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children exemplify anti-Black sentiments and institutional and systemic racism committed against the Black Nova Scotian community by the Province of Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children was a forced segregated orphanage for orphaned and neglected Black children operated by the provincial government. This segregation was in keeping with the belief that Black people were innately inferior and the White population was at risk of contamination, if Blacks and Whites mingled.

My study investigates the 15-year struggle that care-leavers undertook to seek social justice for their treatment at the Home. In 2014, under the leadership of Premier McNeil, the liberal government settled with the care-leavers of the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children. In 2015, Premier McNeil announced the Restorative Inquiry. The Restorative Inquiry has the power of a royal commission, which is empowered to subpoena witnesses, to compel the production of documents, and enact legislation. All indications are that the Restorative Inquiry as one of its remits, is to address racism in Nova Scotia. The Restorative Inquiry which is ongoing is examining racism as it pertains to education.

Abbreviations

ADR: Alternative Dispute Resolution

AUBA: African United Baptist Association

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CHA: Critical Historical Analysis

CRT: Critical Race Theory

DCS: Department of Community Services

IU: Internal Investigative Unit

NSHCC: Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children

RCMP: Royal Canadian Mounted Police

SYC: Shelburne Youth Centre

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Chapter 1 – Purpose of Thesis

The Study

My study is essentially about the marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community by the Province of Nova Scotia. The impact of marginalization has made lifelong learning strategies more difficult for Black Nova Scotian learners. The social injustice including anti-Black racism, discrimination and systemic social inequalities has impeded academic achievement of Black learners. This study focuses on people who as children and/or as youth resided at the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children. These people will be referred to as “care-leavers”, which is a term to describe former residents residing in congregate care facilities and out-of-home-care settings (Daly, 2014; Skold, 2016; Wright, 2017). Wright (2017) states that:

From the late 1980s onward, people who experienced out-of-home residential care’ as children (‘care leavers’) and other affected groups began to organize and advocate for recognition of the abuse to which they were subjected as children and for reparation for its deleterious and often long-lasting effects. (p. 14)

The care-leavers of the NSHCC are an example of such a group. The care-leavers of the NSHCC, insisted upon an inquiry to investigate their allegations of historical institutional child abuse, when as children they were residents at the NSHCC. Daly (2014) defines historical institutional abuse as dealing, “with residential institutions for children in the past, and with adult survivors seeking recognition and redress” (p. 7) in the present. Skold (2016) believes that:

The issue of historical institutional child abuse has been brought to the fore through care-leavers’ demands for recognition, reparation and justice—sometimes resulting in major class-action suits, and/or widespread compelling media coverage, that have eventually forced governments and other responsible bodies to take action. (pp. 492-493)

The NSHCC was the last orphanage established in Nova Scotia and the last orphanage to close—or more accurately to transition into a group home facility (Lafferty,

2012). Its establishment was the result of forced segregation by the colonial Province of Nova Scotia and condoned by a call from main-stream society for a separate congregate care facility for orphaned and neglected Black children. I have employed a theoretical approach to my thesis to provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical factors which led to a demand for a separate and segregated orphanage and decades later, demands by the care-leavers of the NSHCC seeking social justice. A care-leaver:

started it in 1998, when he was asked to describe the home [NSHCC], and his answer became a rallying cry for hundreds of former residents who had allowed stories of their sexual, physical and psychological abuse to be covered up. (N.A., 2014, Dec. 6, p. M29)

This rallying cry became a political platform in which the care-leavers of the NSHCC, began to organize themselves into an advocacy group. Skold (2016) states that:

care-leavers associations struggled for years to get the attention of governments, in many countries media coverage including broadcasting of television documentaries had been one triggering dynamic in the establishment of inquiries into historical institutional child abuse or issuing official apologies. (p. 495)

In 1994, the Government of Nova Scotia launched a three-pronged approach to address institutional child abuse in five of its government operated residential institutions for children and youth (Stratton, 1995, Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002). The NSHCC was excluded from this investigation, even though there were official reports written by provincial employees regarding allegations of institutional abuse dating back to the 1920s (Taylor, 2015; and P.C., Ray Warner, May 14, 2018). First, it appointed an independent auditor, Ms. Vicki Samuels-Stewart, to evaluate and assess its current practices, procedures in their residential institutions for children and youth, to ensure children under their care were safe from institutional child abuse (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002). Daly (2014) and Wright (2017) refer to this, as conducting an investigation into contemporary institutional child abuse. The audit investigation was a duration of three months, at a cost of \$36,000 (Stratton, 1995; Kaufman, 2012). Second, it appointed, the Honourable Stuart G. Stratton, Q.C., to investigate allegations of sexual and physical abuse in five government operated residential institutions. Stratton (1995) states that:

[O]n December 1, 1994, [he] was appointed by the Minister of Justice to lead an independent investigation into incidents and allegations of sexual and other physical abuse at the former Shelburne School for Boys (now the Shelburne Youth Training Centre), the former School for Girls (now the Nova Scotia Residential Centre), the Nova Scotia Youth Training Centre at Bible Hill and the Children's Training Centres at Sydney and Dartmouth. (Stratton, 1995, p. iv)

Later, Mr. Justice Stratton was requested by the Minister of Justice to expand his investigation to include a former government employee by the name of Caesar Lalo (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002). Kaufman (2002) explains, "Due to the expanded nature of the investigation, the report was now expected by June 30, 1995, [and] the budget was increased to \$140,000" (p. 45). The duration of the investigation by Mr. Justice Stratton was approximately seven months. Third, the government adopted an Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) to be implemented if Mr. Justice Stratton had concluded liability was revealed through his investigation (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002).

Stratton (1995) recommended that the Government of Nova Scotia proceed to the third and final step of the three-prong approach, which was the implementation of the ADR, and its accompanied Compensation Package. The Government of Nova Scotia learned from Stratton (1995) that there were conditions which would lead to institutional child abuse. These included underfunding of congregate care facilities, unqualified staff, staff -to- residents working ratio, lack of training and professional development for staff and the physicality of the building. The NSHCC would possess all of these conditions, which increased the probability that institutional child abuse had in fact, occurred. In 1995, the Government of Nova Scotia announced an apology, and a redress program to address the historical wrongs that had been committed against the care-leavers of three of its government operated residential institutions, in which Stratton (1995) had concluded, there was institutional child abuse (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002).

In 1998, the Compensation Program for these care-leavers claiming institutional abuse, from three of the government operated institutions and the victims of Cesar Lala, was drawing to a close (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002). Over 1,200 care-leavers received compensation (Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002). Shea (1999) states that, "As of

November 8, 1999, out of 1260 claims, 1181 had been settled and the remaining 79 were at the stage of negotiation or arbitral review” (p. 26). I suppose it was reasonable to speculate, that the care-leavers of the NSHCC expected the Government of Nova Scotia to treat them in a similar fashion. The care-leavers of the NSHCC will soon experience, the government’s complete dismissive attitude towards them; and will come to know, all things were not equal!

Shea (1999) explains that, “Nova Scotia’s new Minister of Justice, Michael Baker, announced on November 30, 1999 that retired Quebec Court of Appeal Judge Fred Kaufman will conduct an independent review of the government’s response to institutional abuse” (p. 27). Shea (1999) notes that, “The review is expected to take up to 15 months to complete and cost \$950,000” (p. 27). The Kaufman report took over two years to complete and was released in 2002. In 1999, the Honourable Fred Kaufman, Q.C., was appointed to review the Government of Nova Scotia’s response to institutional child abuse, and how the ADR was implemented (Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002).

Kaufman (2002) produced a 700-page public report, comprised of three separate documents. Kaufman (2002) states, “I have crafted 105 recommendations—a ‘Blueprint for the Future’” (p. 480), on how the Government of Nova Scotia should respond to institutional child abuse. The estimate cost to the taxpayers for the Audit, the Stratton Report and the Kaufman Report is over \$1.5 million dollars. Both Stratton (1999) and Kaufman (2002) stated that the Province of Nova Scotia has a moral obligation to address institutional child abuse. “I conclude, however, that there is a high moral obligation on the Province of Nova Scotia to address the present plight of the complainants” (Stratton, 1995, p. 102). In fact, Kaufman (2002) extends this obligation by stating:

Government is obliged legally and morally to respond to this issue. We believe it is essential that any process ensures that there be proper accountability for actions, that the truth be ascertained, that fair compensation be paid and that there are assurances that necessary remedial action has been and will take place. (p. 518)

The care-leavers of the NSHCC pleaded with the Government of Nova Scotia to investigate their allegations of historical institutional child abuse, when as children they resided at the NSHCC. But yet, the Government of Nova Scotia did not implement the recommendations of Kaufman (2002), when dealing with the care-leavers of the NSHCC,

regarding their allegations of historical institutional child abuse. Nor did the Government of Nova Scotia request Mr. Justice Kaufman to expand his investigation to include the NSHCC, as they had done in the Caesar Lalo case in 1995. In 1998, when a care-leaver of the NSHCC spoke publicly about allegations of historical institutional abuse, the government did not respond and there were pending lawsuits before the courts beginning in 1991. Why? And why spend over \$1.5 million dollars of taxpayer's money for reports that the government did not implement?

For nearly 15-years, the care-leavers of the NSHCC were able to sustain media coverage of their allegations of institutional child abuse, when as children they resided at the NSHCC. The care-leavers accomplished this by developing proactive strategies to speak publicly, presenting their calls for an inquiry and social redress at various venues. Newspaper articles stated these care-leavers wanted their experiences of historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC to be recognized, acknowledged and validated (Hoare & Gorman, 2014; Hoare & Fairclough, 2014; and Doucette, 2014). In October, 2012, a documentary was aired on the CTV entitled, *Throwaway Children* by journalist Victor Malarek. This documentary interviewed care-leavers who shared their stories of institutional child abuse when they resided as children at the NSHCC. Unlike other jurisdictions, when documentaries such as this aired, there was an immediate public outrage and calls for governments to take decisive actions. Daly (2014) cites several cases, such as the Scandinavian countries noting:

[T]he flash point for the 2006 Swedish Inquiry on Child Abuse and Neglect in Institutions and Foster Homes was a television program in which men talked about their experiences of sexual and physical abuse in a boys' home in the 1950s and 1960s. (p. 11)

Shea (1999) speaks of the triggering factors for a government response regarding the Grandview Training Schools for Girls in Ontario. Shea (1999) asserts that, in 1991, two women began speaking publicly about their experiences at Grandview, revealing sexual and physical abuse. Shea (1999) outlines the process as:

They made public appearances on television asking women who had been at Grandview to contact the police or the provincial government. In the summer of 1991, the Waterloo Regional Police Services and the Ontario Police began a joint

investigation of claims of physical and sexual abuse that had occurred at Grandview. They formed the Grandview Survivors' Support Group (GSSG), hired legal counsel (whose services were paid for by the Ontario government) and later elected an executive. Meanwhile, mediation for the Grandview settlements was authorised under a 1992 decision of the Ontario Cabinet to pursue an out-of-court strategy. (pp. 28-29)

These are examples of the triggering factors which prompted a government response, and the type of redress programs governments offered. It appears, this was not the case for the care-leavers from the NSHCC. These care-leavers sustained media coverage for 15-years, and yet in the wake of Nova Scotia Institutional Child Abuse Scandal, the government did not respond. It is unacceptable that the Government of Nova Scotia did not provide a similar consideration to the care-leavers of the NSHCC, as they previous had done in 1995, for the care-leavers of three of its government operated residential institutions.

The media coverage of the care-leavers of the NSHCC and their political platform did not appear to ignite such a reaction from the public in Nova Scotia. "For decades, their cries for abuse to be acknowledged went largely unanswered, until they launched a class action against the province and the home for failing to protect them" (Hoare and Gorman, 2014, June 4, p. A1). There were numerous individual lawsuits filed by care-leavers of the NSHCC against the NSHCC and the Province of Nova Scotia. The Government of Nova Scotia's response was to aggressively litigate. At every juncture in the legal process, the government attempted to de-certify the care-leavers of NSHCC pending legal proceedings. "The Government of Nova Scotia aggressively try to dismiss the care-leavers legal case before the courts" (P.C., Ray Warner, May 14, 2018). Taylor (2015) asserts that, "[T]he Home [NSHCC] and Children's Aid applied for summary judgements to have all claims dismissed, arguing that the statue of limitations had run out" (p. 54). Taylor (2015) continues to explain, "Until the statue of limitations was eliminated in 2014, statue on sexual assault was only for one year" (p. 54). The Government of Nova Scotia's response to the care-leavers of the NSHCC is perplexing. The Government of Nova Scotia did not assert the statue of limitations when implementing the ADR process for other care-leavers in 1995. Indeed, Stratton (1995) reports that during his

investigation, “These former residents were being asked to recall traumatic events that had occurred some 20 to 40 years ago” (p. 99).

Hoare and Fairclough (2014, July 8) report, “A little over 60 individual lawsuits were filed in the late 1990s” (p. A1). Wagner, the legal counsel for the care-leavers of the NSHCC, “represents nearly 200 former residents of the [NSHCC] - the majority of whom are black – who alleged they were victims of physical, sexual and psychological abuse by staff” (Hoare and Fairclough, 2014, July 8, p. A1). Hoare and Fairclough (2012, July 8) write, “Wagner, who started representing former residents 13 years ago in individual suits but rolled them into the class action” (p. A4). Meanwhile, the care-leavers of the NSHCC organized petitions and protests, creating a political platform to which their demands for an inquiry could be effectively launched. Doucette (2012, Nov. 27) reports the care-leavers of the NSHCC:

... took their fight for a public inquiry into long-standing allegations of abuse to the provincial legislature, where they presented a petition in support of their cause. About 50 former residents of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children delivered the document containing more than 1,000 signatures calling for immediate government action. (np.)

In 2009, the New Democratic Party (NDP) had a majority government in Nova Scotia. Most people who supported the care-leavers of the NSHCC believed that the NDP would at least launch an independent investigation. But the NDP refused to address the care-leavers’ allegations of historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC. Hoare and Fairclough (2014, July 8) write, “Gordon Earle, a former New Democrat MP left that party over the province’s handling of the case” (p. A1). Stephen McNeil, who was the opposition leader of the Liberal Party, promised as a campaign pledge that he would launch an inquiry into the allegations of historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC if he was elected Premier of Nova Scotia. Gorman (2014, Oct. 11) reports that, “McNeil said previous governments put off addressing the residents’ concerns suggesting it wasn’t their problem” (p. A4). In 2013, the Liberal Party won the Nova Scotia provincial election, with a majority government. Stephen McNeil was now the Premier of Nova Scotia. “During the last election campaign McNeil said he would settle the lawsuit, and after he was elected, announced he would offer the formal apology” (Gorman, 2014, Oct. 11, p. A4). Stephen McNeil’s first official act as Premier of

Nova Scotia was to announce an inquiry regarding allegations of historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC. Premier McNeil is a man of his word and therefore, a person of honour.

It took 15-years for the Province of Nova Scotia to acknowledge allegations of abuse by the care-leavers of the NSHCC; whereas during the 15 years, the NSHCC and the Province of Nova Scotia treated these care-leavers as invisible. Hoare and Gorman (2014, June 4) quoted care-leavers saying that, “For all these years we were being treated like second-class citizens” (p. A1). This article elaborates by noting, “Today marks the beginning of us; the government acknowledged us as being equal citizens” (p. A1). Newspaper articles state these care-leavers wanted their experiences of institutional child abuse to be acknowledged (Hoare & Gorman, 2014; Hoare & Fairclough, 2014; Doucette, 2014). Ultimately, they sought social justice. My study expands our understanding of social justice as it relates to lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community.

The care-leavers of the NSHCC developed a political platform. They provided the leadership for negotiating with the lawyers, navigating the bureaucracies and speaking with politicians. Their efforts and perseverance successfully led to the achievement of two settlement agreements. The first settlement agreement was with the NSHCC in 2013, and a year later the province of Nova Scotia settled with the former residents of the NSHCC. Tutton (2013, Feb. 14, p. A4) reports, “The class-action lawsuit involves about 140 former residents who alleged abuse at the home [NSHCC] over a 50-year period up until the 1980s”. Hoare and Fairclough (2014, July 8) report, “Ray Wagner, lawyer for the residents and their advocates stated. The case has been referred to in terms as being transformative. He called the settlement historic, having implications for Nova Scotians who’ve often lived with the spectre of racism” (p. A1). Other reporters agree, that the settlement agreement with the province, was unprecedented and historical (Hoare & Gorman, 2014; and Doucette, 2014). The settlement agreement with the province resulted in several changes including creating new law. This law pertains to the *Public Inquires Act*. N.A. (2015, May 13) writes that:

Liberal Justice Minister Lena Diab introduced an amendment to the act that would prevent witnesses, testimony at public inquiries from being used against them in future legal proceedings. The amendment ‘provides that any testimony or other statement given at a public inquiry by a participant cannot be used to incriminate

the participant in a criminal proceeding or to establish the participant's liability in a civil proceeding'. Understanding, some potential witnesses who've had previous brushes with the legal system have been concerned their testimony, if not protected, could lead to repercussions. (p. A12)

The settlement agreement also includes a restorative inquiry, a formal apology by Premier McNeil on behalf of the Province of Nova Scotia, and a redress program for the care-leavers (Hoare & Gorman, 2014; Hoare & Fairclough, 2014; Doucette, 2014). Doucette (2014, October 10) writes:

The formal apology came after years of a struggle for recognition by the former residents of the Halifax orphanage, some of whom were in the legislature and stood in applause when the gesture was delivered. "It is one of the great tragedies in our province's history that your cries for help were greeted with silence for so long. Some of you had said that you felt invisible. Well I want to say to you today you are invisible no longer. We hear your voices and we grieve your pain and we are sorry. The trauma and neglect that the former residents, some of whom have since died, is something no child should ever experienced [sic]', McNeil added 'An apology is not the closing of the books, but a recognition that we must cast an unflinching eye at the past as we strive towards a better future,' he said. (np.)

These achievements represent a case for social justice and its implications are worthy of investigation. The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry undoubtedly will attract scholars interested in the interdisciplinary field that public inquiries attract. Hoare and Gorman (2014, June 4) state:

[A care-leaver of the NSHCC] said she looks forward to a public inquiry. 'That's where everything's going to come out and that's where the home and the province can no longer say it didn't happen'. She said the alleged abusers will be exposed as 'true monsters', something the RCMP wasn't able to facilitate when it said in late 2012 that investigators didn't have enough evidence to launch a criminal probe. Some 40 residents went to detachments across Canada that year to lay criminal complaints. (p. A1)

My study investigates some perplexing questions of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for the Black Nova Scotian community. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) contend that, “Theoretical research is concerned with the aim of testing, generating or enhancing thinking within a particular discipline” (p. 24). The NSHCC was a reflection of how the Black Nova Scotian community was situated by the Government of Nova Scotia to the periphery of society. Indeed, Lafferty (2012) asserts that, “The institutions were much more than the sum of their practical efforts: they were the living expressions of a particular cultural and religious community in the province” (p. 65).

The belief that Black children were somehow different and lesser than White children can be traced back to colonization with its imperialistic ideologies. Smith (2012) believes it began with the conceptualization of othering and she argues that, “The concept also condenses complex descriptions of other societies into a sameness image judge against the West idea” (p. 9). Lafferty (2012) concludes, “However, even at the best of times, [the Government of Nova Scotia] reflected an assumption that the home [NSHCC] was not part of a wider welfare community but remained an institution peculiar to black children” (p. 84). This mentality continues today, resulting in the othering of people of colour. Indeed, this may be why Premier McNeil stated, “previously governments put off addressing the residents’ concerns suggesting it wasn’t their problem” (Gorman, 2014, Oct. 11, p. A4).

The focus of my study is concerned with enhancing thinking about social justice and lifelong learning as it pertains to the Black Nova Scotian community. Okimoto (2014) proposes that, “perhaps the experience of injustice makes us more resilient, encourages self-determination, promotes empathy toward others, and/or inspires future champions of broader social change” (p. 409). The marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community has led this community to pursue social justice. Smith (2012) believes that marginalization creates all sorts of problems for the marginalized. She asserts that, “The problem is that constant efforts by governments, states, societies and institutions to deny the historical formations of such conditions have simultaneously denied our claims to humanity, to having a history, and to all sense of hope” (p. 4). The lifelong learning experiences for the Black Nova Scotian learners have been challenging. Illich (1988) puts forward the supposition that, “School has become the

planned process which tools man for a planned world, the principle tool to trap man in man's trap" (p. 159).

Codjoe (2001) argues that, "The structural and institutional dimensions of racism continue to affect adversely the educational achievement of Black students in multiethnic societies like Canada" (p. 343). It is not surprising that Thiessen (2009) reports, "African Nova Scotian learners typically fared worst on the provincial assessments, followed by First Nations and then Acadian learners" (p. 1). Battiste (2013) believes this is because, "The trauma and racism inherent in the system drain students of their capacity for achievement in all aspects of their lives. It robs them of their learning spirit and potential" (p. 65). The educational approaches and curriculum are embedded with Eurocentric and imperialistic ideologies. Battiste (2013) asserts that, "The modern educational system was created to maintain the identity, language, and culture of a colonial society, while ignoring the need to decolonize" (p. 30). This has resulted in the failure of the education system to teach Black Nova Scotian learners. According to Battiste (2013), "Schools that attempt to impose Eurocentric homogeneity by standardizing domesticated curricula are a problem, for they are often at a loss as to how to integrate local content into their prescribed, standardized curricula" (p. 66).

I agree with Jackson (2011) when she expresses, "Questions of lifelong learning and social justice have been at the heart of policies and practices of learning, located with the discourses of learners/workers in a globalized knowledge community" (p. 431). I am curious to learn about the knowledge production generated by the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry. Smith (2012) believes that, "Research for social justice expands and improves the conditions for justice; it is an intellectual, cognitive and moral project, often fraught, never complete, but worthwhile" (p. 215). I endeavoured to challenge the "*taken-for granted assumptions*" of imperialistic ideologies—Eurocentrism. I agree with Smith (2012) when she asserts that, "Research is important because it is the process for knowledge production; it is the way we constantly expand knowledge" (pp. 214-215). I have investigated the implications of decolonization, and have used critical race theory in conducting my research. This allows me to provide a contextual analysis of the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community. I have employed critical historical analysis (CHA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the methods in the process of decolonizing. I have used these methods to analyze the data sources

and guide my analysis of the historical formation of the Black Nova Scotian community, and by extension the NSHCC. Smith (2012) explains decolonization as:

... a process that involves ‘researching back’ to question how the disciplines—psychology, education, history, anthropology, sociology or science—through an ideology of Othering have described and theorized about the colonized Other [and the historically marginalized] and refused to let the colonized Other [and the historically marginalized] name and know from their frame of reference. (p. 14)

I provide a critical analysis of the impact of these two capricious processes which led to social justice for the care-leavers of the NSHCC. This was accompanied by problems of lifelong learning for the care-leavers from the NSHCC. “[The] endeavor of human beings to understand themselves, their society and their universe lies at the heart of learning” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 29). This human experience that I investigate is about the social redress care-leavers achieved after a painstaking 15-year period of pursuing social justice. The care-leavers’ demands for an inquiry into the allegations of institutional child abuse, when as children, they were under the care and protection of the NSHCC and the Government of Nova Scotia.

Using the methods of CHA and CDA, I present the historical imperatives that led to the creation of the Black Nova Scotian community and how these imperatives became culturally transmitted to the present day. After all, Jarvis (2004) and Dewey (2012) contend that learning is transmitted through culture; and culture is transmitted through learning passed-down from the older generation to the younger generation. “The main emphasis is that people should be understood within their social context, which is inevitably influenced by their cultural, political, and historical contexts” (Smith, 2012, p. 160). Understanding the impact of marginalization on the Black Nova Scotian community, and how the education system functions to reproduce the social order, means that Black Nova Scotian learners are facing lifelong learning challenges.

A critical historical analysis situates lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice within as Freire (2005) believes a, “time-space location” (p. 33). Continuing this line of thought, Freire (2005) postulates, “It changes from one space-time to another space-time” (p. 33). I argue in this thesis that the NSHCC is a reflection of why and how the Black community of colonial Nova Scotia was situated on the periphery of society. Like Freire (2005), I am

convinced that, “struggle is a historical and social category”. “Therefore, it has historicity” (p. 33). Dewey (2012) posits, “So translated, it signifies that geography and history supply subject matter which gives background and outlook, intellectual perspective, to what might otherwise be narrow personal actions or mere forms of technical skill” (p. 222).

I have used critical race theory (CRT) as an analysis to understand the creation of the NSHCC. I employed the critical race lens to contribute to the CHA. The critical race lens becomes more advantageous when employing the CDA. The tension between CHA, CDA and CRT are intertwined, interactive and its totality provides the conceptional and contextual understanding of the Black Nova Scotian community. The use of CHA, CDA and CRT provides the tools to conduct an in-depth critical analysis of the establishment and the operation of the NSHCC. For it was the systematic, systemic, strategic and deliberate exclusionary practices of the colonial Nova Scotia government and its departments, such as the Department of Neglected and Delinquent Children (predecessor to the now Nova Scotia Department of Community Services) that forced the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) to establish a separate orphanage for neglected and orphaned Black children. Doucette (2017, October 20) quotes Premier McNeil stating that, “Government is committed to critically examining its role in the history of the NSHCC (orphanage) as a pathway to address how the legacy of systemic and institutional racism has impacted individuals, families and communities for generations in Nova Scotia” (np.).

Rocco et al. (2014) inform us, “The power to exclude others is probably the most powerful privilege and benefit given to the holders of Whiteness” (p. 463). Furthering this argument, these scholars insist, “This power is regularly exercised by Whites to maintain positions of social superiority and when this is threatened, White backlash occurs” (p. 463). Understanding the care-leavers’ pursuit of social justice, I position it within the contextual understanding of CDA, CHA and CRT. In the words of Gregory (1996), “Race never operates alone but articulates with gender, class, nation, sexuality, ethnicity, and other differences to form heterogeneous identities and crosscutting social hierarchies” (p. 28). Critical Race Theory, “directs attention to the ways in which structural arrangements inhibit and disadvantage some more than others in our society” (Trevino et al., 2008, p. 8). For example, it may illuminate why it took the care-leavers of the NSHCC so long to obtain a settlement agreement. Closson

(2010) believes CRT, “capture[s] the intersection of race, gender, and class; moreover, they forecast elements evident in CRT, for example, the centrality of experiential knowledge as a critique for determining meaning” (p. 263).

Thesis Statement

The care-leavers from the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children (NSHCC) developed a political platform from which to launch their allegations of historical institutional child abuse when as children they resided at the NSHCC. The care-leavers spent 15-years pursuing social justice. The care-leavers exemplify the marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community. Seeking social justice means unmasking the power relations that created the injustices. These social injustices have made lifelong learning strategies more difficult for Black learners. This study contributes to the debates about lifelong learning and social justice by employing an indigenous research paradigm in which the study is conducted. Underlining this study is the supposition that the establishment of the NSHCC and the care-leavers’ demands for an investigation illustrates how the Province of Nova Scotia has pushed and perpetuated the Black Nova Scotian community to the margins of society.

In this study, I will address my thesis statement:

- By examining several redress programs in response to historical institutional child abuse allegations by care-leavers.
- Conducting a CHA of the creation of the NSHCC. This CHA explores the lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community, and how marginalization has impacted lifelong learning strategies for this community. “This type of analysis is particularly useful in obtaining knowledge about unexamined areas and in reexamining questions for which answers are not as definite as desired” (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p. 185). I argue that how the Government of Nova Scotia positioned the NSHCC within the welfare landscape, is a reflection of the marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community.
- Engaging in a CDA of data sources which positioned the NSHCC on the margins of the child welfare landscape. Marshall and Rossman (2011) suggest that, “Critical discourse analysis makes explicit a theoretical focus on issues of power, access to linguistic

resources, and the ways these resources are distributed unevenly across both dominant and marginalized population” (p. 23). In a similar vein, Fairclough (2013) postulates, “CDA is a theory of and methodology for analysis of discourse understood as an element or ‘moment’ of the political, political-economic and more generally social which is dialectically related to other elements/moments” (p. 178).

- Examining the collective power of the care-leavers of the NSHCC, and their perseverance which has led to legal ramifications—social justice including the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry. Dewey (2012) is adamant that, “Individual experience is then capable of taking up and holding in solution the net results of the experience of the group to which it belongs—including the results of sufferings and trials over long stretches of time” (p. 222).
- Using CRT to understand the conceptualization of the NSHCC, to its establishment, and then its operational positioning within the child welfare landscape. Tate IV (1997) asserts that, “CRT is a product of and response to one of the most politically active and successful eras of social change in the United States and cannot be divorced from it without losing analytical insight” (p. 187). Smith (2012) agrees with Tate IV (1997) and Smith (2012) describes the importance of critical race theory as facilitating, “the expression of marginalized voices, and that attempt to re-present the experience of marginalization in genuine and authentic ways” (p. 205).
- Conducting a critical analysis of the Class-Action Suit filed by care-leavers of the NSHCC against the NSHCC and the Attorney General of Nova Scotia, representing Her Majesty the Queen in the right of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Contribution of Study

My thesis contributes to the adult education literature by investigating how the social justice achieved by care-leavers of the NSHCC relates to lifelong learning, including the debates positioning policies in response to social justice. My study sheds light on, and informs us how an historical marginalized community achieved social redress. As an adult educator, it is prudent to be aware of the challenges being faced by Black learners, and how social justice can influence educational policies and lifelong learning strategies. My study is a fresh analysis connecting the history of Black Nova Scotians to the present day: where educational policy

making is directed by the economic needs of big business and globalization. In today's society the focus is put on training workers for specific jobs, and lifelong learning has been hijacked by the neoliberal agenda. Giroux (2014) believes that:

Not only does neoliberalism undermine civic education and public values as well as confuse education with training, it also treats knowledge as a product, promoting a neoliberal logic that views schools as malls, students as consumers, and faculty as entrepreneurs. (p. 87)

Overview of Study

My study investigates the impact of marginalization on the Black Nova Scotian community; and poses the question, will the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children Restorative Inquiry reconfigure postcolonial relationships between the Province of Nova Scotia and the Black community. My study examines a particular cultural group in Nova Scotia.

My study comprises several pieces of work. In the following chapter, *The Indigenous Research Paradigm* (chapter 2), I discuss the indigenous research paradigm I have employed to frame my study as it pertains to the Black Nova Scotian community. In the *Theoretical Frameworks* (chapter 3), I review the process of decolonization and critical race theory as the theoretical frameworks that guide my study and I discuss the learning theories. In the *Methodologies* (chapter 4), I present the methods I have used to analysis the data sources, and I narrate my personal learning journey, which I refer to as *Time Travel*. In (chapter 5), I examine *The Century of the Child*. I discuss the conceptualization of childhood which gives rise to congregate care facilities for orphaned and neglected children. I examine how concept diffusion was used by government to educate its population to understand the meaning of childhood, and the progression of steps, society undertook to establish congregate care facilities for children. In *The Establishment of Orphanages in Nova Scotia* (chapter 6), I discuss the establishment of a forced and segregated orphanage for Black children known as the NSHCC. In chapter 7, the *Discovery of Institutional Child Abuse*, I present a very small sample of institutional child abuse cases from several different countries, and than I examine Canada's institutional child abuse stories and Canada's responses. I than focus on Nova Scotia's response

to institutional child abuse. In *The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry (RI)*, (chapter 8), I examine the remit of the RI and investigate if the RI has the potential to reconfigure postcolonial relationships between the Black Nova Scotian community and the Province of Nova Scotia. I investigate if the RI has the capacity to redress the historical wrongs committed against the Black community by the Province of Nova Scotia. In *Concluding Remarks—Moving Forward*, (chapter 9), I discuss if the RI will reconfigure educational approaches and alter the lifelong learning strategies for the Black Nova Scotian learners. In *Appendix A*, I examine the triggering factors and a small sample of countries' responses to institutional child abuse. In *Appendix B*, I present Canada's Institutional Child Abuse Stories and in *Appendix C*, I illustrate Nova Scotia's Responses to Institutional Child Abuse.

Chapter 2 – The Indigenous Research Paradigm

Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is the culture of the mother country's culture. (Fanon, 1967, p. 18)

Chilisa (2012) states, “A research paradigm is a way of describing a worldview that is informed by philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (ontology), ways of knowing (epistemology), and ethics and value systems (axiology)” (p. 20). When I first decided to conduct a study regarding lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian Community, I was aware of the tensions that researchers had created within my community. Research for very good reasons has been viewed by the Black Nova Scotian Community as a dirty word. Wilson (2001) emphasizes the, “Appropriation of Indigenous culture and knowledge has taken place in the past when proper relationships have not been established and honored between researchers and their subjects” (p. 177). Smith (2012) when referring to research conducted with the Aborigines' communities in Australia and New Zealand, comments that she, “still hears statements at meetings and conferences across the world that echo the perception still held by many indigenous communities that research has been a process that exploits indigenous peoples, their culture, their knowledge and their resources” (p. X1).

After reviewing the body of work by Smith (2012), Chilisa (2012), and Battiste (2013), I engaged in positioning myself as an indigenous researcher. Battiste (2013) asserts that, “while Indigenist research does not require that one be Indigenous, it does require one to support and articulate one's ontology and one's philosophy and research in relation to context-based knowledge that is community-based, not book or literature-based knowledge” (p. 74). I wanted my study to be representative of the Black Nova Scotian culture. As an indigenous researcher, I must speak about how research has often been utilized to oppress Black Nova Scotians. Regardless of whether it is qualitative, quantitative and/or a mix-method research study; or in my case a theoretical study, researchers have had a pattern of behaviours that have exploited those they investigate. Snow et al. (2016) argue that:

Part of the conventional research struggle—whether quantitative or qualitative—is movement beyond ‘telling stories’ (Tuck & Yang, 2014), which serves intentionally or unintentionally to further pathologize or disempower communities, towards humanizing common struggles while privileging communities’ conceptualization, ownership, and knowledge. (p. 361)

Quite often these researchers were not from the community they were studying, nor were they cognizant of the distinct culture of the Black Nova Scotian community. Snow et al. (2016) extend the understanding of indigenous by noting:

We expand upon the standard definition of indigenous as rooted within particular geography to explicitly address issues of power by further defining indigenous populations as individuals or groups belonging to developing or undeveloped regions nationally or internationally, as well as those who have been marginalized. (p. 359)

Chilisa (2012) shares a practical understanding of indigenous knowledge explaining that it, “can be specific to locations, regions, and groups of peoples, for instance, indigenous knowledge for women, the deaf community, the poor and so on” (p. 98). Becoming an indigenous researcher, requires that I possess a contextual understanding of how the Black Nova Scotian community evolved. It demands that I understand how colonization transformed and reconfigured the historical narratives of the colonized, and the Indigenous West Africans, who were enslaved and forced to participate in the colonization of other Indigenous Peoples.

I recognize my own lifelong learning journey as a valid knowledge construct. Chilisa (2012) suggests, “Truth lies within the human experience and is therefore multiple and bound by time, space, and context” (p. 31). By engaging in the process of reflexivity—understanding my own learning experiences, which I refer to as *Time Travel*, it provided me the impetus for understanding that, “The postcolonial indigenous research paradigm requires the researcher to critically reflect on self as knower, redeemer, colonizer, and transformative healer” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 174). It becomes even more vital under globalization and the neo-liberalism discourses as Freire (2005) expressively points out:

The neoliberal discourses, with all their talk of ‘modernity’, do not have the power to do away with social classes [and racism] and decree the non-existence of antagonistic interests between them, nor do they have the power to do away with the conflicts between them. (p. 83)

I am mindful that research is always about power, which has a political agenda as well as a power maintenance of centralizing Eurocentrism as the ultimate authority of what constitutes knowledge. “In other words, research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions” (Smith, 2012, p. 5). Snow et al. (2016) caution me by reiterating, “research may be synonymous with power and control: power over what ideas and findings matter and from whose perspective” (p. 358). The purpose of my study is to situate the Black Nova Scotian community as the arbiters of knowledge production. Battiste (2013) reminds us, “Eurocentric knowledge is no more than a Western philosophy invested in history and identity to serve a particular interest” (p. 186). By implementing an indigenous research paradigm, it centralizes the voice of my community by positioning our relational epistemology and our worldview as the foci point, of how our knowledge is socially constructed. Jarvis (2004) makes an implicit reference to this when he claims, “Different scholars have, at different times, recognized that knowledge is subjective and socially constructed” (p. 8).

I have taken precautions to protect my thesis from becoming another tool in the reproduction of colonization, now reframed as globalization. I have followed Chilisa’s (2012) advice, and situated my study within a postcolonial indigenous research paradigm. Chilisa (2012) insists, “An indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational” (p. 21). Our knowledge constructs in the Black Nova Scotian community are based on a relational understanding to each other, our communities and our organizations. Equally true, this epistemology in some cases becomes divisive as is the case of the tensions which continues to exist within the Black community. When the care-leavers of the NSHCC shared publicly their horrific experiences of historical institutional child abuse, they named members of the Black community as the perpetrators of such violence and inhumane acts. This immediately caused family members and loved ones of the accused perpetrators, to engaged in denials and a smear campaign against the care-leavers who spoke truth to power. The veracity

of their allegations has led to the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry. This tension continues today, in whispers. I agree with Wilson (2001) that our relational epistemology at times, supersedes the reality of a situation.

The Black Nova Scotian community has a relational epistemology. Wilson's (2001) supposition is that, "it is a relationship with all of creation" (p. 177). Wilson (2001) continues to articulate, there is a particular language within an indigenous paradigm, "This language speaks from an epistemology that is totally foreign to the other research paradigms, an epistemology where relationships are more important than reality" (p. 18). I can attest to Wilson's argument. When I was a student at Dalhousie University, I was employed on a summer project. This project gathered demographic information from the Black communities across Nova Scotia. I found myself in places like Lucasville, Sunnyville, Upper Big Tracadie. I recall being in peoples' homes, and there was a consistent pattern of behaviours. I was always asked: "Whose girl are you, who be your people, what community are you from?" And it never failed, once I informed them where I was from, they began speaking about a relative, a friend who married someone from my community.

Whitfield (2016) explains the several different Black populations that found themselves in Nova Scotia experiencing racism and isolation, organized themselves against, "... the flood tide of white discrimination" (p. 6). This historian recounts, "These groups developed family and kinship networks, churches, and community organizations" (p. 6). A major agency for the transmission of learning and the perpetuation of the Black culture, was the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) through the conduit of the Black churches. I agree with Battiste (2013), when she asserts that, "When one is connected to community and to place, the relational aspects of communities, people, families, and their context becomes the important elements of how to proceed with knowledge search and production" (p.74).

To situate myself as an indigenous researcher, I am therefore obliged to speak of the historical narrative of the Black Nova Scotian community because its significance underscores the cultural responsiveness of this study. Chilisa (2012) postulates, "To illustrate culturally responsive methodologies is to acknowledge the local histories, traditions, and indigenous knowledge systems that inform them" (p. 161). Illuminating this point, Battiste (2013) continues to debate that, "Understanding dominance and superiority within the context

of history and their continued dominance in contemporary knowledge is foundational to change” (p. 178). My thesis argues that, Black Nova Scotians are a distinct cultural group, and one of the charter groups of Canada—one of Canada’s founding peoples. Whitfield (2006) has records indicating the presence of Black people dates back to 1608, with Mathieu Da Costa; while Winks (1969) indicates there are historical records signifying that, “The Negro has been present in eastern Canada ... [since] 1628” (p. 164). Building on this supposition, Pachai (2007) suggests:

There is sufficient basis to conclude that Blacks were among the first settlers in Nova Scotia; that they were among the founders of the first townships, that their presence and contribution must be dated to the pre-Loyalist period even though their numbers were small. (p. 39)

To develop an appreciation of the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community, I propose an analysis of imperialism must be undertaken. I thereby, engage in a postcolonial indigenous discourse. I agree with Battiste (2013) that, “A postcolonial indigenous perspective requires an analysis of social contexts that involve specific attention to conditions of social injustices” (p. 174). The specific attention my study examines is the social injustice the care-leavers of the NSHCC experienced, as they spent 15-years engaging in a political platform. The political platform drew attention to allegations of historical institutional child abuse when as children, they were under the care and protection of the NSHCC and the Government of Nova Scotia. My study also presents the overall injustices inflicted by the Province of Nova Scotia against the Black Nova Scotian community. Smith (2012) notes that, “Millions of indigenous peoples were ripped from their lands over several generations and shipped into slavery” (p. 28); and further states, “The lands they went to as slaves were lands already taken from another group of indigenous peoples” (p. 28). One of these lands is the Province of Nova Scotia.

Battiste (2013) advises us, “inequities were further created in the social construction of knowledge, how relations of power and privilege were linked to all inequities and sustained in government policy, practice, and the discourses of society” (p. 126). In Nova Scotia this manifests itself in the segregation of communities, churches, schools and an orphanage. Lafferty (2012) states:

One of the most common expressions of racism in the province was found in the desire to promote separate communities, schools, churches, and other institutions, a separation that allowed whites to deny responsibility for the depressed conditions in which the province's black communities lived. (p. 61)

Smith (2012) posits, "Literary origins are grounded in the landscape, languages, cultures and imaginative worlds of people and nations whose own histories were interrupted and radically reformulated by European imperialism" (p. 20). The formation of the Black Nova Scotian community is an example of such a reformulated people and their culture, more poignantly their acculturation. Chilisa (2012) believes we can ascertain, "How to use [our] learning journey and diverse knowledge to create new social, cultural, economic, and educational programs informed by [our] lifelong journey" (p. 23).

I have selected the methodologies which supports the principles of a postcolonial paradigm. Wilson (2001) expresses:

The axiology or morals need to be an integral part of the methodology so that when I am gaining knowledge, I am not just gaining in some abstract pursuit; I am gaining knowledge in order to fulfill my end of the research relationships. (p. 177)

Chilisa (2012) clarifies that, "A common thread in postcolonial indigenous relational epistemologies is that knowledge arises out of people's relationships and interaction with their particular environment" (p. 117). Expanding upon this, Snow et al. (2016) illustrates this position by stating that, "indigenous research recognizes indigenous communities develop shared ways of knowing guided by how they view the world, themselves, and the connection between the two" (p. 359). This shared relational knowledge has been transmitted by our parents, grandparents and from our ancestors. We understand how we are situated in society by our relationships with each other; and the broader community. In presenting my study, I agree with Battiste (2013) that the research methodology I employ is not, "contaminated with multiple forms of cognitive imperialism" (p. 186). I have complied with the recommendations of Marshall and Rossman (2012), who stresses the importance that, "Bracketing of the researcher's personal experiences—recognizing where personal insight is separated from the researcher's collection of data—is important because it allows the researcher to perceive the

phenomenon” (p. 97), more vividly and with clarity of consciousness. I have sought to foster methodologies, which support the acquisition of ensuring the centrality of my study maintains its culturally responsiveness; thus, situating the Black Nova Scotian Community and its historicism as the givers of the knowledge, and I the researcher, as the learner of such knowledge.

I am guided by the work of Wilson (2001), Smith (2012), Chilisa (2012), Mackinlay and Barney (2014), and Snow et al. (2016) who suggest that my study must consider imperialism. Imperialism is embedded in, “a complex ideology which has widespread cultural, intellectual and technical expressions” (Smith, 2012, p. 22); and one of its manifestations is in research. Chilisa (2012), Smith (2012), and Battiste (2013) inform me how colonization subjugated my people. Walker (1985, 1999), Whitfield (2006, 2016), and Pachai (2007) explain how colonization has transformed my African ancestors into Black Nova Scotians. Chilisa (2012) and Smith (2012) speak to me about the globalization of knowledge and how Eurocentrism positions itself on a pedestal as the possessor of all knowledge, the authority of all truth and the keepers of wisdom. Jarvis (2004) declares, “The process of globalization, as we know it today, began in the West (USA followed by Western Europe) in the early 1970s” (p. 3). Smith (2012) maintains, “The West’s view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of civilized knowledge” (p. 66), has led, as Battiste (2013) postulates, to cognitive imperialism.

I am reminded by indigenous researchers (e.g. Wilson, 2001; Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012; Mackinlay & Barney, 2014; and Snow et al., 2016) to proceed with care, and to be mindful of acculturation. Acculturation is, “the shortcomings of the Eurocentric monologue that has structured modern educational theory and practice” (Battiste, 2013, p. 87). Battiste (2013) continues to explain, “Culturalism is a complex mix of ideologies, discourses, and practices that serve to legitimate Eurocentrism in its many forms of scholarship, laws and social practices so as to make them invisible to those who benefit from them” (p. 32). Whitfield (2006) expresses his fears that the Black Nova Scotian Community is threatened by acculturation. This study as with other, “[r]esearch is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonization is both regulated and realized” (Smith, 2012, p. 8). To avoid the perpetuation of colonization—the purpose of my study is to engage in

decolonialization, as a process to conduct my study. Chilisa (2012) argues that research can achieve this by, “targeting a local phenomenon instead of using extant theory from the West to identify and define a research issue” (p. 13). The local phenomenon I have targeted is the social justice achieved by the care-leavers from the NSHCC. I agree with Smith (2012) when she asserts that, “Research for social justice expands and improves the conditions for justice; it is an intellectual, cognitive and moral project, often fraught, never complete, but worthwhile” (p. 215).

I have employed an indigenous research paradigm to present my study. My study illuminates our understanding of the entanglement of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for the Black Nova Scotian community. I have selected decolonization as a process, to understand the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community; and I have employed critical race theory to frame the sources I have used for my study. These two theoretical frameworks support the indigenous research paradigm. My study values and positions the relational epistemology of the Black Nova Scotian community as valid knowledge constructs; and how the production of knowledge is constructed in my community. In the next chapter, I discuss the theoretical frameworks of decolonization and critical race theory.

Positionality of the Researcher

I am of Aboriginal and African ancestry and I self-identify with the Black Nova Scotian culture. “In positioning myself as an indigenous woman, I am claiming a genealogical, cultural and political set of experience” (Smith, 2012, p. 12). My goal for this thesis is to conduct research as an Indigenous Researcher. This meant the rediscovery of my history and to have an in-depth understanding of the journey of my ancestors. My empirical knowledge of the Black Nova Scotian community and the culture; my lived experiences growing up in the Black community and being involved in numerous Black organizations and community initiatives, are the foundational pillars I utilized as I interrogated the historical accounts of the formation of the Black Nova Scotian Community. I have followed the advice of other indigenous researchers (e.g., Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012; Battiste, 2013) to ensure that I not only have I constructed my study in a manner that honors my ancestors, but to give voice to Black Nova Scotians and our lifelong learning journey as a people.

I have used the process of decolonizing when interrogating all the materials I have read regarding the historical accounts of the Black community in Nova Scotia. This was sometimes challenging, and quite often I thought that's what my mother meant, or I remembered one of the elders sharing similar accounts as these historians now write. These memories are what gives meaning to the process of decolonization. As I probed the learning theories through the lens of critical race theory, I found myself being excluded from their theories and their propositions about learning. However, I recall the words of Chilisa (2012), Smith (2012), and Battiste (2013) regarding imperialistic ideologies and how Eurocentrism constructs knowledge and then promulgates it as universal.

Summary

I have provided some understanding of the tension with those conducting research about marginalized and oppressed peoples through an Eurocentric lens, which proclaims supremacy thus, their research findings have always tended to be detrimental to those being researched. I have provided an explanation of how research reproduces the social order and perpetuates an Eurocentric monologue that legitimizes and proclaims to possess universal knowledge. I have also attempted to protect my study from becoming an instrumentation of imperialism. I present this thesis as a culturally responsive study of the entanglement of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for Black Nova Scotian community.

I have positioned the Black Nova Scotian community as the givers of knowledge, and have presented the historicism of my community divulging the epistemology of the Black Nova Scotian community. I have explained my positionality as the researcher. My theoretical thesis has several components of historical importance which may shed light on learning within the Black Nova Scotian community and how lifelong learning is understood by my community. Without a critical historical analysis of the formation of the Black community, and an understanding of how congregate facilities became a governmental responsibility, it is not possible to gain a comprehensive understanding of the entanglement of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for the Black Nova Scotian community. The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry draws attention to the extraordinary achievements and accomplishments that the care-

leavers from the NSHCCC achieved. But will the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry engage in the production of knowledge?

I present my thesis with the hopes that others who are pursuing social justice, may be inspired by the perseverance of Black Nova Scotians and come to know how the pursuit of social justice can expand our understanding of lifelong learning. This has the capacity to create a more positive education environment for lifelong learning to occur. In the following chapter, I present the theoretical frameworks I have employed.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Frameworks

Throughout modern history, whites have projected all sorts of unfounded negative attributes onto people of color, and all sorts of positive attributes onto whites, as a way of diverting attention from white culpability and white terrorism. Whites have depicted people of color as non-human, savage, child-like, dangerous, genetically inferior, ugly, stupid, lazy, depraved, merely different, totally dominated, and angry. (Allen, 2004, p. 124)

Allen's sentiments reflect how some researchers approach conducting research in the Black Nova Scotian community. My theoretical framework employs the process of decolonization and critical race theory as the theoretical frameworks, to conduct my study of the entanglement of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for the Black Nova Scotian community. By employing these two theoretical frameworks, I not only challenge prevalent research approaches, but I situate and privilege the Black Nova Scotia community. In this chapter, I have interrogated the learning theories, using these theoretical frameworks as a prism, into understanding lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community.

Cowlshaw (1993) asserts that, "We inhabit a world saturated with racialised, and indeed gendered, discourse and one use of theory is to continually subvert complacencies and find sources of unease by questioning what is taken for granted in our theories and discursive strategies" (p. 188). As previously stated, Smith (2012) is more pointed in her assessment suggesting, "The problem is that constant efforts by governments, states, societies and institutions to deny the historical formations of such conditions have simultaneously denied our claims to humanity, to having a history, and to all sense of hope" (p. 4). And at this stage, as Fanon notes is an, "unmitigated violence against the soul" (Abdi, 2008, p. 52). My research provides a fresh analysis of the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community.

Dewey (2012) and Jarvis (2004) affirm that learning is intrinsically embodied in a learner's cultural milieu. Engaging in the process of decolonization, provides me with a different way to understand the formation of my community and to reclaim the history of the Black Nova Scotian community. The process of decolonization has afforded me the conceptual

understanding to interrogate the learning theories. After all, the advancement of lifelong learning is predicated upon the theorization of learning scholars. Critical Race Theory (CRT) provided me the tools, to understand how White privilege is manifested in the theorization of the many forms of scholarship. First, I shall discuss decolonization. Second, I explore the conceptualization of CRT. Third, I examine the learning theories and situate several learning scholars.

The Process of Decolonization

Fanon (1963) describes decolonization as that, “which sets out to change the order of the world, is obviously, a program of complete disorder” (p. 36). The process of decolonization provided me with a mechanism to understand and appreciate, how West Africans were transformed into Black Nova Scotians. Chilisa (2012) believes, “Decolonization is about centring our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (p. 39). It allowed me to conduct my study as much as possible, without the filtered lens of Eurocentrism. I agree with Mackinlay and Barney (2014) when they elaborate:

Decolonization is a concept that takes on different meanings across different contexts—it simultaneously evokes a historical narrative of the end of empire, a particular version of postcolonial political theory, a way of knowing that resists the Eurocentrism of the West, a moral imperative for righting the wrongs of colonial domination, and an ethical stance in relation to self-determination, social justice, and human rights for Indigenous peoples enslaved and disempowered by imperialism. (p. 55)

Decolonization is about understanding my learning journey, how learning was transmitted within my culture; and it is about decolonizing one’s mind. I understood from Smith (2012), Chilisa (2012), and Battiste (2013) that I had to engage in a process of decolonization. Decolonization is a process, which allowed me to understand the configuration of the Black Nova Scotian community from a different perspective. I agree with Smith (2012) that, “Decolonization is a process of conducting research in such a way that the worldviews of

those who have suffered a long history of oppression and marginalization are given space to communicate from their frame of reference” (p. 14). Decolonization is a way of understanding how the process of colonization has transformed the colonized and the marginalized peoples, into a hierarchy of humanness, with sub-categories of what constitutes being human. According to Fanon (1967), “I will quite simply try to make myself white; that is, I will compel the white man to acknowledge that I am human” (p. 98).

For some people of colour who have become the victims of cognitive imperialism, Fanon’s (1967) sentiment has become their reality. Chilisa (2012) believes the process of colonization of the mind, “occurs through the education system, where learners are taught in languages of the colonizers to reject their heritage and embrace Euro-Western worldviews and lifestyles as the norm” (p. 8). Battiste (2013) agrees with Chilisa (2012) and postulates that, “Cognitive imperialism is a form of manipulation used in Eurocentric educational systems” (p. 161). For the victims of colonization (e.g., Black and First Nations learners) they may consciously or unconsciously reject their cultural identity and highjack the identity of the colonizers. Therefore, as Fanon (1967) states become White.

Chilisa (2012) believes decolonization, “is a process of interrogating the captive mind so that the colonized can come to define in their own term what is real to them” (p. 15). Battiste (2013) supports Chilisa’s (2012) supposition. From Battiste (2013), I have learned the necessity of interrogating one’s axiology, one’s epistemology and one’s ontology. I came to understand cognitive imperialism, and how it manifests itself in the schools, scholastic endeavours, and within everyday activities of society. Our very interactions with each other, and people from other cultures are framed within our cognitive imperialism. Unless we are astute in interrogating ourselves, we all become victims of cognitive imperialism. Decolonization is a process of understanding cognitive imperialism. Chilisa (2012) articulates, “It is a process where the colonized Other rediscover and recover their own history, culture, language and identity” (p. 15). This process involves rediscovery and recovery of one’s history, and of oneself. Snow et al. (2016) agree with Chilisa (2012) by stating decolonization is the, “re-learning of one’s history to understand culture, language and identity in a new way” (p. 362); and that, “decolonization phases must occur within the personal and professional realms: decolonization of self and the research community” (p. 362). Chilisa (2012) and Snow et al.

(2016) believe the decolonization process involves several different stages of interrogating one's mind. They surmise it includes mourning, dreaming, commitment and action.

As Fanon (1963) previously stated, “decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is obviously, a program of complete disorder” (p. 36), and within the context of Black Nova Scotian community, the disorder can be rampant, disconnected, forming a disjuncture, a sporadic identity crisis but necessary all the same. Dubois (1901) describes it as Black people having a double consciousness—a veil. Dubois (1901) articulates, “[T]he Negro is sort of the seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world” (p. 2) I agree with Fanon (1963) and with Dubois (1901) that Black consciousness appears to be situated on a continuum. Some of us, are at one end of the spectrum understanding cognitive imperialism and the importance of interrogating ourselves on a regular basis. However, there are those Black learners who have positioned themselves at the opposite end of the spectrum. And how they see themselves is through a distorted lens of the world, “a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world” (Dubois, 1901, p. 2). They can only see themselves through the lens of Europeanism. Paynter et al. (1996) believe, “Dubois became one of the foremost scholars – activists of the twenty century” (p. 285). Fanon (1963) believes, it is a desire for many Black people to dream of being white, and Freire (1993) postulates it encompasses the duality of the oppressed and the oppressor host in one body of blackness.

I tend to agree with Freire (1993) that many Black learners are somewhere in the middle of the continuum of Black consciousness. That is to say, they host the oppressor and the oppressed within their consciousness. They may espouse Africentric philosophies and principles, but their actions and their pattern of behaviours mimic the oppressor. Fanon (1967) asserts that, “A normal Negro child, having grown up within a normal family, will become abnormal on the slightest contact with the white world” (p. 143). I do not disavow Fanon's (1967) claims. This may partly explain the educational achievement gap in Nova Scotia, where Black learners' academic achievement (as measured by standardized tests) are lower than White students' academic achievement. Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) challenge Fanon's (1967) assertion stating:

[A]fter the civil rights unrest and growing self-awareness of African Americans in the 1960s, the desire to assimilate was supplanted by the reclamation of an ‘authentic black personality’ that did not rely on the acceptance by or standards of white America. (p. 578)

There were several political platforms in which this occurred, such as the Black Panthers Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, The Nation of Islam; and there were cultural platforms as well. I recall artists reclaiming blackness as beautiful, such as the legendary singer, James Brown. In Nova Scotia, we had Rocky Jones. But still, not all Black learners prescribe to a liberation which requires an awakening of Black consciousness.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory has its origins in Critical Legal Studies (CLS). Closson (2010) articulates, “CRT stems from a group known as critical legal scholars (CLS)—a mix of leftist law faculty, students, and practitioners” (p. 264). The CLS observed the application of the law was applied arbitrary when it came to Black people, and always to the detriment of the Black person. Tate (1997) believes, “The CRT movement in legal studies is rooted in the social missions and struggles of the 1960s that sought justice, liberation, and economic empowerment; thus, from its inception, it had both academic and social activist goals” (p. 197). The use of critical race theory (CRT) when investigating the establishment of congregate care facilities in Nova Scotia such as the orphanages, and the forced segregated orphanage for Black children known as the NSHCC, requires a CRT analysis. “CRT offers conceptual tools for interrogating how race and racism have been institutionalized and are maintained” (Sleeter, 2017, p. 157). I have used CRT when interrogating the learning theories in the following section. Daftary (2018) posits that, “CRT is an invaluable tool for framing social work research studies, particularly when investigating historically disenfranchised communities” (p. 1).

Tate (1997) asserts that, “CRT is a product of and response to one of the most politically active and successful eras of social change in the United States and cannot be divorced from it without losing analytical insight” (p. 197). Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) advocate that one of the main tenets of CRT is, “A theme of naming one’s own reality or

‘voice’ is entrenched in the work of critical race theorists” (p. 575). The architectural landscape of orphanages, which was socially constructed, and the Province of Nova Scotia developed and implemented policies and the politics to ensure its reproduction and sustainability of classism, religious separation, gender bias and racism. Gregory’s (1996) analysis underlines the tenets of CRT, when he asserts that, “Race never operates alone but articulates with gender, class, nation, sexuality, ethnicity, and other differences to form heterogeneous identities and crosscutting social hierarchies” (p. 28). CRT allows for a discussion of how the intersection of these isms situated and positioned the NSHCC on the fringes of the welfare landscape, simultaneously perpetuating the Black Nova Scotian community at the periphery of society. Doucette (2017, October 20) reports that Premier Mc Neil acknowledged:

Nova Scotia has suffered from institutional racism ... We embraced on this journey because we recognized we must do better, said McNeil. We need to understand our past fully so that we can begin to address what to do next to ensure a better future for African Nova Scotian children and their families. (np.)

Is Premier McNeil referring to reconfiguring postcolonial relationships between the Black community of Nova Scotia and the Province of Nova Scotia? Or am I being too optimistic?

Daftary (2018) articulates, “The interdisciplinary foundation of CRT makes it well-suited to many disciplines and complex social topics” (p. 3). Daftary (2018) continues, “In addition, the diversity of views, influences, and lenses within CRT allow for a more holistic view of a problem and potential solutions” (p. 3). The use of CRT as an investigative toolkit for my study as Dunbar (2006) explains, “In the most practical sense, CRT challenges the privileges of dominant culture—particularly whiteness—as the normative benchmark of social responsibility” (p. 113). It is the supposition of Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006), “The story of one’s condition leads to the realization of how one come to be oppressed and subjugated and allows one to stop inflicting mental violence on oneself” (p. 576). Their supposition is one of the core elements of decolonization. Freire (1993) states that, “This, then is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well” (p. 26). Continuing with Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) they suggest, “Whiteness is constructed in this society as the absence of the ‘contaminating’ influence of blackness” (p. 577). Sleeter (2017) agrees with Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) and declares, “As

dominant ideologies and knowledge systems based on White worldviews deny or mask racism, CRT theorists assume that those who understand racism best are not its perpetrators but rather those who are routinely victimized by it” (p. 162).

Freire (1993) poses the questions, “Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressed society? Who suffers the affects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who better understand the necessity of liberation?” (p. 27). According to Closson (2010), at its base, CRT takes on a mixture of different strategies, frameworks and research methods to critique racial reform efforts and to understand definitional mixes. Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) postulates, “The ‘voice’ component of critical race theory provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppress, a first step on the road to justice” (p. 576). This is aligned with the indigenous research paradigm which situates the Black Nova Scotian Community as the arbiters of knowledge.

This theoretical research acts as an oppositional body of literature to investigate the entanglement of lifelong learning and the pursuit of social justice for the Black Nova Scotian community. Cowlshaw (1993) expands upon this by suggesting, “The term ‘oppositional culture’ came from a body of literature and debates in Britain which linked sub-cultures and cultures of working-class and black Britons with their subordination to show how these cultures subverted and challenged dominant systems of meaning” (p. 185). It was this oppositional culture, in which the care-leavers of the NSHCC established a political platform, to challenge the Province of Nova Scotia. Jarvis (2004) asserts that, “Learners are [...] agents who are able to act back upon their environment in order to try to change it” (p. 121). And change, the care-leavers of the NSHCC achieved. It is called the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry. Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) do not use the term oppositional culture which sets up a binary tension, rather they speak of, “A second reason for naming CRT in terms of naming one’s-own-reality theme of critical race theory is the psychic perseverance of marginalized groups” (p. 576). Rocco et al. (2014) agree with Cowlshaw (1993) that CRT is a form of oppositional scholarship noting, “Critical theory is a tool that is aimed at helping people understand social structures that dominate and oppress” (p. 458). Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (2006) agree with Cowlshaw (1993) explicitly stating, “But more pernicious and longer lasting than the

victimization of people of color is the construction of whiteness as the ultimate property” (p. 557).

My study uses the interpretive lens of CRT to understand, how the care-leavers of the NSHCC were treated as invisible, and the institutional child abuses they were subjected to, became blinded and ignored because of their subjugation to the realms of the category of blackness and their status as orphans. In the following section, I have used CRT to understand several of the learning theories. After all, lifelong learning is predicated upon the theorization of learning scholars.

The Definition of Learning: What Is It?

Knowles (1997), purports that all the great teachers in history were teachers of adults. The Hebrew prophets, such as Jesus, Confucius in China, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle in Greece were teachers. Throughout history, these great teachers regardless of their location, space and time contend that:

They saw learning as being a process of enquiry in which the learner had an active role, in fact the primary role, and the role of the teacher was that of a guide to the enquiry, a - facilitator of the enquiry and, where appropriate, a resource to the enquiry. (Knowles, 1997, p. 202)

Elder and Paul (1998) advocate that learning is embedded in the Socratic methods which they endeavor supports the acquisition of learning. They contend that, “Thinking is driven not by answers but by questions” (p. 297). This Socratic dialogue stimulates thinking which in turn stimulates learning at the, “executive level of thinking” (p. 298). In some ways, the Socratic method of learning has similar properties of Freire’s (1993) position of consciousness raising, which can only occur through dialogue. For Freire (1993) learning only materializes when there is dialogue. “Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking” (p. 73). I do like Jarvis’s (2004) analysis of the Freirean learning, which Jarvis (2004) believes was a radical and unorthodox approach to learning. Jarvis (2004) articulates that Freire (1996):

... emphasized that education should make the learners critically aware of their false consciousness and of their social condition. In becoming aware, they should reject many of the myths erected by the ruling elite that inhibit them (the learners) from having a clear perspective of their own social reality. Having undergone a process of consciencization, learners should act upon the world to endeavour to create a better society. (p. 58)

I am not certain why Jarvis (2004) refers to Freire's ideologies of learning as radical; perhaps it is because Freire challenges the positionality of the oppressors. Freire believed that the purpose of education is to create a more humane society, thereby eliminating all forms of inequalities. It was Freire's (1993, 2005) contention that people could teach themselves to learn upon having achieved a critical consciousness; and only the oppressed could liberate themselves. Dewey (2012) believes learning is a biological process uniquely innate to humankind. Dewey (2012) is not alone in this supposition. Knowles (1997) arrived at a similar conclusion and Jarvis (2004) agrees with Knowles (1997) and Dewey (2012). Knowles (1997) believes, "that learning is indeed a natural, normal, organic part of living, as functional a part of living as breathing" (p. 205). For Freire the question is not that human beings are genetically wired for learning—that is a given supposition, but rather the question becomes education which is not liberating does not rise to the litmus test of learning. Dewey (2012) suggests learning is all about experience. He continues with his proposition noting that, "Still more important is the fact that the human being acquires a habit of learning. He learns to learn" (p. 51).

However, Freire (1993) believes, "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (p. 53). Although Dewey (2012) suggests learning, "is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and mentality which keep men from perceiving the full import of their activity" (p. 94); he submits, "The assimilative force of the American public school is eloquent testimony to the efficacy of the common and balance appeal" (p. 26). In the next chapter, I will discuss the assimilative force of the schools, and its destructive force which preaches a Eurocentric monologue of supremacy. Jarvis (2004) indicates, "[I]t has now been widely recognized that no education is

neutral and that a great deal of formal education is culturally and socially reproductive (p. 59). I shall remind you of what Battiste (2013) says about schools — “Yet within a hostile Eurocentric society that imposes cognitive imperialism in compulsory education” (p. 122), learning within schools reproduces inequalities. These inequalities particularly for learners of colour, disconnects them from their culture and imposes a false identity. This is especially true for Black Nova Scotian learners. Jarvis (2004) contends, “The idea of a false identity emerges, one that perpetually undervalues the indigenous culture and, therefore, native people come to see themselves as subordinate” (p. 119).

Cognitive imperialism appears to have similar properties to a mind virus. According to Szpir (1995), “A mind virus is a special instance of a meme, a concept first introduced by Dawkins, ... they are the units of cultural transmission” (p. 26). Brodie (2011) believes, the meme is one’s belief system such as imperialistic ideologies, white supremacy, classism, sexism and other ideologies that denotes the inferiority of others, such as the concept of othering. To this point, Robertson (2017) states that, “The idea that units of culture may act as a virus controlling some of the perceptions and actions of individuals has been of considerable controversy since proposed by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins” (p. 364). Brodie (2011) believes this mind virus has already penetrated and infected our societies, governments and institutions. If you doubt the existence of the mind virus, one only needs to listen to the President of the United States, Donald Trump, to realize that the mind virus is alive and well; and its contamination is deadly and a threat to humanity. West (2017) writes that Donald Trump, “is a product of American civilization, the vicious legacy of white supremacy still operating, losing sight of our precious gays and lesbian and bisexual and transgender folk” (p. 27). In this instance, concept diffusion becomes a pathogen creating a pathology resulting in the mind virus or as Battiste (2013) refers to as cognitive imperialism; whereas Freire (1993) believes it results in necrophilia within the oppressor. Concept diffusion is an educative process that teaches people that a certain belief, value or a societal norm has its bases in fact, science and truth. I discuss concept diffusion in the following chapter, and onward.

Resuming with Freire (2005), he was very clear about false identities that are socially constructed from within the language. Jarvis (2004) articulates, “There is then a danger that local, cultural knowledge will be side-lined as the knowledge concerns of the dominant

cultures become the focus of global distance education” (p. 225). In a similar vein, Illich (1998) is adamant that, “It is not liberating or educational because school reserves instruction to those whose every step [-] in learning fits previously approved measures of social control” (p. 17). Dewey (2012) appears to have this idealized theory about the purpose of schools, and at the same time contends, “A society which rests upon a supremacy of some factors over another irrespective of its rational or proportionate claims, inevitably leads thought astray” (p. 96). Did Dewey (2012) not realize that schools are the major agency for the reproduction of inequalities? “Schools themselves pervert the natural inclination to grow and learn into the demand for instruction” (Illich, 1988, p. 87). Schools accomplished this by the selection of the curriculum which thwarts the inspiration and the imagination of students to genuinely learn. Jarvis (2001) insists, “But then the educational curriculum has always been socially and culturally reproductive” (p. 203). Teaching becomes undeniably tied to learning. Freire (2005) postulates, “The act of teaching and learning—which are dimensions of the larger process of knowing—are part of the nature of the educational process” (p. 100). The difficulty for Freire (2005) was that the schools are:

The fundamental problem—a problem of a political nature, and colored by ideological hues—is who chooses [sic] the content, and in behalf of which persons and things the ‘chooser’s’ teaching will be performed—in favor of whom, in favor of what, against what. (p. 100)

Dewey (2012) agrees with Freire (1993, 2005) about knowledge and proclaims, “Knowledge as an act is bringing some of our dispositions to consciousness with a view to straightening out a perplexity, by conceiving the connection between ourselves and the world which we live” (p. 363). This supposition is aligned with Freire. At the same time Dewey (2012) asserts that:

- (i) That educational process has no end beyond itself; it is its own end; and that
- (ii) The educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming (p. 56).

Freire (1993) is unwavering in his beliefs that, “Education is once again a subversive force” (p. 11) and, “. . . suffers from narrative sickness” (p. 52). It is not a neutral entity with an aimless purpose to regenerate itself as Dewey (2012) suggests. Extending the debate, Jarvis (2004) is convinced, one must interrogate the curricula because he argues that,

“If curricula contain socially organized knowledge selected from culture, then it is significant to know where, why and by whom such a selection of knowledge is made” (p. 260). Battiste (2013) continues this line of thought by asserting that, “There is no neutral knowledge system” (p. 117), and illustrates like Smith (2012) and Chilisa (2012) that, “All knowledge about nature is socially constructed” (Battiste, 2013, p.117). This social construction has existed throughout humankind and once society evolved to establish schools; learners became trained in its reproduction. This occurs through the development of the curriculum which Jarvis (2004) clearly states that, “curriculum may be regarded as a selection of culture made by those who have power within the profession or within education” (p. 248); and Jarvis (2004) continues to suggest, “the curriculum is always located in the wider social systems” (p. 257). Illich (1988) puts forward the proposition:

From the beginning of the century, the schools have been protagonists of social control on the one hand and free cooperation on the other, both placed at the service of the ‘good society’, conceived of as a highly organized and smoothly working cooperative structure. (p. 95)

Learning theorists (e.g. Illich, 1988; Jarvis, 2004; Illeris, 2004; and Dewey, 2012) agree with Freire (1983). These theorists are aligned with Freire (1983) about his conceptualization that, “Knowledge is built up in the relations between human beings and the world, relations of transformation, and perfect itself in the ‘critical problematization’ of these relations” (p. 109). Freire’s (1983) suppositions support the social learning such as the cognitive theorists (Piaget, 1929; Vygotsky, 1978), the developmental and educational psychology theorists (e.g., Mezirow, 1997; Brookfield, 2001; Dewey, 2012). Jarvis (2015) explains, “Learning occurs very widely from situations that we experience – from sensations that come from all the senses and not only from the realm of cognition” (p. 90). Continuing this line of thought, Jarvis (2004) believes, “that learners were located within their social cultural framework and that it was suggested that both the learners and their socio-cultural milieu have to be taken into consideration when endeavoring to construct a theory of adult learning” (p. 82). But if the socio-cultural milieu of the learners is in opposition with the industrial learning such as produced by the schools, does this not create tension and impedes those students from acquiring learning? Illeris (2015) proposes, “that all learning involves two kinds of processes”

(p. 29). Illeris (2015) identifies the first process as the interaction between the learner and their environment and the second process he labels as the internal acquisition process. “Vygotsky clearly recognized the social nature of learning and we are all well aware of learning through imitation” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 90). To this Illeris (2015) responds:

But it must also be emphasized that the genuine learning theory is about how learning takes place and functions in various situations and conditions, and not about how it can be streamlined as an industrial production process – simply because learning is an entirely human and in no way industrial matter. (p. 39)

Brownhill (2001) argues that, the industrialization of learning theories has already been implemented. He continues by pointing out, “A feature of both modern industry and bureaucracy is its tendency to standardize and reproduce clone-like people” (p. 72). Battiste (2013) agrees with Brownhill (2001) and articulates, “One of the most important reasons for this is that contemporary content in school increases being in the world, but disengages the student from themselves, their locales, and values that support humanity” (p. 124). Jarvis (2004) admits, “the self-concept is central to learning theory” (p. 68). Jarvis (2004) did not expand upon this sentiment as it relates to people of colour—non-Europeans. If schools are the breeding grounds for industrial learning, which produces clone-like people with false identities, the self-concept as Jarvis (2004) suggests is eroded and therefore learning is highjacked. Learning under these conditions and Freire (1993, 2005) vigorously agrees, is not learning. The result as Illich (1988) contends is, “The world has lost its humane dimension and reacquired the factual necessity and fatefulness which were characteristic of primitive times” (p. 159).

Learning that produces clone-like people stifles human development. “Ultimately, it is argued that learning is the driving force of the individual, and that through learning people grow and develop” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 117). But if the modernity of learning has as its goal to reproduce the social order, does this constitutes learning? Jarvis (2004) continues by arguing that, “Philosophically, learning is both about being and becoming” (p. 117). Battiste (2013) challenges Jarvis’s (2004) assertion because, Battiste (2013) believes, “People must know their own gifts and capabilities, strengths and weakness, interests and limits to be able to develop their self-esteem and concept of self” (p. 162), which lies at the heart of learning. The question becomes being and becoming what—an oppressor, an agent of the oppressor, a captive mind, a

colonized mind, a clone, a carbon copy, the oppressed, the disposition of the duality of the oppressor and the oppressed, a possessor of cognitive imperialism or a liberator!!! As Freire (2005) profoundly reiterates:

Only in a dialectical understanding, let us repeat, of how awareness and the world are given, is it possible to comprehend the phenomenon of the introjection of the oppressor by the oppressed, the latter's 'adherence' to the former, the difficulty that the oppressed have in localizing the oppressor outside themselves. (p. 96)

Based upon Freire's (1983, 1993, 2005) analysis, without this dialectical understanding, there can be no learning. The question of what determines and defines learning is still open to debate. Hollingworth (1932) notes, "The persistent confusion about what learning is and how it happens is largely due to a smoke-screen thrown about the topic by the old psychology, with its jealousy of physiology" (p. 63). Nearly a century later, other scholars are still grappling with this definition of learning. For example, Freire (1998), believes learning only occurs if it is consciousness raising. He, "emphasizes that in educating adults, to avoid a rote, mechanical process one must make it possible for them to achieve critical consciousness so that they can teach themselves to read and write" (p. 56). This process according to Freire (1998) is only possible by engaging in a discourse; like Socrates, who engages the adult learner in a dialogue. Knowles (1977) infers that, "Socrates developed the Socratic Dialogue Method that was used predominately by the Greek educators – engaging the learner in a process of dialogue, an active process of enquiry" (p. 202). Jarvis (2004) makes the point:

This method introduces questioning into the teaching and learning process; it consists of the teacher directing a logical sequence of questions at the learners, so that they are enabled to respond and to express the knowledge that they have, but which they might never have crystallized in their own mind. (p. 151)

Illeris (2003) defines learning, "in general is understood as all the processes leading to permanent change, whether it be physical, cognitive, emotional or social in nature, and which do not exclusively have to do with biological maturation" (p. 359). Jarvis (2004) disagrees and challenges Illeris's (2003) assumption by noting that, "these definitions emphasize a change in behavior as being the main focus of learning, but this is too restrictive because it necessitates the exclusion of the acquisition of new cognitive knowledge unless it

resulted in behavioural change (p. 83). De Houwer et al. (2013) weighing in on the debate, puts forward the proposition, “We define learning as ontogenetic adaptation, that is, as changes in the behavior of an organism that result from regularities in the environment of the organism” (p. 2). Barron et al. (2015) agree with Illeris (2015) and De Houwer et al. (2013) suggesting there is not a scientific agreement of the definition of learning and the conceptualization of learning varies depending upon the discipline. Illeris (2015) is adamant that, “all learning includes three dimensions: the content, the incentive, and the interaction” (p. 29); and he advances the supposition, “No learning can be fully understood without considering all three dimensions” (p. 29). Jarvis (2015) is still grappling with, “What precisely is learning?” (p. 89). Jarvis (2015) does provide an anecdotal suggestion by emphasizing the notion that, “Thus learning may be regarded initially as a process of receiving and processing any element of culture, by whatever means it is transmitted” (p. 83); and he continues to state, “no one theory of learning is able to explain the complexity of the many forms of learning that occur” (p. 101).

Learning scholars (e.g. Galbraith, 1995; Moreland & Lovett, 1997; Numec, 2001; Lundmark, 2002; Enetoth, 2008; Roberts, 2011; and Steffens, 2015) agree that there are different types of learning, and learning theories. This includes formal learning, non-formal, informal, and lifelong learning. Despite the lack of understanding and agreement of the definition of learning there is a plethora of learning theories. In the following section, I briefly review the meta-analyses completed by Illeris (2004) and Jarvis (2004) regarding prominent learning theorists. Both Illeris (2004) and Jarvis (2004) conducted an extensive literature review and a thorough literature search of learning theories. I am cautioned by my understanding of the word prominence because as an indigenous researcher, I am mindful that Illeris (2004) and Jarvis (2004) derives their analyses, and who are included as prominent learning scholars from an Eurocentric lens. Coupled to this, Dewey (2012) reminds us, theories are generated from experiences; and the learning experiences of people of colour are not included in their analysis.

Learning Theorists: Illeris (2004) and Jarvis (2004)

Let’s begin with Illeris. Illeris (2004) constructs his triangle of learning theories based upon the influences of other scholars from the disciplines of social psychology, cognitive

psychology, developmental psychology, socialization theory, motivational psychology and activity theory. His triangular diagram depicts the three dimensions of learning. He positions the learning theorists within the three dimensions of his triangular learning diagram. Illeris (2004) is convinced that the three dimensions of learning are the cognitive process, the emotional process and the social process. Jarvis (2004) mentions that Merriam and Caffarella (1991) devised a similar categorization which, “have typified the variety of learning theories as: behaviorist, cognitive, humanist and social” (p. 83). Illeris (2004) articulates:

Firstly, all learning has a content of skill or meaning. The acquisition of this content is primarily a *cognitive process* (the term cognitive comprising both knowledge and motor learning. Secondly, all learning is simultaneously an *emotional process*, or what the technical language of psychology more precisely terms a psychodynamic process, i.e. a process involving psychological energy, transmitted by feelings, emotions, attitudes and motivations which both mobilise and, at the same time, are conditions that may be influenced and developed through learning. Thirdly, learning is also a *social process*, taking place in the interaction between the individual and its surroundings, and thus in the final analysis a process dependent on historical and societal conditions. (p. 18)

According to Illeris (2004), these three dimensions are not independent of the individual but, “are always integrated parts of the learning process and in practice do not exist as separate function” (p. 20). He perceives learning as an adaptation that utilizes an assimilative process, which builds upon previous learning and in this sense Illeris (2004) describes learning as, “additive in nature” (p. 43); Ambrose et al. (2010) refer to this process as scaffolding and postulate it relates to, “Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal” (p. 132). Although the third dimension of Illeris’s (2004) learning process, which is the social process and includes the historical and societal positioning of the learner, to my understanding none of the learning theorists in his meta-analysis investigated people outside of the European sphere or Western European context. I am not able to reconcile the exclusion of people of color from these learning theories when their importance is vital in developing comprehensive and inclusive social policies such as educational policies. Preece (2001) posits, “Awareness of cultural or social difference is subsumed under the more liberal phrase ‘mutual understanding of diversity’” (p. 175). Where is

the mutual understanding of diversity? I am unable to glean the diversity from Illeris's meta-analysis. Illeris (2004) in fact states, "Thus, learning includes both an individual and a social element, the latter always reflecting current societal conditions, so that the learning result has the character of an individual phenomenon which is always socially and societal marked" (p. 227). I find Pearce (2001) and Illeris (2004) regarding diversity is dismissive and insulting.

These learning theories are based upon the Anglo-Saxons' lens of understanding. As Smith (2012), Chilisa (2012), and Battiste (2013) argue the West view of itself, presents constructed and restricted theories as universal knowledge. Jarvis (2004) complies with this assertion, noting that:

All forms of theory should also be treated as information that has been constructed and selected for transmission. Once information has been learned by individuals it becomes knowledge that can be transmitted to other people as information for them to consider. (p. 10)

The danger is that learning theories have been constructed from a one-toned, monotone analytical lens in which they conduct their investigations, based upon the Eurocentric monologue. McNair (2001) believes:

In social and economy terms, the issue of ensuring that individuals are not excluded from the benefits of society by lack of access to education remains a policy concern, since, the undereducated are not economically productive, and are thus an economic burden (and potentially socially disruptive) regardless of moral concerns. (p. 89)

It is not surprising that McNair (2001) arrives at this analysis. These theories are not inclusive nor are they culturally responsive. By culturally responsive, I mean they have not included or conducted any analysis of people of colour. Griffin (2001) claims that, "Indeed the concept of culture is one long associated with social division and inequalities of power and status in society" (p. 52.). I therefore question if these learning theories are applicable to Blacks, First Nations, and other people of colour. Preece (2001) points to the assumption that, "While the word 'diversity' suggests some recognition of difference between social groups, the general trend is towards encouraging convergence through assimilation of difference" (pp. 175-

176). We know the destructive force of learning through assimilation from Hooks (1993), Smith (2012), Chilisa (2012), and Battiste (2013). Of more concern, is the proposition that social policies such as educational policies are derived from theories and other research findings that are exclusionary. Preece (2001) imagines that, “Including the socially excluded in the learning age is a complex business” (p. 180). Why is it a complex business and can society continue to exclude non-Europeans? And at what cost? Illeris (2004) admits that:

It is also remarkable to what extent the categories that develop appear as a generalization of the typical motivational structure in ‘white, American, heterosexual, middle-class males’ – not least the so called ‘achievement motive’ which had been so central to motivational psychology in the USA. (p. 204)

I am puzzled as to why Illeris (2004) states it is remarkable, when it is to be expected, given the exclusionary practices and the drive to standardized learning. Peerce (2001) proposes, “There is yet again a danger that in the drive for standardization and technological enhancement some diverse groups will remain excluded (p. 117). I agree with Peerce (2001), since not every cultural group will prescribe to becoming clone-like. Preece (2001) continues his supposition by acknowledging that, “It requires a fine balance between fostering inclusion while recognizing difference – and nurturing stability and cohesion while avoiding the continued exclusion of those marginalized social identities that are already disadvantaged by the majority” (p. 180). It appears this balance is not a priority for these learning theorists. Resuming with Illeris (2004), he maintains:

All learning requires psychological energy, and this energy comes from either the desire for life fulfillment, the desire for resistance, or a combination of both, and both potentials can ultimately be traced back to the specifically human basis for the biological struggle for survival. (p. 83)

My first impressions of Illeris’s (2004) diagram of how he situates the learning theorists is that of a boxed triangle. For most indigenous peoples they view learning and the world in a circular, interactive and interconnected dimension. Given that the social process is imperative to learning, I am at a loss to understand why these learning theorists restrict their understanding based upon findings of exclusively Europeans. Illeris (2004) has taken great pains in his meta-analysis of the learning theories to highlight those learning theorists whom he

considers predominant in their respective discipline. The diagram on the following page illustrates, how Illeris (2004) positions the learning theorists in this triangular depiction. Continuing with this thought, I wonder how Illeris (2004) would write the learning processes of Black Nova Scotians? Given that the Province of Nova Scotia strategically banished Black Nova Scotians to the margins of society and denied them access to the corridors of education, employment, worship and any access resembling the rights to citizenship. Based upon Illeris's (2004) theory of learning, how would he position the learning processes of the care-leavers of the NSHCC? Would he for example, include racism as a dimension of the learning process, or would he position the dimension of the social process as a prominent driving force for marginalized and oppressed peoples of colour? This is also because as Jarvis (2001) articulates, "The social forces that have produced the learning society have also produced a situation of exclusion and instability" (p. 203). Illich (1988) is not surprised, and asserts that, "The institutionalization of values leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence: three dimensions in a process of global degradation and modernized misery (pp. 1-2).

Diagram 1



Replicate of Figure 12: Positions in the learning theoretical tension field (Illeris, 2004, p. 237).

The illustration by Illeris (2004) is in a sense, has boxed these learning theorists into one of the three dimensions of learning: cognitive process, emotional process and the social process. But we must be reminded his analysis is based upon his interpretive paradigm. Data must still be translated into meaning and Jarvis (2004) convincingly asserts that, “qualitative interpretation even in the most quantitative of research — data need interpretation to have meaning and become knowledge” (p. 287). The meaning Illeris (2004) derives from his knowledge constructs are based upon an Eurocentric perspective and thus, an exclusionary theory. Prins et al. (2015) surmises that such exclusionary discourses have important negative consequences for the marginalized. This is not to dispute and/or challenge his findings but to say he did not include me and my people in his meta-analysis. And here I am writing my thesis for my master’s degree and I am unable to find a learning theory that resonates with me, or any

people of colour; apart from Freire (1993, 1998, 2005), and Illich (1998) to a lesser degree. Illeris (2004) does not include Freire (1993, 2005) in his meta-analysis citing Freire's body of work is not a learning theory. However, Jarvis does include Freire (1993, 2005) in his meta-analysis. Griffin's (2001) proposition is that, "One of the most important functions of policy analysis is to sustain a critical analysis of its discourse" (p. 43). I am unable to have a critical analysis when my people are excluded from the discourse. These theorists continue the perpetuation of exclusion by their sins of omissions. They adopt a research paradigm that privileges whiteness. As mentioned in (chapter 2), Chilisa (2012) postulates, "A research paradigm is a way of describing a worldview that is informed by philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (ontology), ways of knowing (epistemology) and ethics and value systems (axiology)" (p. 19).

It is evident that Illeris (2004) has gone through a painstaking endeavour in his meta-analysis to present the body of work from numerous learning theorists. It is on the one hand very impressive and extensive, and on the other hand restricted to the Eurocentric lens, which has always emerged as a retractive scope reflected towards itself, and this limits their understanding of the world, and what constitutes knowledge. As we know, knowledge and the legitimation of knowledge is the exercise of power. Smith (2012) explains:

The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge. (p. 66)

Illeris (2004) by his selection and the assembling of his chosen learning theorists in his meta-analysis, underpins this exercise of power through the control of knowledge. Jarvis (2004) is reasonable in his belief that, "dominate knowledge, even if it is relative, is related to the power structures of society and consequently to those forms of knowledge useful to those who exercise power in society" (p. 9). By their exclusion of people of colour in their learning theories, do learning theorists not contribute to this reproduction of power? Smith (2012) claims that, "There is a direct relationship between the expansion of knowledge, the expansion of trade and the expansion of empire (p. 92). Many scholars acknowledge there are many forms of knowledge. Jarvis (2001) admits, "However, it was accepted in England in the 1960s that in

a multicultural society there is more than one possible interpretation of cultural knowledge, that there is more than one type of history, religion etc.” (p. 32). Aligned with this supposition, Illich (1988) eloquently suggests that, social policies impact every aspect of society and notes the following:

Welfare bureaucracies claim a professional, political, and financial monopoly over the social imagination, setting standards of what is valuable and what is feasible. This monopoly is at the root of the modernization of poverty. Modernized poverty combines the lack of power over circumstances with a loss of personal potency. [And] ... that poverty—once it has become modernized — has become resistant to treatment with dollars alone and requires an institutional revolution. (p. 5)

As Jarvis (2004) puts it, “no theory is value free so that the theory cannot be divorced from the wider world of ideology and belief” (pp. 84-85). Fundamentally, it is impossible to construct theories about a people you do not understand, a culture that you dismiss and an exclusionary practice through the silencing of voice; as with the omission of Black and First Nation learners, and other learners of colour. Exclusionary practices perpetuate a delusion of grandiose thought, as with the Eurocentric monologue. I agree with Chilisa (2012) that, “We cannot in all seriousness study ourselves through the eyes of other people’s assumptions” (p. 137). She continues to propose, “I am saying we must think for ourselves like others think for themselves” (p. 137). These learning theories would like people of colour to succumb to the obliteration of memory and culture. Chilisa (2012) describes this as, “The error of sameness or universalism is that it can proceed only by the massive domination and silencing of the less powerful (p. 81). Learning theories must be inclusive so that learners like myself, have an opportunity to learn. I support Brownhill’s (2001) analysis when he suggests, “In some sense then, we have a tendency to reproduce the same sort of people and the same values and social milieu” (p. 71). The learning experiences of the care-leavers from the NSHCC appears to reflect Preece’s (2001) beliefs of the learning process. Preece (2001) writes, “so learning now may be viewed as a process of constructing and transforming experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs, and senses” (p. 180). The care-leavers of the NSHCC certainly transform their allegations of historical instructional child abuse into action—the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry.

Jarvis (2004) in his meta-analysis of the prevalent learning theories suggests, “Learning can be understood as an individual process which continues throughout the whole of life — lifelong learning” (pp. 64-65). He connects learning, lifelong learning and distance education learning to globalization. McNair (2001) alludes to globalization in this manner:

Globalization is the process whereby worldwide economic and social forces supplant those of nation and locality. It changes the relative economic position of particular countries and economies; it changes the nature of social interactions and structures; it changes what is required of an education and training system; and it changes the competitive position of particular education and training providers. (p. 16)

Jarvis (2004) in conducting his meta-analysis, reviews the body of work by Dewey (1916); Thorndike (1927); Pavlov (1927); Piaget (1929); Skinner (1971); Mezirow (1977, 1981); Gagne (1977); Vygotsky (1978, 1986); Freire (1993, 1996) and others (see Jarvis, 2004). Jarvis (2004) provides an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the learning theorists from a variety of disciplines. His body of work is indeed impressive and extensive. His meta-analysis, suggests globalization will not only present more groups of people to be excluded and marginalized, it has created a pathology of poverty and stricken societal conditions. This is because, as Giroux (2014) states:

Despite the growing public recognition that market fundamentalism has fostered a destructive alignment among the state, corporate capital, and transnational corporations, there is little understanding that such an alignment has been constructed and solidified through a neoliberal disciplinary apparatus and corporate pedagogy produced in part in the halls of higher education and through the educational force of the larger media culture. (pp. 150-151)

Jarvis (2004) admits, “However, in this new economy, it is not only poverty that leads to social exclusion, it is also the lack of, the requisite knowledge to get work” (p. 6). In today’s learning society, there is a direct correlation to the global labour market; learning and what is consider legitimate knowledge is paramount. “The neoliberal paradigm driving these attacks on public and higher education abhors democracy and views public and higher education as a toxic civic sphere that poses a threat to corporate values, power, and ideology” (Giroux, 2014, p. 30).

Merricks (2001) articulates that, “The origin of government interest in lifelong learning lies in the economic recession which characterized Western economies from the mid-1980s” (p. 9). Extending this line of thought, Jarvis (2004) implies learning is not about self-actualization, or the self-directed learner but the needs of society. Jarvis (2004) shares with us:

But despite the rhetoric about learning enriching our humanity, even our spirituality and the democratic society, the main emphasis of planning in all of these [learning] documents is that the end-result of learning will be employability, since the new welfare state will be built around it. (p. 19)

Now, the marginalized and the oppressed must contend with not just the lack of capital and cultural resources but Jarvis (2004) postulates that, “The poor are excluded socially and economically from both local and global society” (p. 6). The causality of globalization, forces more and more people of colour to the periphery of society. McNair (2001) predicts that it will be, “The employed, who will in turn revolt against social and economic exclusion” (p. 20). Jarvis (2004) clearly admits his analysis is derived from his personal interpretation. He argues that data are a grouping and a categorization of information and:

These are collected during research and fact-finding. They are about facts, but we have to recognize that ‘facts’ have to be qualified and interpreted. They do not have intrinsic meaning: it is a construction of meaning, and data are therefore open to control and to being relative. (p. 9)

I have the same criticism with Jarvis (2004) as I do with Illeris (2004) and the other learning theorists. Jarvis (2004) also omits people of colour from his analysis. Unlike Illeris (2004), Jarvis (2004) does not try to box the learning theorists into a compressed compartment. I do find Jarvis (2004) somewhat appealing when he suggests, “[M]any individuals have lost the security of a single dominant local subculture, which helped provide them both with a sense of membership of a community and an identity” (p. 28). This speaks to me about the Black Nova Scotia community and how it provides a sense of identity, but also a sense of belonging—being connected to something beyond yourself. I agree with Brownhill (2001) when he asserts that, “We become what we are by experiencing the culture in which we exist by interacting with others, and by reflecting on those experiences and interactions” (p. 71). Brownhill (2001) continuing this line of thought, asserts that, “Without the socio-cultural

milieu we would not exist” (p. 71). This provides a connection to history, to generations of knowledge that has been transmitted, to the horror of injustice, to the pedagogy of hope, to perseverance, to strength and endurance; to the care-leavers of the NSHCC obtainment of the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry.

It is culture, which Jarvis (2004) describes “in this context, refers to the sum totality of knowledge, values, beliefs, etc. of a social group” (p. 27). It causes me trepidation, knowing that the Black community is at risk of extinction due to several factors, all to be traced to the learning society and resulting in social exclusion. Jarvis (2004) believes this loss of membership causes an identity crisis and increases the need for counselling. Bracher (2006) agrees and posits, “The fundamental need to maintain one’s identity is also a root cause of some of our most serious problems, including crime, violence, terrorism, prejudice, substance abuse, and more” (p. 6). Bracher (2006) further notes that one’s identity must be recognized and acknowledge before learning can occur. Learning entails the totality of who we are. Jarvis (2004) states:

In other words, our biography—that is, the whole person—is involved both consciously and unconsciously in constructing the experience from which we learn, but it is also being changed throughout the lifespan by the experiences that it helps to construct. (p. 103)

In its most ideal form learning is about knowing, “knowing how from knowing that” (Young, 2015, p. 19). I concur with Jarvis (2004) when he asserts that, “no definition of learning can be complete without emotion being recognized” (p. 111). Sometimes learning is forced, to achieve an altruistic goal. Such as the care-leavers of the NSHCC who learned how to create a political platform to advance their demands for an inquiry. The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry (RI) completed its mandate March 31st 2019. I am curious of the type(s) of knowledge production the RI will construct. Will this knowledge production bring new understandings, new learnings? Will the RI reconfigure postcolonial relationships between the Black community and the Province of Nova Scotia? How will the RI be situated on the global landscape with Truth Commissions and Transnational Justice? It’s too early to predict the legacy of the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry, but I look forward to the final report of the RI, in late summer. Jarvis (2004) states that, “This endeavor of human beings to understand

themselves, their society and their universe lies at the root of the learning process” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 29).

An Analysis of the Learning Scholars

I say to Dewey (2012), Illeris (2004), and Jarvis (2004) tell me how I learn. When you, Jarvis (2004) in your meta-analysis, nearly 350-page book entitled *Adult education and lifelong learning: Theory and practice (3rd ed.)*, have excluded the Black community from your learning theories. Your omission, which you clearly acknowledge leads your own understanding of learning plagued with the sins of omission, and therefore whatever learning theories you construct are incomplete and inadequate. The only mention of Black people in your book, Jarvis (2004), is one insignificant and dismissive sentence, in which you state that, “Little et al. (1982) noted, while adult education provision for the black communities in the United Kingdom tended not to consider their needs very adequately, adult basic education was still needed by many of them” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 329).

And you, Illeris (2004), appear to be very apologetic that your meta-analysis did not include women, citing that very few women were learning theorists at the time of your study. The scholars you selected for your study are restricted to European males. Illeris (2004), you are contrite in this regard stating, “for some reason or other it appears to be predominately men who have taken an interest in the kind of learning theory I have dealt with” (p. 236). At no time throughout your 272-page book entitled, *The three dimensions of learning: Contemporary learning theory*, was any consideration given to learners of colour or scholars of colour. It is disconcerting that you, and the other learning theorists present your theories as universal knowledge—as a global taken-for-granted scientific fact. I say to you, Illeris (2004), please state the limitations of your meta-analysis, knowing that you do not know if your theories can be generated to the wider society.

And yes, Dewey (2012), I have not forgotten you. I noticed when you described uncivilized Europeans you use the term barbarians and when referencing uncivilized non-Europeans, you tossed the term savages. Be careful Dewey (2012), your cognitive imperialism is surfacing. I was somewhat startled that you try to convince me, that the schools in the United

States were the epitome of the ideal educational system in which learning is optimized. You believe, “The intermingling in school of youth of different races, different religions, and unlike custom creates for all a new and broader environment” (Dewey, 2012, p. 26). You, Dewey (2012), continue with this line of thought by noting that, “Education is thus a fostering, a nurturing, a cultivating, process” (p. 14). Did you not realize during your time, that Black American learners were forced into segregated schools and were denied access to the public-school system until 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional? I am convinced that your line of thought was for European learners only.

Summary

In this chapter, I have explained the theoretical frameworks I have employed for my study. I have provided an understanding of decolonization as a process, and I have explained the tenets of CRT. Included in my theoretical frameworks, I have presented a sample of the learning theories, and the learning scholars to provide an understanding of the process of learning. From the numerous learning theorists, there is an agreement that no one theory can explain the complexities of learning. It is troubling that these learning theorists do not include learners of color in their analysis, which fundamentally makes their theories incomplete. Their learning theories, therefore engage and perpetuate exclusionist academic discourses. The socio-cultural milieu of the learners is imperative to what one learns and how one learns. This includes the historical contextual factors as a major agency of learning.

In the next chapter (methodology), I present how I have derived my analysis using critical historical analysis (CHA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). I discuss the methodologies I have employed to support my theoretical frameworks. The methods I have used were invaluable tools to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of colonization on the Black Nova Scotia community. Both (CDA) and (CHA) allowed me to critically examine the marginalization of my community. By employing CDA, I was able to be attentive to the language constructs of the data sources. CHA allowed me to analytically interrogate the historical records that I have used in my study. Included is my learning journey, which I refer to as *Time Travel*. In the absence of learning theories (since they do not include people of colour in their analysis, or in their theorization), it is important to present the

challenges that some Black learners are facing as it pertains to learning. Those Black learners, who refuse to hijack a false identity, and the struggles it entails in asserting one's Black Nova Scotian cultural identity within the Nova Scotian school system.

Chapter 4 – Methodologies

I have utilized critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical historical analysis (CHA) as the methodologies when analysing the primary and secondary sources that I have used for my study. These two methods are aligned with the theoretical frameworks, of the process of decolonization, and critical race theory. CDA and CHA appear to support and maintain, the Indigenous Research Paradigm. This has allowed me to maintain a culturally responsive approach, that gives first voice to the Black Nova Scotian community. In the previous chapter, I have discussed the exclusion of learners of colours, from the theorization of the learning theorists. In the absence of a learning theory which speaks to the understanding of the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community, I present my learning narrative as a supplement to my methodological approach. After all, lifelong learning is predicated upon the theorization of the learning theorists.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is the study of the relationship of power and inequality in language, language constructs such as linguistics features, wording, metaphors, grammar, syntax, and other language organization that is used to convey meaning to the reader. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) believe, “CDA states that discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (p. 448). Weighting in on this, Todoli et al. (2006) insist our languages are never neutral. Todoli et al. (2006) convey, “...how we see ourselves, our identity, knowledge, values and beliefs” (pp. 9-10) are based on linguistic features and the social construction of discourse. Fairclough (2013) expands upon this supposition asserting that, “CDA is a theory of, and methodology for, analysis of discourse understood as an element or ‘moment’ of the political, political-economic and generally social which is dialectically related to other elements/moments” (p. 178). What I found most appealing about CDA is that it requires me to critically analyze the materials and data sources that I have used in my study. Todoli et al. (2006) articulate:

Another claim in CDA is that discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the current and historical context into consideration. In other words, discourse is connected to the past and the current social context, since texts can be interpreted in different ways by different people, because of their different backgrounds, knowledge, and power positions. (p. 10)

Based upon Todoli et al.'s (2006) analysis, CDA is the ideal tool, the most appropriate methodology to conduct my analyses. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) believe there are several dimensions to CDA. They first put forward, "The first dimension is discourse-as-text, i.e., the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse" (p. 448). So, for example, when Dewey (2012), describes uncivilized Europeans, he refers to them as barbarians but uses the term savages when referring to uncivilized indigenous peoples. These subtleties on their surface may appear innocent but they call attention to how language is utilized to reproduce the social order of inequality. "More specially, CDA claims that discourse always involves power and ideologies, and aims to explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts and events" (Todole et al., 2006, p. 10). Another example of the first dimension-is when Blois (1917), the first Superintendent of Nova Scotia Department of Neglected and Delinquent Children publicly refers to Black children, "as dirty cross-eyed Arabs" (p. 7)". Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) assert that, this is an example of the, "transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (p. 448).

Walker (1985; 1996), Whitfield (2006, 2016), and Pachai (2007) report that the Government of Nova Scotia launched a media hate propaganda campaign against the Black Loyalists and the Black Refugees, stating in newspapers and other print milieus Black Loyalists and Black Refugees were fit only for slavery. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) speculate this is the second dimension of CDA, which is a, "discourse-as-discursive-practice" (p. 448, which means, "something that is produced, circulated, distributed, consumed in society" (p. 448). Daly (2014) and Wright (2017) postulate this is concept diffusion, which entails shaping societal beliefs and the conceptualizations about a particular subject matter. In this case, Black Nova Scotians were believed to be dangerous and unsuited for citizenship in Nova Scotia. The third dimension of CDA is discourse-as-social-practice, such as the

ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is featured. A prime example is the President of United States, Donald Trump rallying cries of the Othering of people such as Mexicans, Muslims, Immigrants, and other people of colour, creating an ideology of fearing people of colour as dangerous, unsuited for American life—values and beliefs. As previously stated, West (2017) believes that Donald Trump, “is a product of American civilization, the vicious legacy of white supremacy still operating, losing sight of our precious gay and lesbian and bisexual and transgender folk” (p. 27). West (2017) continues to describe, Donald Trump as, “a gangster in character and a neo-fascist in content” (p. 27).

Another example of CDA as a third dimension reveals the importance of creating a national mentality to prepare society in Nova Scotia for the concept that, first, children were children and not “little adults” (Levine, 2006, p. 28), as they were positioned in society; and secondly, it was a moral and social responsibility for the government of Nova Scotia as well as their Christian duty, to provide congregate care facilities for orphaned and neglected children. And by extension it became a societal responsibility of all their citizens. Providing care to children such as the establishment of orphanages, begins with concept diffusion. A discourse was promulgated by the province through the circulation of newspapers and articles. This was later joined by new emerging disciplines of child psychology and psychiatry. We have the emergence of science used to justify and provide a rationale, in this case White children required care, nutrition and safety so that their early years would lay the strong foundation for them to become useful and obedient citizens as adults. Lafferty (2013) clearly provides evidence that accompanying the need to care for abandoned children were images of White, blue eyes babies, who were portrayed as beautiful innocent victims in need of care. Black children were not included in this discourse or First Nation children for that matter. Lafferty’s (2013) supposition is, “Efforts to save and reform endangered children were based upon specific, racially conceived notions of ideal childhood, which black reformers and welfare advocates had to contend with and adapt to their communities’ need” (p. 28).

Todoli et al. (2006) assert that, “If the minds of the dominated accept dominance and act in the interest of the powerful, dominance turns into hegemony” (p. 10). For Black Nova Scotians, these beliefs of inferiority, dangerous to society and a threat to law abiding citizens manifest themselves into practices which historically denied Blacks access to religious

worship, African dance, higher education, the law courts, housing, employment and subjected them to brutal physical attacks. There were laws that prevented Blacks from having the right to vote until the 1960s, and all other restrictive measures that denied Blacks the rights to citizenship (as Walker, 1985, 1996; Whitfield, 2006, 2016; and Pachai, 2007 document).

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) put forward the proposition that:

These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analyzing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs. CDA advocates interventionism in the social practices it critically investigates. CDA thus openly professes strong commitments to change, empowerment, and practice-orientedness. (p. 449)

Fairclough (2013) maintains, “CDA brings the critical tradition in social analysis into language studies, and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse, and or relations between discourse and other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, social identities, etc.)” (p. 178). This scholar continues to state social reality is:

‘conceptually mediated’ as we might put it—meaning that there are no social events or practices without representations, construals, conceptualizations or theories of them; or put it differently, that social realities have a reflexive character, i.e., how people see, represent, interpret and conceptualize them is part of these realities. (p. 178)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the analysis in which I can engage in the process of decolonizing—that is a different way of understanding the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community and offers me the analytical tools to understand how the NSHCC was positioned within the fringes of the welfare landscape; and how the Black Nova Scotian community was relegated to the margins of the Nova Scotian society.

I found CDA to be a very valuable tool when examining the report by Stratton (1995) and the report by Kaufman (2002). Mr. Justice Stratton was appointed by the Government of Nova Scotia to investigate institutional child abuse at five of the provincially operated residential institutions and the Lalo case in 1995. Caesar Lalo was a former provincial

employee who was convicted of sexual assaults against boys under his care. It must be emphasized that the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children was excluded from this investigation. Mr. Justice Stratton concluded he found institutional child abuse at three of these residential institutions, and Lalo was convicted and sentenced by the courts to prison on several accounts of physical and sexual abuse against boys in his care. In the other two institutions, Stratton (1995) could not confirm institutional child abuse had occurred, because the residents were unable to communicate their experiences due to cognitive and developmental challenges. Given the nature of institutional child abuse, there is a high probability that it had occurred, but the residents were just unable to share their experiences. Based upon Stratton's (1995) findings, the Government of Nova Scotia proceeded with the third and final step. That was the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) process and the implementation of the Compensation Program for the care-leavers from the Shelburne Youth Training Centre (formerly the Shelburne School for Boys), the Nova Scotia Residential Centre (formerly the Truro School for Girls) and the Youth Training Centre at Bible Hill.

Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman was appointed by the Minister of Justice, Nova Scotia to investigate how the Province of Nova Scotia responded to the allegations of institution abuse at three of its residential institutional facilities. The Government of Nova Scotia appointed retired Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman because the ADR process, and the validation process became a fiasco. Kaufman (2002) analysed the three-prong approach that the Government of Nova Scotia implemented. This included an examination of the Stratton Report, the Audit Report, the Internal Investigation Unit (IIU) of the Department of Justice, Operation Hope conducted by the RCMP for pending criminal charges, the Validation Process and the Compensate Package to care-leavers, claiming institutional child abuse. Kaufman (2002) writes about the Government of Nova Scotia's three-prong approach:

It was seriously flawed. So flawed that it left in its wake true victims of abuse who are now assumed by many to have defrauded the Government of Nova Scotia, innocent employees who have been branded as abusers, and a public confused and unenlightened about the extent to which people were or were not abused while in the care of the Province of Nova Scotia. (p. 480)

What I find interesting, and why I have included it under the analysis of CDA, is the language used by Kaufman (2002); and who Mr. Justice Kaufman held accountable for the disastrous implementation of the ADR, and a flawed validation process coupled with the response of the IIU. Kaufman (2002) places the harshest criticism upon Ms. Samuels-Stewart. Kaufman (2002) held the Auditor, Ms. Vicki Samuels-Stewart (a Black Nova Scotian woman) to blame, stating that:

The audit's Terms of Reference were not fulfilled. [...]. It is rather, that Ms. Samuels-Stewart's conclusion were inconsistent with an exploratory audit and distracted from the important systemic work she was engaged to perform. Further, her Audit Report was likely taken as confirmation by some that serious, widespread systemic abuse had occurred at the institutions. This likely contributed, as we know the Stratton Report did, to a failure by the Government to ensure that allegations of abuse were appropriately validated before compensation was paid. (p.p. 80-81)

It is my understanding, that Ms. Samuels-Stewart was not responsible for the ADR process, the IIU, the Validation Process or the Compensation Program. Kaufman (2002) indicates Ms. Samuels-Stewart was not qualified to conduct an independent audit. Kaufman (2002) asserts that, "Ms. Samuels-Stewart had no prior experience in conducting research or evaluations of young offender institutions, or in designing or conducting institutional audits" (p. 77). Kaufman (2002) continues to note, "that there were significant deficiencies in her knowledge and experience that inhibited an ideal fulfilment of the audit's mandate" (p. 77). Kaufman (2002) suggests, "it was important that the independent review of her work be conducted by an expert properly regarded as a child's advocate" (p. 68), that expert was Mr. Dawson. Kaufman (2002) makes a point of stating, "Mr. Dawson's credentials as an international expert in the development and provision of child abuse services were impressive" (p. 68). Kaufman (2002) notes that, "[I]n my opinion the Audit Report is significantly flawed, and these flaws may have contributed, albeit inadvertently, to the overall unsatisfactory nature of the Government's response" (p. 67). The Government of Nova Scotia did not rely on the Audit Report, rather, the government responded to the findings of Stratton (1995). Afterall, Mr. Justice Stratton was the chief investigator.

Kaufman (2002) also notes, that the investigators hired by Mr. Justice Stratton were not diligent when taking statements from care-leavers regarding institutional child abuse.

Kaufman (2002) states that:

There is no record in the materials of any attempt by the Murphys to compare statements given to the investigation by persons claiming abuse with prior statement to the RCMP. [...] They did carry out any examination as to whether or not employees who were named as abusers were present at the institution at the same time as the persons claiming to have been abused. (p. 91)

Contrary to Kaufman's (2002) findings, Stratton (1995) describes the Murphys this way:

Mr. Murphy, Sr., is a former member of the R.C.M.P. After 30 years service with the Force, he retired with the rank of superintended and established his own investigation firm [Facts-Probe Incorporated]. He is, in my opinion, a most thorough, competent and experienced investigator who has worked diligently to locate complaints and others and to obtain their statement. (p. i)

Kaufman (2002) holds everyone accountable, except the person whom the government relied on, to proceed with the ADR. After all, Mr. Justice Stratton was the chief investigator and previous chairperson of the Kingsclear Inquiry in New Brunswick regarding the implementation of a redress program pertaining to institutional child abuse. Stratton (1995) states:

Having pondered the overall results of the present investigation, I would express the opinion that a public inquiry is not required in the present instance. I believe that we have gathered sufficient information for the Minister of Justice to be able to proceed with the next and final step in the process. (p. 102)

I argue that Mr. Justice Stratton, should be held to a higher standard than the Investigators or an Auditor. Kaufman (2002) asserts that, "The Honourable Stewart Stratton, Q.C., is a jurist of impeccable credentials and reputation" (p. 100). Kaufman (2012) continues to write, "The Government can only be commended for his selection" (p. 100). Mr. Justice Stratton hired the investigators—the Murphys, and the Murphys reported to Mr. Justice Stratton. It was the responsibility of Mr. Justice Stratton, to ensure that the investigators

conducted and collected the statements in a manner conducive to jurisprudence. My CDA of Kaufman (2002), is that Mr. Justice Kaufman has conflated his analysis with classism, imperialistic ideologies, socio-economic status, *the good old boy's club mentality!*

CDA is a valuable tool for my analysis. CDA unveils—the sins of omission and that in itself, is an indicator of the obliteration of the history, of the contributions and of the memory of Black Nova Scotians. Bundy (2014) states that, “Such an absence of documenting in combination with reported racist attitudes suggest, pervasive and systematic racism” (p. 31). This is where, I find critical historical analysis an indispensable tool to combine with CDA for a comprehensive analysis.

Critical Historical Analysis (CHA)

understand the present social context of the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community, the second methodology I employ is critical historical analysis (CHA). By employing this methodology, CHA allows me to gage the historical records considering the time, space and location that motivated such writings. Pachai (2007) articulates:

This is the kind of contextual analysis that is both meaningful and instructive. It throws light upon the historical past as well as the contemporary present; and it challenges society as a whole to respond as well as to be accountable. (p. 252)

Chilisa (2012) and Smith (2012) remind me, in the process of decolonizing—new ways of understanding the formation of the Black Nova Scotian community, I must be attentive to the words and language constructs used to provide the contextual analysis of historical documents and archival literature.

I recall arranging with the staff of Digby Town Council to review its by-laws and its minutes from 1750-1890. The staff was exceptionally helpful and as I reviewed the somewhat fragile documents, I could not find any mention of Black people or the Black community in Digby: whether I used the term Negro, Coloured, Black Loyalists or African. I found this somewhat frustrating but also revealing. The histories of Digby Blacks were not important enough to document. But I am aware from Pachai (2007) and Whitfield (2006, 2016)

that there were Black settlements in Digby since the turn of the seventeenth century. In fact, Pachai (2007) provides records stating in 1760s, “there were 500 White families and 109 Black families” (p. 49), residing in Digby. I did not need to read Pachai (2007) or Whitfield (2006, 2016) to inform me of the Digby Black settlements. I was aware of the early Black settlements from my mother, and the evidence was the burial grounds that I occasionally went to in times of committals. The staff member offered to assist in my search of the historical records pertaining to the Black community. He was not able to locate any minutes and/or by-laws pertaining to the subject matter. I was informed that, I had reviewed all the records at the Town of Digby’s disposal. In our discussion, he did apprise me that he was inform that there was a by-law which stated Blacks had to be out of town by sundown, he was not sure if this was an urban legion or fact. Interestingly, growing up, my mother informed me of the same by-law and indicated the location of the sign reminding Blacks to be out of town before sundown.

CHA affords me the contextual analysis to understand the rational for the establishment of the NSHCC, and it takes me to an historical time of the *Century of the Child*. Blois (1917) in his annual superintendent report includes photos of White healthy children who were saved and placed in orphanages. In the following chapter, I discuss the *Century of the Child* which was the touchstone for congregate care facilities. Lafferty (2013) articulates, “The children’s institution looms up from a bleak, Dickensian past, full of violence, hunger, poverty, and desperation” (p. 6). Pachai (2007) insists, “History should be seen as the story of organic progression through time and space” (p. 3). Smith (2012) has a different perspective when it relates to history. She asserts that, “In fact history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they rise their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others” (p. 35).

I have sought to get information from the Nova Scotia Department of Community Services under the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPOP) to provide me with the documents and correspondences they have regarding the NSHCC. I completed the necessary forms with the names and dates of the correspondences I wished to review. I felt they were trying to discourage me and finally, I was informed my request would cost thousands of dollars due to paying someone to retrieve the documents. I contacted my Supervisor, Dr. Susan Brigham and informed her of the situation. I did discuss my situation with Ms. Wanda Taylor,

the author of *The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children: Share and Care*, a book about the lived experiences of several care-leavers from the NSHCC. Ms. Taylor advised me to contact Mr. Ray Wagner, the lawyer who litigated the class-action suit for the care-leavers of the NSHCC against the NSHCC and the Province of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Wagner provided me with all the documents which were filed in the class-action suit. Our conversation was refreshing and he was not surprised by the response that I received from the Province about accessing the requested information. Mr. Wagner confirmed the cost associated for retrieving such information. I did promise Mr. Wagner, I would not name any of the care-leavers, use their name directly or indirectly which could identify them. I finally had the primary sources for my thesis and of course the secondary sources. Until Mr. Wagner provided me with the documents, the only other primary sources I was able to obtain were the limited materials I retrieved from the Nova Scotia Archives. My theoretical thesis includes both primary and secondary sources, and historical documents.

I have employed CDA when reviewing the class-action suit filed by Ray Wagner, legal counsel for the care-leavers of the NSHCC, against the NSHCC and the Province of Nova Scotia and I have conducted an analysis of the following scholars using CDA (e.g. Stratton 1995; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002; Daly, 2014; Skold, 2016; Wright, 2017). The noted scholars provide a clear understanding of the conceptualization of institutional child abuse and its prevalence. I have employed CHA when investigating the literature on the formation of the Black Nova Scotian Community by historians (e.g., Walker, 1985, 1996; Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Whitfield, 2006, 2016; Lafferty, 2012). And I have been guided by the work of Chilisa (2012), Smith (2012) and Battiste (2013) to implement an Indigenous Research Paradigm, which is culturally responsive to the Black Nova Scotian community. In the next section, I present *Time Travel*. I have employed *Time Travel* as a supplement to my methodology, that I have adopted from Hooks (1995) to investigate, and to be cognizant of my own learning journey. Hooks (1995) explains the use of the term time travel rather than reflective practice as actually being in the moment of time to examine one's experience, understanding and thinking. It brings into focus one's ontology, epistemology and axiology to examine memories from the past—memories long since forgotten.

Time Travel

Learning is transmitted through culture. Jarvis (2004) puts forward the supposition that, “All individuals have the culture of their local society transmitted to them through interactions with others” (p. 27). Dewey (2012) argues that, “Schools are, indeed, one important method of the transmission which forms the dispositions of the immature, but it is only one means, and compared with other agencies, a relatively superficial means” (p. 7). For Dewey (2012), learning is all about experience. This is true of the Black Nova Scotian Community, where learning is transmitted in a culturally distinctive manner which is all about experience, and our relational epistemology. Jarvis (2004) purposes, “The socio-cultural milieu may itself be divided into three distinct elements: the objectified subculture of a local society, the learners’ position in the community and the means by which whatever is to be transmitted to the individuals” (p. 82). But what happens when learning is transmitted by one’s socio-cultural milieu is in total contrast to what is being transmitted by the schools as the major agency of learning? And the learning theories do not include learners of color in their analysis so that a more inclusive and broader understanding of learning may be generated?

To investigate the realities of lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotia community, I previously stated, that I was going to share my lived learning narrative, which I refer to as *Time Travel* as part of my methodology. I have used my own learning narrative which incorporates decolonization, critical race theory and identity theory as the interpretive lens. To engage in this *Time Travel*, I have supplemented and expanded my understanding of my learning narrative by utilizing Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. To present an understanding regarding the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community, it requires that I thoroughly understand my own learning experience. I defer to Hooks (1995). I have adopted Hooks’s (1995) conceptualization of *Time Travel*. Hooks (1995) articulates, “To travel, I must always move through fear, confront terror” (p. 45). So, I begin.

In chapter 2, I stated that the Black Nova Scotian culture has a relational epistemology. Growing up with my mother’s people in Digby, the Francis clan, I learned about kinship ties. Their ancestral makeup was a mixture of African, European, and First Nations. Their physical appearance ranges from light to white skin colouration with red hair and

freckles, to brownish complexion, straight-hair with Native features, to darker skin tones with curly hair and West African features. This type of ancestral mixture is not unusual in the Black Nova Scotian community. Black (2011) claims, “[I]n North America where, Native American slaves interbred with African slaves, so that African Americans by the 1860s would have a mixture of African, European and Native American ancestry” (p. 49). According to Pachai (2007), the first peoples to be enslaved in Nova Scotia were the First Nations; and later, West African slaves were brought to Nova Scotia, and lived amongst the First Nation slaves. Whitfield (2016) presents evidence indicating, “[Slave]Owners regularly had sexual relations with [African] female slaves which resulted in the labour of reproduction” (p. 28).

My mother always informed me who my relatives were and how we were related. She would qualify it by stating, “they are your people but stay away from this one because they will bring you trouble”. I heard these words throughout my life until my mother’s passing. My mother graduated from Digby High School. She attended the public schools in Digby because of her parent’s geographical location. Winks (1969) records, “In 1918 all children near Annapolis and Digby had access to public schools” (p. 186). Pachai (2007) explains:

The Education Act which became law in April, 1884 stipulated that a black child could not be excluded from attending a school in the ward or section in which the child resided but the government would continue to provide for separate schools for the sexes and the colours. The Education Act of 1918 reaffirmed the principles and the formula of the 1884 Act. (p. 136)

I remember by mother telling me that one of her male teachers appeared to be very disturbed by her physicality. He occasionally commented to her that he could not tell the difference between his daughter and my mother. My mother was Black, and his daughter was White, and he found it very disconcerting because this teacher could not understand how a Black child could have the physical appearance of a White child.

My father’s people are from Yarmouth and his mother was a First Nation person. He enlisted in the Canadian Armed Forces when he was sixteen. It was quite common for young Black men—teenagers—youth to enlist. My father was deployed in France on the battlefield. His occupation was a paramedic, which meant he witnessed firsthand, the violence and the dehumanization that underlay World War II. He was a war hero, but war left many

scars on his soul. After he was honourably discharged from the army, my father owned and operated a taxi business until his passing.

Growing up in the Black community of Digby, Nova Scotia, I found myself in a constant flux of reconciling my learning. I learned from my mother and maternal grandmother the cultural understanding of the Black Nova Scotian community and how it was situated within the broader context of society. My formal learning was dictated by the schools I attended—the public schools in Digby and also the African United Baptist Church had an important influence on my formative years. My mother told me that our ancestors came from Africa as slaves and although we are descendants of European and First Nation, we were Black Nova Scotians. The Black Nova Scotian community is a blending of descendants from numerous West African ethnic tribes that were enslaved during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Hogendorn, 1984; Whitfield, 2006, 2016; Pachai, 2007; Black, 2011; Angeles, 2013), Europeans (Winks, 1969; Black, 2011; Whitfield, 2016) and First Nations (Pachai, 2007; Black, 2011). Dr. Henry Gates, a world-renowned scholar says that the Black culture in North America is neither African nor is it Western-European. As Pachai (2007) writes, “This experience [as an African slave], added to the life on the plantations, combined to create a society which of necessity turned out to be different from that of their original home as well as the host country” (p. 26). Whitfield (2016) expands upon Pachai’s (2007) supposition by noting that, “Although, they retained significant aspects of ‘African culture’, their chances of acculturation were high because of the sheer number of white people who surround them,” (p. 21). We are the only Black population in Canada that has a regionalized identity (Whitfield, 2016). This thesis argues the Black Nova Scotian culture is distinct, and as with any culture, still evolving.

My maternal grandmother was a teacher. She taught during the 1930s-1960s, at the segregated school for Black learners in Conway, Digby County. “[T]he 1880’s teachers assigned to schools for black children were holders of Permissive Licenses” (Pachai, 2007, p. 137). This meant that they did not have the formal training, since Blacks were denied access to the educational institution, which provided training to teachers. “Permissive licenses, usually acknowledged that the teachers ‘were not necessary incompetent but they lacked training and experience’” (Pachai, 2007, p. 137). It was not until the 1920s that Blacks were permitted to

attend the Teachers College. Pachai (2007) states that, “The first black teacher to graduate from the then Provincial Normal School in Truro [was] in 1928” (p. 151). The Black Learners Advisory Committee (BLAC) Report (1993) argues that, “During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Black communities throughout the province organized to counter the inferior education and racial discrimination they encountered through the provincial education system” (p. 28). Winks (1969) suggests this was in response to the fact that, “the majority of Negroes paid taxes for common schools and apparently wished access to them” (p. 171). Winks (1969) further articulates, “In some districts, school taxes were collected from Negro residents to support the common school from which their children were barred, although in 1853 this was clearly illegal” (p. 177).

The conceptualization and the implementation of an integrated school system referred to as the public or common schools, meant the closures of all segregated Black schools. Black learners were required to attend the colonial Eurocentric schools. Black teachers however, were denied employment in this desegregated school system, which meant many Black teachers became unemployed who were the sole breadwinners of their families (BLAC Report, 1993). Pachai (2007) proposes, “Black teachers could only teach in black segregated schools” (p. 283). My grandmother was forced to work as a domestic—a maid for an upper middle-class White family. This is what I learn at a very young age. These memories have remained with me throughout my lifelong journey. Hooks (1995) surmises, “Theorizing diverse journeying is crucial to our understanding of any politics of location” (p. 43). Lifelong learning in the Black Nova Scotian community requires this type of travel journeying. Like Hooks, I travel through the memories of my childhood and develop an appreciation of this time journey and connected it to the theories which are relevant to my learning experiences.

When I was child, I visited my maternal grandmother—Ruth Francis and her daughter, my Aunt Faye. I often stayed there during the summer months and weekends. I remember my grandmother making me pray every night before I went to sleep. My cousins from my mother’s side lived just down the lane from my grandparents. I spent much of my childhood there. We played, and we were adventurous. I remember, one day while at my cousin’s (Darlene and Brenda), home, they opened a can of dog food to feed their dog. To our surprise, the contents resembled stew – with beef, gravy, carrots and potatoes. Darlene and

Brenda had this thought—let’s feed it to grandpy—and say that their mother made it for him. We all thought it was a wonderful idea! Besides, we were bored. They put the contents in a pot, heated it up on the stove, and off we went to our grandparents, which was 30 seconds from my cousins’ home. As we pranced the short distance, we were excited and full of mischief. We informed our grandfather that my aunt had made it. My grandfather remarked that— “Christina is such a good cook”! And she was. Aunt Christina was known for her extraordinary culinary skills. We watched with anticipation as he ate the stew with such delight, and as he took his last spoonful, we with eagerness and joyfulness informed him that it was dog food! We immediately knew that we were in trouble, so we quickly headed for the door and started to run, with our grandfather at our heels. I ran for my house, which was about 15 minutes away, and I could hear my grandfather yelling at me and only me— “fly the hell down that lane”. I ran for my life, and as I got closer to my home, I became increasingly apprehensive and scared. I was wondering if he had called my mother—his daughter to tell her what I did. I began to wonder if that fate was awaiting me—my mouth washed with soap. As I got nearer to my home, the slower I walked, the faster my heart was racing. I was wondering if my grandfather contacted my mother and informed her of my mischief and disrespect. As I came into the house, I tried to glean if my mother knew by her facial expressions, if she had the look! But she didn’t, and I sighed a breath of relief – I was safe! I recall this experience as a mode, of how information and knowledge was transmitted to us in a culturally distinctive manner within the Black community without a word spoken. “The patterns of culture that emerged took on various characteristics influenced by existing circumstances” (Pachai, 2007, p. 26). Within the Black community, “People educate each other through the mediation of the world” (Freire, 1993, p. 14). Within my community, “Sharing knowledge is not simply to share surface information (pamphlet knowledge) but to share the theories and analysis which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented” (Smith, 2012, p. 17). As an operational definition, Jarvis (2004) asserts that, “learning may be regarded initially as a process of receiving and processing any element of culture by whatever means it is transmitted” (p. 83). Freire (2005) advances the idea that:

We carry with us the memory of many fabrics, a self soaked in our history, our culture; a memory, sometimes scattered, sometimes sharp and clear, of the streets of our childhood, of our adolescence; the reminiscence of something distant that

suddenly stands out before us, a shy gesture, an open hand, a smile lost in time of misunderstanding, a sentence, a simple sentence possible now forgotten by the one who said it. (p. 24)

The above-mentioned imperatives provided the sort of argument that both my grandmother and mother cautioned me about in plain language that it is important to be safe when I went to school or when I ventured beyond my restricted locale. Hooks (1995) proposes, “In the absence of the reality of whiteness, I learned as a child that to be ‘safe’ it was important to recognize the power of whiteness, even to fear it, and to avoid encounter” (p. 45). I heard adults whisper of Blacks being beaten, women raped by White people. “This violence, as a process, is perpetuated from generation to generation of oppressors, who become its heirs and are shaped in its climate” (Freire, 1993, p. 40). The Digby schools reflected this violence. The BLAC Report (1993) notes, “Racial incidents, for example, were most often swept under the rug and Black students were admonished and often expelled for responding to them” (p. 26). Name-calling and racial insults were prevalent and common practice within both the schools and in the public arena. The thought of somebody physically hurting me, scared me; and every day I was frightened to attend school. Battiste (2013) asserts that, “To be hated, despised, and threatened by other humans is the ultimate fear of all human beings” (p. 137). Freire (1993) contends:

Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, *or* it becomes ‘the practice of freedom’, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p. 16)

Battiste (2013) echoes Freire’s (1993, 2005) words when she says, “The modern educational system was created to maintain the identity, language and culture of a colonial society, while ignoring the need to decolonize” (p. 30). This perpetuation of violence should never be normalized. My mother should not have had to prepare me to enter an educational environment that was essentially a battle zone. As Freire (1993) poignantly articulates, “Once a situation of violence and oppression has been established, it engenders an entire way of life and

behavior for those caught up in it—oppressors and oppressed alike” (p. 40). This situation continues today with Black learners being pushed out, dropped-out or expelled.

My grandmother and mother spoke to me of the hegemony perpetuated by White society and how I must learn how to navigate it. They never used the term hegemony—they always spoke in plain language and in the vernacular that I would understand. In essence, they were teaching me how to question hegemony. Grace (2006) agrees with Freire (1993) that, “Hegemony is the process by which a grossly iniquitous society uses dominant ideology to convince people this is a normal state of affairs” (p. 129). Freire (1993) postulates, “It attempts to control thinking and actions, leads women and men to adjust to the world, and inhibits their creative power” (p. 58). In essence, it creates a mentality—a brain-washing of conforming men and women in the reproduction of inequalities. Jarvis (2004) admits that hegemony is the control of knowledge, and what constitutes knowledge, but he refrains from stating it is a mechanism of oppression. He does acknowledge that, “... knowledge is constructed and [,] in some way [,] it is related to the exercise of power in society which, [...] lies with those who control the economic institutions and information technology” (p. 8).

Van Manen (1990) appears to take an Eurocentric view to education suggesting that, “The school is experienced as a special place where the child knows the atmosphere and quality of the classroom, the special desk, the hallway with its locker – spaces where the child meets friends, and so on” (p. 106). Yes, school was a special place if you like being on a battle field. Dreyer (2011) believes, “From a human rights and social justice perspective, education is viewed as a basic human right and the foundation for a more just and equal society” (p. 56). One may argue that this theoretical aim constitutes a binary opposition to the experiences of many Blacks, First Nations and the socio-economically disadvantage learners. For many such children, school was a warzone that included racial assaults and physical attacks. In such settings, I had to learn to fight! I recall when I was in Digby Elementary School, grade three, that two of my White classmates called me ugly, told me my skin color nauseated them, pushed me and slapped me on the back of my head. It paralyzed me, and I just cried; I wished to be invisible! It was an act of violence, and I knew that they were denying me of my personhood. “The legacy of separate schools, maintained over nearly two centuries in Nova Scotia, spilled over into the classroom resulting in racial stereotyping and low expectations on

the part of the teachers and racial name-calling by White students” (BLAC Report, 1993, p. 26). Battiste (2013) contends that this oppressive and violent practice is continuing. She explains, “Like colonialism, racism is violent, ongoing, and traumatic, and reaches everyone in some form” (p. 138).

As a child, I would go to school shivering inside, afraid to even breathe. At Christmas that year, I got a large stuffed animal. It was almost as big as me. I named him Tommy and he went everywhere with me. Tommy came to class with me, sat with me at my desk, and at recess, Tommy and I went to the school playground. Within two weeks, while I was at the school playground, a grade 6 student made fun of me and Tommy. My older sister, Heather, happened to be there. Heather told her classmate in a very authoritarian tone to cease and desist, and her classmate walked away. In that moment, I realized Tommy could not keep me safe or protect me from the violence. Uncle Eddy provided wise advice—“when you are being attacked—take out the biggest and the toughest—go crazy—and the rest will leave you alone”! After a couple of physical altercations, my classmates and the other students left me alone. His counsel was very effective. And I left Tommy at home where he was safe.

As I reflect upon my childhood experiences, I do recall a moment when group identity superseded race! My cousin, Darlene, and I played on the Digby Regional High School senior girls basketball team. Darlene is beautiful, tall and resembles one of those supermodels with a very light skin complexion. Since Digby is such an historical community, people knew instantly if you were Black, by your last name. However, when Darlene was in other communities such as Halifax, she recalls how White people spoke in such racialized and denigrating terms about Black people. Darlene states that they did not know she was Black. Sometimes, I referred to her as an undercover White girl. To this day, when we reminisce, she jokingly reminds me of this.

When I was in grade 11, both the senior girls and senior boys’ basketball teams were playing basketball at the Freeport High School, officially referred to as Long Island. Freeport is about an hour from Digby and you must take a ferry to get there. It is a fishing community with deep-seated roots. The senior girls’ basketball team played first, against the Freeport senior girls’ basketball team. Naturally, we won the game. I remember leaving the gym with my bag in my hand to put it on the bus. As I was exiting the school, there were about a dozen Freeport

female students hanging outside. I could see Darlene in the distance near the bus. I was walking past these students, and they were calling names like “Jinx”. This was expected, and I continued to walk by them. Like a moment taken out of time, one of them called me, “a—f--king nigger”. “Time appears to stop, indeed time appears to be frozen at this point” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 93). I immediately stopped, and without hesitation asked who said it. As Jarvis (2004) explains, in that moment, I was in a state of “disjuncture”. Jarvis (2004) describes, “Disjuncture occurs where there is not taken-for-grantedness (sic) between people’s past learning experiences and their present situation” (p. 93). This young fiery White girl replied, “I did; I called you nigger!” Well, I dropped my bag and said, “Let’s get it on”! Bracher (2006) suggests that:

Insults are the most direct form of such [identity] threats, and the fact they are known as ‘fighting words’ and that they can provoke a violent response indicates the importance we attribute to possessing certain identity- bearing signifiers and avoiding others. (p. 18)

Freire (1993) believes an, “Analysis of existential situations of oppression reveals that their inception lay in an act of violence—initiated by those with power” (p. 40). According to Jarvis (2004), I was, “no longer really conscious of time” (p. 93); nor did I acknowledge that I was putting myself in physical danger.

The battle began, her friend jumped into the fight, to assist her, and I was fighting them both. In an instance, there was Darlene, and the other Freeport female students surrounded us. “Inasmuch as violence of the oppressors makes of the oppressed persons forbidden to be, the response of the latter to the violence of the former is found infused with a yearning the right to be” (Freire, 2005, p. 86). Darlene and I just looked at each other, knowing we had to fight them all. We took them all on! To our surprise, our White basketball teammates jumped into the battle to assist us. Within moments, the principal of Freeport High School, our basketball coaches, and other adults intervened and stopped the fight. I remember that the principal was in a state of frenzy, because he recognized it was a racial incident! He apologized profusely.

This situation stands out as a seminal moment, in which inner-group identity was the prominent identity signifier. Brenner et al. (2014) believe, “Identity theory invokes two

distinct but related concepts, identity salience and prominence, to explain how the organization of identities that make up the self impacts the probability that a given identity is situationally enacted” (p. 231). Carter (2013) indicates, “Identity theory focuses on how people try to verify identities and predicts that people’s most salient identities are most likely to be invoked (or activated) in a given situation” (p. 206). For Darlene and I, it was identity prominence that invoked our reaction, our identity as a culture, and as a people—the right to be. Brenner et al. (2014), find it predictable because, “Prominence reflects the ideal self and is defined as the subjective value or worth to persons of a given identity relative to that of other identities: the valence of the focal identity relative to that of other identities” (p. 233).

Nevertheless, for our teammates it was their identity salience, which enacted them to defend us. Troyer (2005) asserts that, “successful interactions on joint tasks generate positive emotions that engender emotional attachment to the group” (p. 156). Certainty, winning a basketball game at another school’s home court would invoke positive and joyful emotions amongst the players of the winning team. These emotions form attachments to the team players and to the team itself. Troyer (2005) postulates, “Attachments generates commitment to the identities within the group, which enhances the salience of the group (i.e., the collective identity)” (p. 156). Brenner et al. (2014) surmise, “Salience is defined in behavioral terms: it is the probability of persons enacting a given identity across social situations” (p. 233). Witnessing their Black teammates outnumbered and fighting for their lives, enacted their group salience identity, motivating their behavior to protect their comrades. Carter (2013) asserts that, “An identity becomes activated (or invoked) in a social situation when an individual perceives that the meanings of the situation match the meanings of an identity” (p. 204). In this moment, this situational arena, race took a back seat, and group identity and loyalty prevailed. Carter (2013) proposes, “Ingroup(sic) members, compared to members of outgroups, become a collective of similar persons who identify with each other, hold similar views, and behave in like fashion” (p. 209).

Violence must not be the norm in our society. My parents and grandparents should not have had to caution me that my skin colouration causes such negative emotions by others and puts my physical and emotional safety at risk. Colonial society—such as Nova Scotia is predicated on violence: crimes against humanity, genocide, oppression and marginalization.

To be Black in colonial society engenders responding to violence as a way of life. The only space where I felt safe in society was the African United Baptist Church in Acaciaville, Digby County.

Aladejebi (2015) is correct in his analysis that the Black church was the protective womb for the Black population of Nova Scotia. The Black church provided me with a sense of belonging and safety. There I felt accepted, my identity and culture acknowledged, recognized and validated. Bracher (2006) puts forward the supposition that, “The most fundamental identity need is the need for recognition, the need to have one’s being appreciated and validated, or at least acknowledged, taken into account” (p. 7). Aladejebi (2015) articulates, “the role of the Black church as an important entity in the creation, reproduction and affirmation of an African cultural identity” (p. 3). Unfortunately, with the desegregation movement, as Saunders (1994) suggests, it became a dismantling of the Black schools and organizations including the Black churches. These different types of sequential learning experiences were combative and represented a discourse of tension, which were innately diabolical and irreconcilable. “No educational system is perfect, yet few, have been as destructive to human potential as Canada’s with its obsession with paternalism and assimilation” (Battiste, 2013, p. 65).

On the one hand as a student, I was subjected to discriminatory attitudes and racism by teachers and I was not encouraged to learn. Battiste (2013) makes it clear, “Learning is the purpose of our life journey” (p. 18). The teachers’ racialized ideologies were prevalent and hostile. Freire (1993) states that, “The oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these ‘incompetent and lazy’ folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality (p. 55). The school forced me into a constant consciousness of disjuncture. “Disjuncture can occur and cause dissonance in any aspect of life—knowledge, skills, sense, emotions, beliefs, and so on...” (Jarvis, 2015, p. 83). I recall when I was in Digby Junior High school, a cousin (who refused to acknowledge me as family) with blond hair, white skin and blue eyes, was speaking about Black people in a derogatory manner, stating among other things that, “Blacks should stick with their own kind and it was so wrong for them to mix with Whites”. This conversation came about because a Black student and a White student were dating; and it was considered an abomination! I was the only physically Black student in my

class. The buzzer rang indicating it was lunch. When the class returned, and we were seated, I called her by name and stated, “I don’t know why you are speaking this way because you are Black; in fact, your father and my mother are first cousins”. My cousin cried uncontrollably, and the teacher excused her from class. The class was silent; no one said a word to me, not even the teacher.

As I was walking into my house from school, I heard my mother slam the phone. She was physically shaking, and her face was a beet red. I remember feeling her anxiety, her disillusionment, and her frustration. She stated that her cousin called—the father was upset that I told the class that his daughter was Black, and that we were cousins. As Freire (2005) states, “The brutality of racism is something beyond what a minimum of human sensitivity can encounter without trembling and saying. ‘Horrible’” (p. 135). My mother was experiencing this brutality. Battiste (2013) believes that, “Racism is more than race hatred or prejudice, it is about power to oppress and subordinate” (p. 138). Battiste continues to state, “It is the structural subordination of a group in society based on the idea of racial inferiority that established a hierarchal power relationship” (p. 138).

Clearly, my cousin’s refusal and denial to align with what he perceived as an inferior group of people, reflects what Smith (2012) and Chilisa (2012) refer to as the captive and/or colonized mind. Freire (2005) explains it as:

The basic need individuals exposed to such situations—until they accept themselves as individuals and as a class, until they commit themselves, until they struggle—their need to deny the humiliating truth, a truth that humiliates them precisely because they introject the dominant ideology that sketches them as incompetent and guilty, the authors of their own failures. And yet the actual ‘why’ of those failures is to be found in the perversity of the system. (p. 46)

To this, my mother told our cousin, “Go to hell, and you should tell your children who their people are”. For my mother, our cousin’s behavior attacked her essential being, dishonoring our ancestral heritage rights, and the disavowing of the struggles of our people. My cousin’s perverted thought of wanting my mother to beat me, became a frontal attack of her identity and personhood. I remember my mother saying, “To deny your people is to deny yourself”.

Digby schools from primary to senior high were notorious for their racial incidents. However, when you understand its history, these incidents were just manifestations of imperialistic ideologies and colonialism. After all, Nova Scotia was established as a slave society. Pachai (2007) and Whitfield (2006, 2016) inform me, that Digby slaveholders were the most stringent slaveholders in the province. “For many indigenous peoples [and marginalized groups] the major agency for imposing this positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture was colonial education” (Smith, 2012, p. 67). In 1978, the Digby Black community launched a class-action complaint against the Digby School Board with the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. The community was, “[p]rompted into action by years of harassment by White teachers and students alike” (BLAC, 1994, p. 34), against Black learners. This was the first official complaint but not the last. In 2008, the Black community of Digby filed another class-action suit. A settlement agreement was reached in 2012, between the Digby Black community, the Department of Education (DOE), the Nova Scotia Teachers Union and the Southwest Tri-County School Board.

Freire (1993) was convinced that, “Any attempt to ‘soften’ the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond this” (p. 26). These settlement agreements, Freire (1993) believes are nothing more than false generosity. Freire (1993) trusts that, “True generosity consists precisely in fighting to destroy the cause which nourish false charity” (p. 27). Freire (1993) continues to explain, “False charity constraints the fearful and subdued, the ‘rejects of life, to extend their trembling hands” (p. 27). As much as things change, they remain the same; they just become reframed with different actors. Because, “Confronting racism, then, is confronting racial superiority and its legacy, not only in history but also in contemporary experience” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 126).

“Freire (1993) seems to imagine the oppressor’s state of mind as a form of mental dysfunction that is required for the oppressor to be seen as sane by others in the oppressed group” (Allen, 2004, p. 126). Battiste (2013) poignantly agrees with Freire (1993) and notes, “As a collective ideology or artificial construct, racism [is a] pathology [that] teaches a willingness to discriminate, segregate, or deny rights to other groups based on the perceived biological or cultural hierarchy of superior and inferior ‘races” (p. 133). Yet, my mother and

grandmother instilled that education was the only possible future, with my mother noting that— "The greatest fear of White people is an educated Black", because they will challenge the status quo of oppression; she believed it was a tool for liberation. Imagine my surprise when I learned from Dubois (1901) that, "The South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro" (p. 20). My mother spoke of progressive education that, "stresses the authority of science, the use of experimental methods, and problem solving" (Lange, 2006, p. 96).

Smith (2012) warns us of this progressive education and argues, that colonial education was used as a mechanism for creating new elite status, in this case Black Nova Scotians. This scholar states, "Their elite status came about through the alignment of their cultural and economic interests with those of the colonizing group rather than with those of their own society" (p. 67). They therefore became an agent for the oppressor. Lawrence (1989) refers to the agents of oppression as "carbon copies" (p. 17). Freire (1993) says that, "Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquility rests on how well people fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it (p. 57). Freire (1993) continues this line of thought declaring, "The educated individual is the adapted person, because she or he is better 'fit' for the world" (p. 58). Freire (1993) continues to state that, "Oppression—overwhelming control—is necrophilic (sic); it is nourished by love of death, not life" (p. 58); and this progressive education is nothing more than, "The banking concept of education which serves the interests of oppression, is also necrophilic (sic)" (Freire, 1993, p. 58). Michael Young (2015) describes these types of learning as context-dependent learning (parents, community) and context independent learning (schools, institutions, bureaucracies, policies).

I learned from a very young age, the hegemonic views of society towards me as a young Black child. Later I experienced the processes by which the dominant culture maintains and reproduces imperialistic ideologies situating Eurocentric values, culture and knowledge as the supreme attainment of humanism and productive citizenry; at the same time constructing blackness as the binary oppositional tenet of a desirous and valuable citizen. Smith (2012) professes, "Race, as a category was linked to human reason and morality, to science, to colonialism and to the rights of citizenship in ways that produced the racialized discourse and racist practices of modernity" (p. 47). I agree with Battiste (2013) that if we continue to use the

term race, it denotes a hierarchy of humanness—implicit in its meaning is superiority and dehumanization. The term race must be eradicated from our vernacular. I support Freire's (2005) analysis when he articulates, "changing language is part of the process of changing the world (p. 58). Stepan (1982) indicates, "Yet by the 1850s, the notion that the races formed a graded series, with the Europeans at the top and the Negro invariably at the bottom, had become one of the cornerstones of racial science" (p. 6); and Stepan (1982) further argues that, "The African had been an object of contempt in European thought" (pp. 6-7). Freire (2005) agrees with Stepan (1982) explaining, "But racism is alive and well, crushing, shedding people's lives, and besmirching the world" (p. 139).

These hegemonic views were reinforced within the institutions such as the schools to formalize this power. Formal learning became a contested space for me, always navigating, trying to carve a sense of belonging within this dialectic sphere. I did not possess the conceptualizations of imperialism, colonization and the reproduction of hegemony, but I felt and lived its implications. I just knew it was wrong, it did not feel right! I felt its oppressive peculiarities and I struggled to be free. "Without freedom, the African person in America [and Canada] is merely a pawn in the hands of the globalizing ethos of White corporate capital that leads ultimately, it seems to me, to another form of enslavement and domination" (Asante, 2006, p. 654). Battiste (2013) agrees with Asante (2006) that, "Domination, assimilation, marginalization, and hegemony are the norms, which are far from being banished in contemporary education and society" (pp. 93-94). "Much information has been gathered from history and from contemporary societies about the types of social, economic and political relationships that tend to generate racial prejudices and tensions" (Stepan, 1982, p. 182). I was unaware, I was proactively trying to decolonize my mind, a resistance movement of the inner-self to the subjugation of the colonized mind, sometimes refer to as the captive mind. Chilisa (2012) asserts that, "This is a process that involves stripping the formerly colonized and historically marginalized groups of their ancestral culture and replacing it with Euro-Western culture" (p. 8). Nor did I understand that, "In education, Marxist researchers also drew attention to the structural relationships between society and schooling with schools viewed as agencies which systematically reproduce social inequalities" (Smith, 2012, p. 167).

I did not understand at the time, that my resistance was a battle to protect and preserve my cultural identity, my heritage, my ontological being. I understood that I was not White, and my blackness was offensive to colonial society. I refused to accept that aberration of Eurocentric monologue. I knew no matter how much I talk like Whites, acted like Whites, thought like Whites; it would never change their perceptions of my blackness. I never understood why colonial society hated us, and First Nation peoples. I agree with Washington (1995) when he proclaims, he was, “resolved that I would permit no man, no matter what his colour might be, to narrow and degrade my soul by making me hate him” (p. 80). To come into being, is to come into consciousness, an awakening of the awareness of the beauty of oneself; and to embrace the purity of blackness as a state of being liberated. Freire (1993) asserts that, “As long as [Black people] live in the duality in which *to be* is *to be like*, and *to be like* is *to be like the oppressor*” (p. 30), they shall never achieve freedom.

It was a combative struggle, a resistance to cognitive imperialism. Battiste (2013) articulates, “Cognitive imperialism is about white-washing the mind as a result of forced assimilation, English education, Eurocentric humanities and sciences, and living in a Eurocentric context complete with media, books, laws, and values” (p. 26). As an instrument of colonization, schools acted as an erasure, systematically creating an obliteration of memory and the knowledge possessed by Black Nova Scotians, as inconsequential and without value. Smith (2012) proposes schooling became, “the major agency for imposing this positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture” (p. 67). Pitts (1972) promulgates, “Freire and Illich see formal schooling and the educational methodology associated with it as detrimental to human development and initiative” (p. 112). Extending this line of thought, Asante (2006) declares, “This is the principle violation of the nature of social relations that must be laid at the feet of the West” (p. 655).

When I was in grade 12, I visited a friend in Halifax. She took me to a social function near Dalhousie University. She informs me it was a social gathering, and a man by the name of Rocky Jones was going to speak about the conditions of Black folks in Nova Scotia. I knew very little about this man; I was aware some Blacks with government jobs were afraid of his radical and militant ideologies. There were rumors that he was aligned with the Black Panthers Party, whom I was told were a violent group seeking to create war with the

establishment. When Rocky spoke, his words intrigued me; his passion for Black people inspired me. I felt a cognitive enlightenment. I wanted to hear him speak more. He was engaging and concertedly inviting those who were present, into a dialogical discourse. “Discourse, as used here, is a dialogue devoted to assessing reasons presented in support of competing interpretations, by critically examining evidence, arguments, and alternative points of view” (Mezirow, 1997, p. 6). Rocky gave me hope; hope that became an ontological need. Freire (2005) argues that, “Hope, as it happens, is so important for our existence, individual and social, that we must take every care not to experience it in a mistaken form, and thereby allow it to slip in toward hopelessness and despair” (p. 3). I believe I was experiencing a form of disjuncture: Jarvis (2015) believes:

some disjunctural situations—often emotive in category—just cause us to wonder at the beauty, pleasure and so forth that we are experiencing. In these situations, it is sometimes impossible to incorporate our learning from them into our biography and our taken –for-granted. These are what we might call ‘magic moments’ for which we look forward in hope to repeat in some way or other but upon which we might often reflect. (p. 83)

After the discussion, I had an opportunity to speak with Rocky and invite him to speak to the Black students in Digby. Rocky enthusiastically agreed. I warned Rocky the administration may not permit this, Rocky said, “Let’s try, and see what happens”. So, when I returned to Digby Regional High School, I immediately met with the school counsellor and he thought it would be a positive experience for the Black students. The school counsellor stated that he required approval from the principal, and he will contact me about the decision. Within a couple of days, I received confirmation from the school counsellor to invite Rocky to the school. I was flabbergasted! The school counsellor and I would coordinate the event.

Rocky came to the Digby Regional High School and met with the Black learners. Rocky spoke about the struggles of Black folks, and of First Nation peoples. Freire (1993) affirms, “This struggle is possible only because dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is *not* a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed” (p. 26). His ideology made my combative internalized struggles make sense. I realized I was suffering, “from the duality

which has established itself in [my] inner being” (Freire, 1993, p. 30). I had sub-consciously internalized the consciousness of the oppressor. I knew my freedom from this duality was to acquire knowledge. Freire (1993) postulates, “Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other” (p. 53); Chilisa (2012) agrees with Freire (1993) and refers to this process as, “rediscovery and recovery” (p. 12). I believed that Rocky could help me navigate the pathway to true freedom—to liberation. Freire (1993) posits, “Liberation is praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” (p. 60).

The experience for me was an awakening of Black consciousness. It was a perspective transformation, which Scott (2006) says includes, “changing several assumptions in a world view or frame of reference and is derived from a critical society theoretical paradigm” (p. 153). Expanding upon this, Nemeč (2012) articulates, “Often, a person is primed for transformation in some way; learners frequently seek education and training because of a sense that their current ‘way to know the world’ no longer works” (p. 478). Continuing this line of debate, Hoggan et al. (2017) agree with Scott (2006) and Nemeč (2012) suggesting, “The promise is that it allows one to critically move beyond those seemingly self-evident assumptions governing one’s thinking, feeling, and acting that have been unquestioningly internalized through socialization and education” (p. 52). I felt this transformative experience. Mezirow (1997) predicted this dialogical discourse created a circumstance and, “When circumstances permit, transformative learners move toward a frame of reference that is more inclusive, discriminating, self-reflective, and integrative of experience” (p. 5). I can only describe this transformative experience as exciting, refreshing and finding myself situated in a different type of reality.

Just after our discussion, and as the Black students were leaving the room, we heard this commotion. A Black male student, my cousin, was in a physical altercation with a White teacher (all the teachers at all the schools in Digby were White). I mean it was a bloody fistfight! Rocky and I with a glance, were mortified. Several male teachers intervened along with Black students—both female and male. The Black students were comforting my cousin, while the teachers escorted the bloody teacher into their staff lounge. As I recall, there was no

debriefing or discussions about this incident. There appeared to have become a culture of silence around this issue.

When I returned home from school, my mother told me many people had called her about me inviting Rocky to speak. Most of the calls were from the members of the Black community. Freire (1993) asserts that, “Moreover, [Black people] struggle for freedom threatens not only the oppressor, but also their own oppressed comrades who are fearful of still greater repression” (p. 29). The school administrators, staff and some people in both the Black and White community were blaming Rocky for the fight and stirring-up radical ideologies in Black students. My mother with insight said some people emotionally and psychologically do not know how to manage the harsh realities of the truth of our existence, and how we have come into being. She innately knew that, “The pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of people engaged in the fight for their liberation” (Freire, 1993, p. 36).

This was only the beginning of my life journey. It is a rediscovery and recovery, which Chilisa (2012) remarks:

It is a process where the colonized Other rediscover and recover their own history, culture, language and identity. It is a process of interrogating the captive mind so that the colonized Other and the historically oppressed can come to define in their own terms what is real to them. (p. 15)

Waghid (2008) postulates, “It involves the deepening of one’s understanding of society, learning to place social problems in the broader contexts, establishing relationships between different phenomena, and appreciating the historical nature of human existence” (p. 745). Asante (2006) explains, “Such an action is at once a liberalizing and a liberating event, marking both the expansion of consciousness and the freeing of the mind from Eurocentric hegemony” (p. 649).

Learning for me becomes developing a critical analysis, an intellectual exercise of shaping a worldview, an awareness of the colonized mind, which so many Black Nova Scotians have become victims. It means understanding the relationships between imperialism, colonization and how that relationship is now reframing within the discourse of globalization. Smith (2012) reminds us how, “Imperialism provided the means through which concepts of

what counts as human could be applied systematically as forms of classification for example through hierarchy of races and typologies of different societies” (p. 126). Chilisa (2012) suggests that, “globalization is an extension of colonization” (p. 11). As such, it has its own peculiar constellation of economic, political, technical, cultural and social cohesion. Jarvis (2004) contends globalization, “is a socio-economic phenomenon that has profound political and cultural implications for education” (p. 2). Asante (2006) proclaims, “Unfortunately, most of the world sees globalization as a new name for the old ‘New World Order’, where the world is made the footstool of America” (p. 654).

Learning means understanding, “Education is a process by which a culture expresses its reality and values, processes its culture, and transmits it to each generation” (Battiste, 2013, p. 104). It means engaging in liberation movements, understanding power and the holders of this power. It means challenging the status quo, thus developing a political consciousness. Asante (2006) asserts that, “To be free from notions of White supremacy and White hegemony that privilege Whiteness is to experience true liberation if you are African, Asian, Latino scholar” (p. 649). It means as Freire (1993) says, becoming liberated. It means understanding the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning strategies for Black Nova Scotian learners. My passion for my study, is to present how the care-leavers of the NSHCC, challenged the status quo, pursued social justice and achieved the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry. The care-leavers of the NSHCC, their, “Struggle is a tool of both social activism and theory” (Smith, 2012, p. 199). Freire (1993) believes, “Through their continuing praxis, [these] men and women simultaneously create history and become historical-social beings” (p. 82).

I have shared my *Time Travel*, to explore and understand my own learning experiences. My *Time Travel*, reflects my personal learning journey, and I acknowledge this may not be the case for many Black learners in Nova Scotia. The BLAC Report (1994), Thiessen (2009), and Lee and Marshall (2009) indicate Black learners in Nova Scotia are still confronting imperialistic ideologies embedded in the school curricula. I believe that *time travel* reflections allowed me to gain a greater awareness and consciousness of the complexities of lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community. Before I can seek to understand the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian Community, I must be cognizant of how marginalization has affected my own lifelong

learning journey; and to understand the duality that resides within myself. As I explained in chapter 3, the learning theories I discussed do not include in their theorization learners of colour. Scholars such as Van Manen (1990), Davies (2012) and Sanacore (2013) propose that reflective practice creates knowledge that recognizes the falseness of situations. Davies (2012) believes the benefits of reflective practice are that it:

Increases learning from an experience or situation. Promotes deep rather than superficial learning. Identifies personal and professional strengths and weaknesses. Identifies educational needs. Results in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills. Facilitates practitioners to understand their own beliefs, attitudes and value. Encourages self-motivated and self-directed learning. Acts as a source of feedback. Improves personal and clinical confidence. (p. 10)

Sanacore (2013) expands upon Davies (2012) definition by stating:

Taken together, these and other definitions of reflection suggest that it is multifaceted and that it requires doing hard work; thinking deeply, analytically, and critically about experience; responding personally to learning; verifying personal responses to learning; being curious and inquisitive; having patience with ambiguity; and connecting these reflective practices so that they are working in concert. This “big-picture” perspective should be considered inclusive and therefore beneficial for all [learners]. (p. 117)

Van Manen (1990) reminds us, “a true reflection on lived experience is a thoughtful, reflective grasping of what it is that renders this or that particular experience its special significance” (p. 32). I believe this is what Hooks (1995) speaks about when engaging in *time travel* in which one confronts the memories of the Soul, memories so long forgotten. It is not the intent of this thesis to describe or define the Soul. I will leave that discussion to the theologians and the spiritualists. A simplistic definition of the Soul as Polkinghorne (2004) describes, “The soul stands for what one might call ‘the real me’” (p. 595). Bracher (2006) suggests, that it is one’s identity. He further explains, “the term means, minimally, one’s sense of oneself and, more comprehensively, the sense of oneself as a force that matters in the world” (p. 6). I agree with Hooks (1995) that a more precise definition of sharing my narrative is *time travel*. Hooks

(1995) argues that, “The call to theorize black experience is constantly challenged and subverted by conservative voices reluctant to move from fixed locations” (p. 41).

In order to seek successful modes of action or reaction based on this enlightening learning process, I seek to provide my thesis with a framework and over-all approach to explain and shed light to the distorted social arrangements provided to care-leavers of the NSHCC by the oppressive forces that forced them to seek their social justice. To allude to the great man himself, Habermas (1970), I did all the enlightening reflection because I don’t want the truth to be deformed into disinformation, authentic insights to be coerced into pseudo-authenticity; and risks, uninformed actions to repress prudence. The marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian community has given rise to educational failures for Black learners; and it has made lifelong learning strategies difficult for these learners. The care-leavers from the NSHCC pursuit of social justice, is a study worthy of investigation because it broadens our understanding of learning. The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry, I suspect will create new learnings and will find itself situated on the landscape with Truth Commissions and Transnational Justice. Does the NSHCC have the capacity to reconfigure postcolonial relationships? According to Daly (2014) and Wright (2017) inquiries into historical institutional child abuse which have legislative power can reconfigure postcolonial relationships. In the next chapter (chapter 5), before discussing the global phenomena of institutional child abuse that triggered these types of inquiries, I examine the *Century of the Child* and then in (chapter 6). I discuss the conceptualization of congregate care facilities for children. Its contextual analysis requires that I employ the method of CHA and CDA.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodologies I have used to analysis the materials for my study. I have presented critical discourse analysis (CDA) to interrogate and analysis the particular language constructs used to frame the narratives of the documents. CDA was particularly useful when reviewing the class-action suit that was filed by Ray Wagner on behalf of the care-leavers from the NSHCC. The exclusion of the NSHCC from the independent investigation conducted by Stratton (1995) into allegations of institutional child abuse is in keeping with the narrative that the Black Nova Scotian community was not

considered valuable and in fact, Premier MacNeil states the Government of Nova Scotia did not consider the care-leavers from the NSHCC any of the government's business. Kaufman (2002) continued the exclusion of the care-leavers from the NSHCC during his evaluation of the government's three-pronged approach to dealing with institutional child abuse. Again, the care-leavers from the NSHCC were not mentioned in his report. This is perplexing, considering the political platform that these care-leavers were mounting regarding their allegations of historical institutional child abuse.

The other methodology I have employed, was critical historical analysis (CHA). CHA provided me the historical analysis that allowed me the contextually understanding of the complexities, considering space, time and location, when these historical accounts were written. The absence of historical records regarding the Black community in Digby is very telling. The omission of the Black community from the historical records of the Digby Town Council is an exclusionary practice which treats the Black community as invisible. Being treated as invisible is a common theme echoed by the Black community. I have engaged in providing my learning narrative which I call *Time Travel* as a supplementary analysis of the impact of marginalization on lifelong learning for the Black Nova Scotian community.

In the following chapter, I discuss the *Century of the Child*. Before there were congregate care facilities for children, society had to conceptualize childhood. For governments, children represented the future of productive citizens. So, it required an understanding of the need for all children to be protected and cared for, whether by their families and/or by the government. Societal understanding of childhood was dictated by, and aligned with the economic needs, and the future economic projections of a particular government, and how that government was situated economically.

Chapter 5 – The Century of the Child

The child has a right to be cared for, fed, clothed and sent to school. A right above all else to be trained for future usefulness. The child does not belong to the father alone but to the country in which he was born. Children are our greatest and best assets, and as such we have not only the right but it is our duty to protect the child in his rights if necessary. There is one thing on which we are determined, that the purity of child life must be preserved at all costs. The possibilities of what a child may become in usefulness to his nation, is tremendous. We may save a child and that child may save a nation. (Blois, 1919, pp. 22-23)

To understand the complexities of the establishments of orphanages, I first examined the conceptualization of childhood which planted the foundational pillars for the establishment of congregate care facilities for children. It was the conceptualization of childhood which gave rise to congregate care facilities, and their alignment to the economic needs of society. My study focuses on one type of congregate care facilities, the establishments of orphanages. Let me start by exploring societal views of children.

According to Osborn and Osborn (1978), prior to the 19th century, societal views of children were that of “adult children” (p. 27). Children borne between 1890-1916 represents a unique and transformative period in western society (Levine, 2007). These children were borne between two majors wars, and borne into a society which was transitioning from an industrial society to a technological society (Osborn & Osborn, 1978; Hulbert, 1999; Levine, 2007). Levine (2007) explains:

The 19th century saw a heightened public interest in children in Western countries, manifested in literary and journalistic representations of children as innocent victims of economic exploitation, the ‘child-saving’ movement that sought to abolish child labor and provide care for orphags (sic), the laws that made school attendance compulsory, and efforts to create an empirical science that would replace religious doctrine and philosophical speculation in public discourse about children. (p. 248)

Osborn and Osborn (1978) propose, “Centuries before, [child advocates], for the rights of children had been present in scant numbers” (p. 28). They proceed to posit, “However, by the twentieth century their numbers had grown sufficiently to draw attention to the plight of children” (p. 28). Osborn and Osborn (1978) continue to note, “These children were subjected to long hours of work and all the adult expectations for a ‘mature worker’” (p. 28). There were salient commonalities, which distinguishes these children from future generations. More often, they were reared in a two-parent home, had rudimentary education, resided in rural areas such as farms, and witness the death of at least one of their siblings (Osborn & Osborn, 1978; Hulbert, 1999; Levine, 2007). Hulbert (1999) believes, “In America, as in most of the western world more than a quarter of all children born between 1850 and 1900 died before they turned five” (p. 20).

Osborn and Osborn (1978) state that, those children who were fortunate enough to survive, were employed outside of the home by the age of ten and in, “some southern textile mills [in the U.S.] over seventy percent of the work force was under fifteen years of age” (p. 28). The life of a child meant she/he needed to earn their own wages thus, be gainfully employed. Osborn and Osborn (1978) cite a case, which a female child “left the farm at nine years of age to work in a textile mill” (p. 31). Continuing this inquiry, they explain, “She and her younger brother [eight years old] worked six days a week; eleven hours a day” (p. 31). Not only was this expectation condoned by society, it was enacted by law and, “a culture which legally permitted gainful employment of the young” (Osborn and Osborn, 1978, p. 28). Bundy (2014) believes the Province of Nova Scotia was proactively engaged in such employment practices of child labor enforcement policies. Bundy (2014) asserts that, “children were treated as property, and often labourers on their family farms or in local family businesses” (p. 6). Osborn and Osborn (1978) postulates, “Actually, to force children to work long hours at hard labor was viewed as economically prudent and morally valuable” (p. 28). Over time, laws and legislation were enacted to prevent child servitude, and to criminalized those who engage in these ills. Hulbert (1999) articulates, “Since [most legislation such as] the Keating-Owen Bill (Federal Child Labor Law) was not enacted until 1916, the 19th-20th century children were born into a culture which legally permitted gainful employment of the young” (p. 28). However, the criminalization of child servitude evolved through the efforts of many who were opposed to child exploitation. It begins with altering the understanding of childhood.

Beginning at the turn of the 20th century, two American women, Jane Adams and Grace Abbot who were reformers, and through their perseverance were successful to have convened the first White House Conference on children (Osbourne & Osbourne, 1978). This suggests to me, that these two women were extremely affluent and influential, considering at this time, women did not have the right to vote, were not considered persons under the law and had no voice in the political arena. This conference approved several recommendations, which led to the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912. Two years later, in 1914, Nova Scotia establishes a Social Bureau in an effort to organize the charities of the Halifax more efficiently (Lafferty, 2012). The Social Bureau in Nova Scotia maintained ongoing collaborations with the Children's Bureau in the United States. Blois (1919) states in his annual report that he has received correspondence from the Children's Bureau. Blois (1919) writes, "The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Washington, has issued a report covering available information for the following countries: - England, France, Germany, Russia and United States" (p. 33).

The Children's Bureau become more than just protecting and advocating for the rights of children, it became a pathway, a trigger for altering the trajectory of how society viewed children and the introduction of the conceptualization of childhood. These reformers forced into motion a political and cultural platform which ignited a switch in mentality of an entire society and a nation. Adams and Abbott received support from the emerging new sciences at the turn of the 20th century that was forging into a new and an unexplored era. *The Century of the Child* produced two of the foremost authorities of their times. They were Dr. Luther Emmett Holt, who was the first pediatrician in America; and G. Stanley Hall who earned the first doctorate degree in psychology. Holt and Hall would launch the first, "emerging field of scientific study of child-rearing expertise" (Hulbert, 1999, p. 16). Lafferty (2006) declares:

The ideological machinery for these sorts of claims was well oiled by a pervasive faith in the certainty of progress through science; many of these professional groups claimed (and created) specialized knowledge and expertise using imagery of the science. They also controlled access to this knowledge and the methods used to produce and apply it. (p. 13)

Although, Hall and Holt's audience was middle-class Western European women, their scientific ideologies were employed by those such as Adams and Abbott to buttress child protection reform and were the impetus for the establishment of orphanages. Here, we have ideologies of the upper middle-class family being transposed to care for and protect, the poor, the neglected and orphaned child; with the exception of Black children. During this time in history, society had adopted as a scientific fact from *The Century of the Child* movement, its accompanied developmental theory of recapitulation. Lafferty (2012) puts forward the supposition within this developmental theory of recapitulation, "The racial ideal of white childhood (and its attendant perception of black childhood) was one of the crucial elements informing the architecture of welfare programs for children" (p. 72). Dewey (2012) weighs in on the recapitulation theory challenging, "its biological basis is fallacious" (p. 80). Dewey (2012) mistakenly articulates the recapitulation theory, "outside of a small school in Germany (followers of the Herbart for the most part), has had little currency" (p. 79). Dewey (2012) was not aware, "In Nova Scotia recapitulation theory clearly marks the annual reports of both the provincial superintendent and the Juvenile Court judges in Halifax in the first decades of their existence" (Lafferty, 2012, p. 72).

Sanjek (1996) debates, "Its roots and growth lie in nothing more 'real' than the conquest, dispossession, enforced transportation, and economic exploitation of human beings over five centuries that racial categorization and racial social ordering have served to expedite and justify" (p. 2). Continuing this line of thought, Lafferty (2012) submits, "At the turn of the century, pseudo- science of racial classifications and rankings were assiduously promoted as fact by white evolutionary anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, sociologists, and eugenicists" (p. 70). The indoctrination of White supremacy in Nova Scotia and throughout Canada created a very hostile and dangerous environment for the Black population and other people of colour. Lafferty (2012) surmounts the conflict by providing evidence that, "These highly inflammatory opinions were manifested in more than print; physical attacks against African Nova Scotian and Chinese residents of the city occurred with regularity throughout the interwar period" (p. 136).

Perhaps all of these transitions, created a scaffolding effect, and society was ready to consider the importance of *The Century of the Child*. Although, Holt and Hall were from

different disciplines and their approaches to the study of childhood had at times diverging views, their expertise and work complimented each other in that both were austere engaged in a scientific inquiry to learn from children. Hulbert (1999) posits both Holt and Hall believe that, “children were to be viewed for the first time as children, rather than as little adults” (p. 17).

Levine (2007) postulates:

Thus, from about 1880 to 1920, childhood was increasingly formulated in what might be called pediatric and pedagogical terms, and there was public discussion about how science might improve the care and learning of children in the contexts of newly expanded medical and educational institutions. (p. 248)

Governments supported the conceptualization of childhood, through concept diffusion which was achieved by the publications in numerous print media and public meetings. There were town meetings, public speaking engagements, and reports which promulgated the importance of childhood. Such reports were indicative, in Blois’ annual superintendent report. Lafferty (2012) contends, “Indeed, the ‘problem’ of the dependent child, the neglected child, or the endangered child made sense to welfare workers and government officials only in relation to these broader concerns about social order, citizenship, and economic prosperity” (p. 12). Concept diffusion was the process that governments implemented to educate the public. Daly (2014) and Wight (2017) articulate the term concept diffusion is an effective method of creating new understandings for society.

On the surface, it appears *The Century of the Child* movement was advancing humanity and its altruistic motivation was the preservation of children. Yes, there were those individuals who were driven to save children from servitude and exploitation. Hulbert (1999) and Lafferty (2012) contend, the underlying motives were pure economics, on behalf of the government, which launches *The Century of the Child*. There was a government agenda based upon economic projections and labour market trends. Lafferty (2012) suggests, “The best interest of the *child* [was] equal to, and sometimes eclipsed by, the best interests of the community and the particular social and economic goals sought by those who govern” (p. 12). Therefore, children had to be prepared for futuristic jobs, yet to be determined. From this historic period, a national mentality evolved, in which scientific disciplines such as pediatrics, child psychology, early childhood development, and the education of children would be a

source of a systematic inquiry and scientific investigations. These disciplines were to formulate the ecology of childhood and set in motion a phrase coined as *The Century of the Child* (Osborn and Osborn, 1978; Hulbert, 1999; and Levine, 2007). Lafferty (2012) poignantly articulates:

The Social improvement of this nature, however, did not generally mean the transformation of economic or political systems that contributed to inequality; it meant transforming individual behaviours and physical environments, eliminating the *symptoms* rather than the causes of dislocation, poverty, unrest, and privation. (p. 36)

Hulbert (1999) suggests, the promulgation of *The Century of the Child* was in part due to a drastic shift of the economy and advances the argument, “Because children had to be prepared for futures in a world set up increasingly along managerial and professional lines, it stood to reason that middle-class motherhood should become a vocation of professional management” (p. 24). Surmounting the conflict, Lafferty (2012) proposes: “It was also mediated by self-interest and restrained by the belief that there were particular consequences, or legacies, laced into the bodies of these children that emanated from their class, their religion and gender, and their skin colour” (p. 10). The *Century of the Child* became analogous if not the nexus to the economic demands of society. Hulbert (1999) advises us, “A shift in child-rearing themes that neatly compliments a shift from a production-age, to a consumption-age to an information-age” (p. 25). Lafferty (2012) agrees with Hulbert (1999) and extends the supposition by articulating, “Child welfare was also about creating useful citizens and preventing children from growing up to be criminals or paupers who would be both a financial burden and a moral threat in their communities” (p. 11). A phrase coined by the Children’s Protection Act in 1917, “introduced the specific language ‘best interest’ when determining placement of a child apprehended under the terms of the act would be decided” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 51). Lafferty (2012) further insists, “the ‘best interest of the child’ really meant in the ‘best interest of society’” (p.51). This scholar painstakingly clarifies that:

This emphasis on creating ‘useful’ citizens (which often meant those who would labour, eliminating the possibility of pauperism) and on preventing future crime (which required those who would labour honestly and without complaint) runs

thick through the culture of child welfare and points to a very different meaning for ‘best interest’ than is immediately visible. (p. 12)

To assist members of society in the transition to the discovery of childhood and the acceptance of *The Century of the Child*, governments did several things. They first enacted legislation and laws which made the exploitation and the abuse of children a criminal offense including child servitude. Saunders (1994) submits, these laws originated from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA). Saunders (1994) contends, “In 1880 the provincial government passed a law that empowered the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) to deal with the abuse and neglect of minors” (p. 22). By 1882, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty and the Act to Prevent Wrongs to Children became separated from the SPCA, and no longer was under its umbrella. Lafferty (2012) extends Saunders’s (1994) supposition, and explains:

In 1880 and 1882 the Halifax SPC [Society for the Prevention of Cruelty] managed to secure two pieces of legislation directed at child welfare, ... [that] set out a definition of cruelty, and neglect, set minimum standards for parenting, and granted the SPC the right to prosecute wayward parents and take custody of their children when an SPC agent felt it was warranted. (p. 17)

The criminalization of child servitude and the protection of children evolved through the efforts of many who were opposed to child exploitation. It begins with creating a shift in understanding childhood. Prior to this, the conceptualization of childhood did not exist, since children were perceived as adult-children. Lafferty (2012) asserts that:

One of the first of these laws – first in Nova Scotia and in Canada – was the Act to Prevent and Punish Wrongs to Children, passed in 1882. ... It gave legal force to the dual intention of child welfare to serve both the child’s and the community’s best interests (p. 49).

Secondly, they established orphanages to provide the life essentials to orphaned and neglected White children. Thirdly, they made education compulsory for children which meant children were not subjected to endless hours of work, and to work in dangerous conditions. Osborn and Osborn (1978) suggest, “State labor laws tight compulsory education legislation had drastically

reduced the child labor force” (p. 28). Fourthly, they held parents financially and criminally responsible. Lafferty articulates:

Statutes intended to protect children, to keep them in school, to prevent them from working (too hard or in dangerous occupations), or to help in the identification and capture of those who were being neglected or endangered were issued by the [Nova Scotia] provincial legislature with increasing regularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century. (p. 49)

One piece of legislation was the appointment of a Provincial Superintendent of Dependent and Delinquent Children. Ernest Blois was the first civilian appointed to the government in Nova Scotia. Lafferty (2012) believes, “The creation of the Office of the Provincial Superintendent of Depended and Delinquent Children, which was, in the long term, the most significant development for child welfare services in the city and province” (p. 27). Its creation in 1911, had the responsibility to manage, direct, develop and implement strategic plans regarding the entire landscape of child welfare, including families and young offenders. Lafferty (2012) indicates this Office had power; “Acting under the auspices of the attorney general, Blois was solely responsible for all issues relating to children and child welfare” (p. 54). It was Blois, who approved grants, placement of children and the cost associated with the placement.

Summary

The economic demands of society, urged governments to create a political and cultural platform to educate their citizens about the importance of childhood. The crust of this learning was to facilitate a shift in a national mentality, from children being considered adult-children to the conceptualization of *The Century of the Child*. *The Century of the Child* brought into focus the ecology of childhood, with its developmental theory of recapitulation and the new emerging sciences of pediatrics and psychology. The theory of recapitulation, another pseudoscience, connected racial biology and eugenics, which promulgated that Black children and First Nation children were racially inferior and could not rise beyond their prescribed level that society relegated to them. The governments used concept diffusion to teach its citizenry

about the developmental stages of childhood, so society could produce useful law-abiding citizens by establishing orphanages for White children. In the following chapter, I discuss the establishment of orphanages in Nova Scotia.

Interestingly, Chard (2006) points out, prior to the momentum of the *Century of the Child*, “There was an orphanage established in Halifax in 1752, three years after Halifax was founded” (p. 100). Chad (2006) continues to explain, “This institution was sustained by a grant from the government of Nova Scotia” (p. 100). It operated until 1787 at which time it was closed, and the rationale for its closure is unknown.

Chapter 6—The Establishment of Orphanages in Nova Scotia

If our understanding of the meaning of childhood must be so carefully excavated within particular historical contexts to be properly understood, it should be no surprise to find that our understanding of the institutions meant to care for children must receive a similar treatment. (Lafferty, 2013, p. 10)

Government's answer for orphaned and delinquent children were the placement of these children into congregate care facilities such as orphanages. Orphanages had as their purpose, help to produce children who would become responsible adults. Lafferty (2012) argues that orphanages were not designed to produce future leaders of industry but rather, hard-working labourers and workers and law-abiding citizens. Lafferty (2012) articulates:

The funds granted to orphanages and children's homes, however meager and however unwilling paid, were expected to support a wide range of institutional routines and practices directed at the care of dependent children, the promotion of their 'best interest', and by corollary, the protection of future community interests and prosperity. (p. 103)

Congregate care facilities became the solution for orphaned and neglected children; and orphanages were established based upon religious denomination and gender. Blois (1919) reports indicate the religious exclusivity of the congregate care facilities. Blois (1919) states that the Halifax Industrial School was for Protestant Boys, the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro was for Protestant Girls, St. Patrick's Home was for Roman Catholic Boys and there was the Protestant Orphanage in Truro to name a few. Lafferty (2012) writes, "Segregated orphanages based on religious exclusivity was not taken lightly nor was it considered to be a mere administration convenience, a way of dividing up the caseload across the institutional spectrum" (p. 13). Furthering her argument, Lafferty (2012) states that:

At the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, a critical period for the elaboration of social services like child welfare, governments and extragovernmental agencies believed that the nation's future, rooted in its

economic, social, and cultural future, depended upon ensuring that individuals and populations reached their full potential. (p. 31)

Black orphaned children were excluded from accessing these services. Saunders (1994) provides clear evidence that, “A black child in need who could not be cared for by relatives within the community faced the grim options of homelessness or placement in a poorhouse or adult mental asylum” (p. 24). Lafferty (2012) claims these places were unfit for children. Well, Lafferty (2012) puts it mildly, while Saunders (1994) and Pachai (2007) proclaim Black children sent to these places meant their imminent death. However, even though the, “Children Protection Act officially forbade the placement of children in [these institutions]” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 137), child welfare workers still placed Black children there which contravenes the Act. This contravention of the Act was primarily the result that no orphanage in Nova Scotia would accept Black children (Blois, 1917; Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012, Bundy, 2014; and Taylor, 2015). *The Century of the Child* held little meaning for the Black Nova Scotian Community, since the Black population was on the periphery of citizenship, thus eclipsing and denying services to Black children because of society’s racialized ideologies.

Saunders (1994) notes, “Yet for all this impressive outpouring of the milk of the late nineteenth-century human kindness, one group remain untouched by the flow: Nova Scotia’s black population (p. 22). Lafferty (2012) is adamant that, “Gender, race, religion [was] inseparable from the fundamental understanding of what class difference entailed and its consideration at play in the implementation of policy” (p. 26). This is why when Bundy (2014) conducted her meta-analysis of social services programs provided to Black children between 1917-1921, she concludes that, Black children were denied access to all of these elaborate social services programs, which Lafferty (2012) refers to. Lafferty (2012) puts forward the proposition that, “The most cursory examination of the imagery of childhood in this period exposes how deeply these racial concepts had influenced the contemporary understanding of children, particularly the contrasts perceived between blacks and whites, between dirty savages and sunshine-civilization” (p. 72).

So, when orphanages were established, they were for White children only. It was left up to the AUBA to convince the Nova Scotia Government that Black orphaned children

required shelter. This was in stark contrast to Blois (1919) who states that, “The child has a right to be cared for, fed, clothed and sent to school” (p. 22) although, let us not forget that Blois (1919) was referring to White children only. Although, the AUBA had to contend with this mentality, the pseudoscience of recapitulation, the racialized imagery, physical violence, domestic terrorism, structural, systemic racialized policies and practices, it still perseveres under a pedagogy of hope to make some progress towards society’s’ murky acceptance of the Black population as citizens (see Lafferty for a detailed and critical analysis of the congregate care facilities in Nova Scotia). Bundy (2014) postulates, “The treatment of African Nova Scotian children was clearly insufficient and inadequately documented” (p. 31). Bundy (2014) suggests, “Such an absence of documenting in combination with reported racist attitudes suggest pervasive and systemic racism” (p. 31). Bundy’s (2014) findings are not surprising, given the historical and contextual factors that forced and relegated the Nova Scotia Black communities to the fringes of society, and their citizenship was always questionable. Saunders (1994) insists it was, “In keeping with the tenor of the times, most social welfare institutions operated on a strict ‘white only’ basis” (p. 23). The AUBA proceeds to develop a proposal for a Black orphanage irrespective of the likelihood that the Province of Nova Scotia would ever agree to such an endeavour. This progress was challenged by the Halifax Explosion, and the establishment of the Halifax Relief Commission.

The Industrial School for Coloured Children (ISCC)

The forced marginalization, coupled with this pseudoscience of recapitulation denoted Black people to a sub-human grouping; reaffirming the mentality of White society that Blacks lack the intellectual prowess to become useful citizens except for the most meager and childlike task. Nova Scotia was established as a slave society. Given this mentality, one may surmise providing services to Black children maybe wasteful, if not a misappropriation of taxpayer’s money. Taylor (2015) asserts that:

The department did not invest the money or resources into the children at the Home [NSHCC] as they did for children in main stream orphanages. The message internalized by the children, who lived at the Home was, we will not invest

society's money and resources into you or your future because you are not worth it.
(p. 163)

Bundy (2015) suggests how her research, “demonstrated ways which ‘race’ prevented African Nova Scotian children from being helped in the same way as other children, demonstrating social and racial stigma present in the child welfare system” (p. 32). Yet, the AUBA persisted to advocate for an orphanage for neglected and orphaned Black children.

James R. Johnson, was the first Black lawyer graduate in Nova Scotia. He graduated from Dalhousie University Law School in 1898. This was not just unprecedented but truly an anomaly. James A.R. Kinney, “was in 1897 the first black graduate of the Maritime Business College in Halifax” (Pachai, 2007, p. 180). Johnson and Kinney were active members of the AUBA holding various executive positions within the Association. Johnson proposed the establishment of the Industrial School for Coloured Children (ISCC). The ISCC would be more than just as an orphanage, it would be a place of learning—an industrial and common school. Johnson desired to avoid the stigma attached to orphanages. Lafferty (2012) articulates, “Institutions were dark, crowded, and damaging places where children were simply herded together and managed as one managed livestock” (p. 15). With the support of the AUBA, Johnson wrote a proposal for the establishment of the ISCC in 1908. There are no records to indicate that White orphanages had to be subjected to this process. It was a visionary goal of Johnson to model the ISCC after the Tuskegee Institute (Saunders, 1994; and Pachai, 2007).

According to Saunders (1994) and Pachai (2007) Johnson was an admirer of Booker T. Washington and the work he accomplished at the Tuskegee Institute for Black students. It was the philosophy of Washington (1995) that the students required both academic training and industrial expertise. Washington (1995) expresses that, “I had a strong feeling that what our people most needed was to get a foundation in education, industry, and property, and for this I felt that they could better afford to strive than for political preferment” (p. 44). Washington (1995) wanted his students to become self-sufficient, skilled in the art of constructing buildings, to mechanics, to making bricks, to a seamstress, to an agriculturalists or whatever industry a student chose to pursue. These acquired skills and talents would not only benefit those whom received this training, but also the Black community as well. Washington (1995) states:

... the students themselves would be taught to see not only utility in labour, but beauty and dignity; would be taught, in fact, how to lift labour up from mere drudgery and toil, and would learn to love work for its own sake. (p. 72)

Washington (1995) proclaims that the goal of the Tuskegee Institute was to train Black students in scientific endeavors, “to make the forces of nature – air, water, steam, electricity, horsepower – assist them in their labour” (p. 72). Washington (1995) believes this was, “the teaching of civilization, self-help, and self-reliance” (p. 72). Washington’s (1995) philosophy was similar to Freire’s (1993) in that they both advocated, “There is also a duty on those who learn to do so by using their critical faculties to work out matters for themselves” (Quinn, 2009, p. 89). Washington (1995) was convinced, that it was the ultimate purpose of the Tuskegee Institute to produce students, “who can do something that the world wants done well, in the end regardless of his race” (p. 75).

Johnson insisted that the teachers at the ISCC be trained as licensed teachers. During the 1880s, “teachers assigned to schools for black children were holders of Permissive Licenses” (Pachai, 2007, p. 137). Black teachers held permissive licenses, because they were denied admittance to the teacher’s college, which was referred to as the Provincial Normal College in Truro. Johnson’s vision of the Black orphanage was a place of learning. The ISCC would provide a home for these children, and it would be a normal and industrial institute for Black learners. Saunders (1994) proposes, “Normal was designation given to schools that provided teacher training” (p. 10). The Tuskegee Institute—a school for Black children became the model in which, “James R. Johnson and Reverend Moses B. Puryear lay the ideological and physical foundations for the most ambitious project Black Nova Scotians had attempted to date” (Saunders, 1994, p. 24).

It would take a grueling seven years before the Government of Nova Scotia incorporated this institution but when it did, it somehow was renamed to the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children (NSHCC). There are no documents to indicate who selected the name. At the annual AUBA convention in 1915, “when the project was setting up the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children it was incorporated by provincial statute, and a board of trustees of ten members, three of whom were black persons” (p. 208). A clause in Nova Scotia statute states:

The said corporation is hereby empowered to act as a Children's Aid Society for matters affecting the children of the colored race, and to receive and keep the same under their care pursuant to the provisions of the Children Protection Act, 1912. (Nova Scotia, 1915, p. 298)

This was the same year Johnson died. Lafferty (2012) confirms, "Johnson's original plan to establish this industrial normal college in Nova Scotia was not universally supported" (p. 78). Upon his death not only did the ISCC become renamed to the NSHCC, Saunders (1994) asserts that, "Now the Trustees were leaning more toward an emphasis on shelter rather than education, with the Home [NSHCC] becoming an orphanage rather than a normal and industrial school" (p. 30). By all accounts, Johnson was the driving force behind the establishment of the NSHCC and upon his death, it was left up to Reverend Puryear to implement the vision of the NSHCC. Lafferty's (2012) admits, "Over the 1910s the purpose of the institution, was gradually shifted away from the education of young blacks and toward the welfare of dependent and neglected black children" (p. 78).

Johnson and Puryear were not the first to envision a normal and industrial school for Black children. But they were the first to conceptualized both this type of school in conjunction with providing a home for Black children in need. According to Pachai (2007), the Rector of St Paul's Church had established a school for Black children called the African school in Halifax in 1836. This historian believes donations were received from both, "Halifax and England to operate the African school, which soon became a day school, a Sunday school and an evening school" (p. 106). Pachai (2007) continues this line of debate by asserting that, "In his representation to government [the Rector] visualized further additions to the building so that it could be turned into a Normal or Training School to produce black teachers to serve in their own schools" (p. 106). This never came to fruition.

It would take another two years after the NSHCC was incorporated, to become established. The Board of Trustees of the NSHCC were able to secure a building in the North of Halifax and through fund raising and a promissory grant from the Province of Nova Scotia, the NSHCC was preparing to commence renovations. Lafferty (2012) clearly indicates the desire of the Premier of Nova Scotia to renege on the approval of the grant stating that:

Indeed, when Blois wrote to the premier in August 1917 requesting permission to draw on the provincial amount for this \$1,000.00, the premier responded with something less than enthusiasm: ‘It may be that I was a little too enthusiastic in my desire to assist these people’, he wrote, ‘and perhaps a more economic arrangement can be made’. (p. 80)

Attinasi (1996) believes the Premier’s correspondence to Blois, was in fact a way to continuously dehumanize Black Nova Scotians. Attinasi (1996) asserts that, “Verbal expressions accompany oppressive policy and acts” (p. 319). He continues to explain, “Persons are dehumanized when referred to as ‘these people’” (p. 318). Nonetheless, the Premier finally gave approval to Blois to dispersed the \$1,000.00 grant.

Pachai (2007) postulates the provincial government provided the funds to purchase a building belonging to the Halifax Industrial School on Quinpool Road, Halifax. The City of Halifax provided five hundred dollars, and the board of trustees fundraised fifteen hundred dollars to cover the costs of renovations. In addition, one hundred dollars was donated by a local business and twenty-five dollars by a private citizen. A matron was recruited from Philadelphia who was a registered nurse and assumed the position in November 1917 (Saunders, 1999; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015). The AUBA (1918 Minutes) report, “The opening was to have taken place the same week that the explosion occurred in Halifax” (p. A 21). Just days prior to its opening, the Halifax Explosion occurred on December 6, 1917, and demolished the NSHCC. It would take another four years before the NSHCC became established. The delay of four years speaks to the political and social challenges, which the AUBA and the Board of Trustees had to navigate. In the aftermath of the explosion, the reconstruction of Halifax reconfigured race relations, gender bias, classism, and sexism (see Morton, 1989; Hebert, 1996; Pachai, 2007; and Lafferty, 2012 for a detailed account). This reconfiguration perpetuated the inequalities already existing to another level of oppressive policies and practices by the Halifax Relief Commission (HRC).

The Halifax Relief Commission: The Reproduction and Expansion of the Social Order Through Reconstruction

The Halifax Explosion of 1917, destroyed a large section of Halifax city, particularly the north end. Pachai (2007) confirms, “The explosion occurred in the north end of Halifax where most of the city’s black residents’ lived” (p. 176); this included the Black community of Africville and two orphanages, one of which was the newly renovated Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children (NSHCC), and the Protestant Orphan’s Home. Other orphanages suffered structural damage, such as the Home of the Guardian Angel, Monastery of Good Shepherd, Halifax Infants’ Home, St. Joseph’s Orphanage, and the Home of the Guardian Angel (Blois, 1919). Blois (1919) states in his report that the White orphanages were rebuilt or repaired. The NSHCC did not qualify, based strictly upon racialized ideologies, which were substantiated by the theory of recapitulation and translated into policies implemented by the Halifax Relief Commission (HRC). Blois (1919) details in his annual report all the White orphanages that have received monies from his department, the Halifax Relief Commission and charities both in Canada and the United States. The HRC, Charities and the Department of Neglected and Delinquent Children refused to provide any funds and/or relief to the NSHCC. The AUBA Minutes (1917-1921) do not mention this differential treatment. The AUBA (1918 Minutes) do state:

... at the last session the Government was again approached with the view of obtaining a larger grant; and Premier Murray has promised \$10,000 for this work just as soon as all details can be worked out for its support and a location approved by the Government secured. (p. A 21)

Morton (1989) maintains, “The rebuilding of a large section of the city required a vast industrial army of labour, which in 1918 would number over 10,000 men, and a central agency capable of organizing and directing the reconstruction operations” (p. 73). Blacks had very limited opportunity for employment in the aftermath of the explosion. Pachai (2007) puts forward the notion that only a slim fraction of Blacks was hired. Pachai (2007) continues the discussion reminding us, “It did not matter whether one was educated, skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled, the result was the same: Blacks were employed if and when other candidates were unavailable” (p. 176). Both Hebert (1999) and Morton (1989) indicate that the HRC sought

labourers from eastern Canada, and as far as western Canada, before Blacks were even considered for employment in the rebuilding of the new utopia of Halifax.

The most striking revelation in Blois (1919) annual report was the establishment of a new orphanage that the HRC and the Department of Neglected and Delinquent Children advised and supported. Blois (1919) confirms the establishment of a new orphanage called, “The Daughters of the Empire Home” (p. 79), which was built in the same area of the destroyed NSHCC. The destruction of the NSHCC was never mentioned in Blois’s report, and the only references made to Black children was, “dealing with the problems of colored orphans” (Blois, 1919, p. 110). Based upon Lafferty’s (2012) analysis, all of Blois’ numerous reports underpin the developmental theory of recapitulation and racialized ideologies. Lafferty (2012) asserts that Blois on several occasions made public racist and disparaging remarks about Black children. For example, in referencing Black children, Blois (1919) refers to them as, “dirty, ill-clad, under nourished cross-eyed, veritable little street Arabs with sub-normal written all over them” (p. 7).

The HRC was empowered with the authority for all aspects of the reconstruction, including granting relief, building or repairing homes and approving pensions to those who were permanently injured as a result of the explosion. Morton (1989) insists, “The HRC was thus responsible for both the physical and financial rehabilitation of the explosion’s victims and for reconstruction of the devastated area” (p. 73). Hebert (1996) extending this line of inquiry articulates, the HRC Act also allowed the HRC, “at any time, [to] ‘enlarge, restrict or in any way change’ areas classified as ‘devastated’” (p. 4). The Act gave the HRC the absolute power, “to expropriate land, create zoning regulations, rebuild, repair” (Herbert, 1996, p. 4), and to engage in long-range strategic business plans for the city of Halifax. These powers prove to have negative consequences for the Black and First Nation population, Africville, the poor and women. Based upon Hebert’s (1996) analysis, “Through the HRC’s policies, the poor were kept poor and the oppressed were further marginalized” (p. 6). Hebert (1996) expands upon this supposition suggesting, “These policies have profoundly shaped race and class relations, and the very character of Halifax, even to this day” (p. 6). The mandate of the HRC was to rebuild Halifax and to assist those who were injured, a reconstruction project unmatched in the history of Nova Scotia.

The community of Richmond, which was adjacent to Africville was completely destroyed. Richmond was a White working-class immigrant community and, in many ways, their social-economic class was parallel to the residents of Africville. The homes in Africville suffered structural damages and needed repairs and many of the residents were injured. However, the HRC disqualified any relief, reconstruction, and financial aid to the community of Africville, and denied pensions to all Black people permanently injured by the explosion. Hebert (1996) explains, “Richmond had been rebuilt with park lands and hydrostone, the HRC changed the boundaries of the devastated area so that it stopped just short of Africville” (p. 4). The Mi’kmaq community of Turtle Grove was destroyed and the HRC position was that they were the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs, therefore the HRC refused to offer the residents of Turtle Grove any relief or assistance.

The HRC, “did decide that relief allowance should vary according to the social status, with the poor receiving less simply because they were poor” (Hebert, 1986, p. 8). Women who were blind as the result of the explosion received a lower pension amount than blind men. If the woman remarried, her entitlement to a pension was revoked. This policy did not apply to men who remarried. The explosion created social workers conducting home visits for anyone who was in receipt of money from the HRC. Hebert (1996) believes, “This idea of home visits was a revolutionary concept, and social workers were brought in from the United States and larger Canadian cities to train local women for them” (p. 9). These home visits were intrusive, disempowering and interrogated recipients who received monies from HRC. Hebert (1996) postulates:

All payments were based on household income prior to the Explosion, so a well-off merchant could receive a handsome sum of money to restore his family to their pre-Explosion comfort, while an immigrant dock worker could only count on enough money to resume the struggle to make ends meet. (p. 15)

According to Hebert (1996) if you were a woman, and your reputation was *questionable*, then the HRC could refuse any relief. Or, if the HRC receive any complaints about a woman’s moral character she would be placed on probation and more home visits from social workers, and a third complaint to the HRC would result in the cancellation of her entitlement. Hebert (1996) confirms these policies and practices stating that, “If the HRC

received a complaint about a ‘woman’s moral character’, she would be placed on probation and visited more frequently” (p. 16). This scholar further notes, “If three such complaints were received; her pension would be taken away altogether” (p. 16). This criteria of moral and/or questionable character did not apply to men. Hebert (1996) continues arguing, these intrusive home visits are still practiced today. Hebert (1996) provides evidence that the HRC’s policies, “reinforced existing class, neighbourhoods, and racial tensions, and created new ones” (p. 17). These social policies ghettoized Africville, and then years later, city officials blame the residents for the slum type conditions of their community (see Morton, 1989; Hebert, 1996 regarding the city of Halifax and HRC’s plan to obliterate Africville from the map of Nova Scotia).

The HRC declared that the Halifax Explosion did not affect Africville, by simply re-zoning the community out of the devastated area. Hebert (1996) debates that, “Suddenly maps showed that Africville miraculously escaped the Explosion that had destroyed white neighbourhoods just blocks away” (p. 14). In 1918, when the plans for the reconstruction of Halifax city were drawn, Africville was designated to be destroyed unbeknown to the residents of Africville. Hebert (1996) proclaims, “In fact, it is very difficult to even find a reference to Africville in HRC documents” (p. 14). Hebert (1996) asserts that, when the HRC was developing the blueprint for the reconstruction of Halifax, these plans, “included a proposed bridge site, precisely in the centre of Africville” (p.14). Pachai (2007) extending this line of inquiry, proposes that Africville was doomed in 1907, when city officials wanted to expropriate the land for industrial purposes. Pachai (2007) asserts that the city of Halifax implemented a number of strategies to ghettoize Africville. “[A] prison was built in 1853 100 yards from Africville. Night soil disposal pits started in 1858. An infectious disease hospital was erected in 1870s and the city dumped its garbage” in Africville (p. 253).

The treatment of Africville and the refusal to assist the Black population by the HRC, reverberated throughout all the Black communities in Nova Scotia. The Black Nova Scotian community learned from this incident that they were an invisible group of people unworthy of a pathway to citizenship. Pachai (2007) contends, “Africville was treated like a miniature African colony under white colonial rule” (p. 159). The AUBA must have gasped knowing the struggles of citizenship for the Nova Scotian Black population was tenuous at

best. Africville serves as a lifelong learning model for the Black community. Hebert (1996) speculates the Halifax Explosion provides the genesis for the demise of Africville and the HRC scribes pen to paper and eradicates this community from the Province of Nova Scotia. Hubert (1996) states:

Although the idea of such a bridge was considered very optimistic in 1918, its presence on those drawings foreshadowed the eventual death of Africville when forty years later, the A. Murray Mackay Bridge was built on that very spot and the community was razed. (p. 14)

Hebert (1996) extends the tension by proposing, “The HRC’s policies were not socially responsible: rather, they were exclusionary, undemocratic, paternalistic, and racist” (p. 17). If the AUBA had thought they were moving forward towards citizenship, the HRC sent a clear signal to the Black community of Nova Scotia that they shall remain on the outskirts of humanity. Pachai (2007) articulates, “As one of the earliest founding peoples of Nova Scotia, the black population did not enjoy the status of a charter group as did the earliest founding peoples of European descent” (p. 189), or for that matter the recent European immigrants. The Explosion created more homeless Black children. The AUBA (1917 Minutes) state that:

The opening [of the NSHCC] was to have taken place the same week that the explosion occurred in Halifax. Our building was completed wrecked, and owing to the fact that twelve more children were found after the explosion.... So at the last session the Government was again approached, with a view of obtaining a larger grant; and Premier Murray has promised \$10,000 for this work just as soon as all details can be worked out for its support and a location approved by the Government secured. (p. A13).

The situation of homeless Black children was already at a crisis and the explosion exasperated their plight and created more homeless Black children. Saunders (1994) believes this was an emergency and, “The need for an institution like the Home for Colored Children was urgent for education in general and the care of indigent minors in particular” (p. 24). It is not surprising that after the destruction of the NSHCC, the Board of Trustees of the NSHCC had to fundraise to build another orphanage. Neither Blois or the HRC would entertain providing funds to rebuild the NSHCC. Saunders (1994) asserts that, “The ability to generate funds and support for an

educational institute for black Nova Scotians was doubtless very low on the province's and city's list of priorities" (p. 68). Saunders (1994) suggests that, the Board of Trustees of the NSHCC, "was one of the first interracial directorates ever to operate in the province" (p. 27). However, I suggest that those one or two Black Board of Trustees were merely tokens, and therefore do not truly constitute an interracial directorate. Without Johnson supporting the NSHCC as an orphanage and as an industrial school, the Board of Trustees shifted the focus of the NSHCC to become just another institution. Saunders (1994) contends that Puryear's resignation from his position as a member of the Board of Trustees and left the province in 1919, "was a direct result of this 'shift in direction', and Puryear 'could not in good consciousness abide'" (p. 81). It would take another four years of relentless fundraising to establish the NSHCC (Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015) and the AUBA did not waiver in their commitment to rebuild the NSHCC. Nearly a century later, the care-leavers from the NSHCC echoes the same sentiment, of being treated as invisible and as non-citizens.

The Establishment of the Nova Scotian Home for Coloured Children (NSHCC): Separate or Nothing!

The Government of Nova Scotia socially constructed and then legalized, "segregated communities, segregated schools, segregated military battalion, segregated seating in cinemas" (Pachai, 2007, p. 215), and now a segregated orphanage. "Separate or nothing" (Saunders, 1994, p. 24). A segregated orphanage for Black orphans made good sense to the general populace of Nova Scotia. There were three major reasons why society accepted the need for a segregated orphanage. Firstly, Black homeless children starving and begging on the streets scared the residents. Secondly, the thought of these children becoming criminals was a perceived economic burden for the taxpayers, hence creating economic instability and thirdly, the thought of Black children residing with White children in a congregate care facility such as an orphanage was considered an abomination. The Government of Nova Scotia preferred to condemn Black orphaned newborns to death by placing them into asylums for the mentally insane, before allowing Black orphans to integrate with White orphans in a congregate care facility.

Child welfare workers' containment of threats to childhood required, they believed, the containment of behaviours and physical states were racially conceived: for members of the white community, segregation of the black child was thus a national and logical part of child saving, just as was maintaining religious separation. (Lafferty, 2012, p. 72)

The developmental theory of recapitulation was of no benefit to Black children because of their socially constructed racial grouping. In the words of Lafferty (2012), "Blacks were generally believed to be naturally indolent, vicious, debauched, and of a lower intellectual capacity than whites" (p. 70). "They were believed to be less evolved and therefore less capable of handling the complexities and challenges of modern civilization" (Lafferty, 2012, pp. 70-71). But Blacks could be trained to be obedient, serving the needs of the general society and subservient to toiling the soil or domesticated as a loyal and reliable maid or servant. The added enticement, was these orphaned Black children could be employable and contribute to society by paying taxes as adults.

Unlike, the White orphanages which were established based upon religious denomination and gender, the NSHCC was established for all Black children regardless of their religious affiliation and their gender. I am reminded of Smith (2012) when she asserts that colonialism reduces complex cultures to the ideology of sameness. Chilisa (2012) asserts this is the concept of othering that, "condenses complex descriptions of other societies [and cultures] into a sameness image judged against the West idea" (p.9). The Government of Nova Scotia simply dismiss Blacks as a singular homogenous group of people – a category of sameness, as one would herd cattle into a barn.

The province was persuaded by the NSHCC, Board of Trustees to purchase 211-acre farm on the outskirts of Dartmouth. Saunders (1994) explains, "With Premier Murray's approval, the land was brought and deeded to the Home" (p. 34). It is very plausible this pledge of \$10,000, that was reported in the AUBA (1918 Minutes) was used to purchase the property for the NSHCC. Pachai (2007) states that, "The Government of Nova Scotia provided the funds to purchase the property" (p. 209). Kinney as Chairperson of the fundraising committee, and Bauld, an affluent White businessperson and the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees, manage to raise forty thousand dollars, which was no easy task in the early 1920s (Saunders, 1994).

Pachai (2007) believes that, “Kinney was remarkably well placed to spearhead the fund-raising drive” (p. 210), since he was the advertising manager for the firm of Stairs, Son and Morrow. This historian continues explaining, “[Henry G. Bauld was] chairman of the board of trustees since the Home was incorporated in 1915” (p. 212), and once the NSHCC was opened, “Bauld would become President until his death in 1948” (p. 212).

Labourers were employed from the Black communities in the surrounding area to build the NSHCC. “Much of the labor involved in the construction of the NSHCC was provided by residents of North Preston, East Preston, Cherry Brook and Lake Loon” (Saunders, 1994, p. 35). These labourers were paid some monies for their work but much less than White labourers. Other Black labourers volunteered their time. Saunders (1994) informs us, “Using the skills handed down from the Loyalist and Refugee ancestors, the community completed an endeavor that would have filled their ancestors’ hearts with pride” (p. 38). A month before the Grand Opening of the NSHCC, *The Morning Chronicle* prepares the public for the events proceeding the Grand Opening and outlines the fundraising activities that are to take place prior to the Grand Opening, June 6, 1921. The article continues to state that, the NSHCC had outstanding debts. *The Halifax Morning Chronicle* (1921, May 28) writes, “It is hoped to raise \$2,000.00 by these efforts to clean off all charges outstanding on the Home and commence a worthy activity free of debt” (p. 12). So, this gives you an indication from the very beginning of the opening of the NSHCC, it was facing financial challenges and these financial struggles would continue throughout the operation of the NSHCC.

After four years of funding raising, the NSHCC had a grand opening unmatched by anything the Black population had witness. The grand opening brought together Blacks from across the province. “Finally, on the afternoon of June 6, a moment that had been thirteen years in the making came to pass” (Saunders, 1994, p. 41). It was in 1908 that James R. Johnson first presented the proposal of the Industrial School for Coloured Children (ISCC) to the AUBA, which later was reformed into the NSHCC. Members from the Black communities across Nova Scotia came to witness this inaugural event. It became an epic historical celebration because it was the largest gathering of Black people since the arrival of the Black Loyalists in 1783 in Shelburne (Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012; and Taylor, 2015). *The Halifax Herald* (1921, June 7) states that, “The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children was officially

opened yesterday afternoon by Lieutenant-Governor Grant before a crowd that touched the 3,000 mark” (p. 1). The article continues, “At present there are only 11 children in the home, which has accommodation for thirty” (p. 2).

The establishment of the NSHCC, with a self-contained school was more than providing Black children with shelter, care and education; it was a source of pride and a signal to the Black community that they were penetrating the barrier, which prevented Blacks from participating as equal citizens. The Black community was acutely aware of, “the continuous reluctance on the part of the majority society to accept Blacks as fellow citizens with standard rights and obligations” (Pachai, 2007, p. 173). The establishment of the NSHCC will be the only congregate care facility of its kind in Nova Scotia, and in Canada. Lafferty (2012) argues that, “When the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children (NSHCC) opened in 1921, the composition of Halifax’s institutional landscape reached its architectural summit” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 88).

The establishment of the NSHCC in many ways represented for the Black community, proof to the wider society of the worthiness of Black citizenship. Lafferty (2012) postulates, “The home’s success was also powerfully linked to the meaning of responsible citizenship within the black community and to the ultimate goal of race uplift, namely equality” (p. 83). The success of the NSHCC was also a testament, if not a challenge to the Black community that they were capable of managing their own affairs – self-determination. Even though, the NSHCC was governed by White affluent businessmen, it was sanctified by the AUBA as one of the Black community’s greatest social programs. Pachai (2007) confirms, “[The NSHCC] became nationally known as an important symbol of Nova Scotia’s history and society” (p. 212). Given these contextual factors, the importance of the NSHCC to the Black community was revered with pride and race uplifting. For the government officials, the grand opening June 6, 1921 represented an illusion that Nova Scotia *treated their Blacks fairly*. Pachai (2007) contends that:

The home [NSHCC] was officially opened on June 6, 1921, an important date in the annals of Nova Scotia’s black history because a need which had been identified by the black community, itself to provide care, comfort, shelter, education and life

skills for orphans and neglected children, as early as 1900, had become a reality twenty-one years later. (pp. 211-212)

The newspapers attributed the success of the opening of the NSHCC to Bauld, ignoring the work of Johnson, Puryear, Kinney and the AUBA. Lafferty (2012) postulates, “The assumption that the NSHCC’s success was due to a white man was not inconsistent with the general understanding of black men’s capabilities at this time” (p. 70). Lafferty (2012) in her analysis of the historical records, and her review of the newspapers asserts that Bauld was revered as, “a champion, a white hero of the underprivileged downtrodden black man” (p. 70). The media, the public and the government officials credited Bauld for the vision and the conceptualization of the NSHCC, which Johnson had conceived in 1908. Saunders (1994) insists, “Blacks were generally perceived as not knowing how to run things regardless of the accomplishments of individuals such as the Kinneys” (p. 163). Saunders (1994) articulates, “Not long after the opening, James Kinney undertook the position of superintendent of the Home” (pp. 47-48). Lafferty (2012) speculates:

Kinney viewed [the NSHCC] as the physical expression of the black community’s place in the wider culture and policies of the province, a means of demonstrating its worth and ability to its membership, to the child welfare system, and to the populations of the province as a whole. (p. 65)

The Black community did not have input into the governance of the NSHCC, rather its dictates where from the board of trustees which was controlled by affluent White men. Pachai (2007) provides evidence that there were no more than two Black board members at any given time on the board of trustees until the mid-1970s. Saunders (1994) proposes:

However, the increase in the number of blacks on the Board had its down side as well. Because many whites, still regarded blacks as either culturally or inherently inferior—or both—the competence and acumen of the new board members was questioned. (p. 161)

The AUBA (1920 Minutes) indicate a similar sentiment, when it pledged to raise \$2,000 annually to support the NSHCC. The Minutes read:

It is a Home of great possibilities to the Race, and from it can emerge those fitted with training which will enable them to pursue higher educational branches, and lay a foundation for Leadership of the Race. If we fail in this means of support, we will lose out in the great essentials of racial opportunity which the Government and our friends have seen fit to provide. (p. A 22)

From the time of the Grand Opening of the Home in June, 1921 there were financial deficits. The situation continues and becomes exasperated in 1925. There were two major reasons for the dire financial straits. Firstly, not only did the provincial government provide less than adequate, and unequal funding for the per diems allocated to the NSHCC, secondly, the districts and the municipalities from where the children had resided were delinquent in paying the family allowance as required by law. The family allowance covers the cost of education, books, supplies, clothing and toys, and in some cases, the municipalities refused to make any payment (Saunders, 1994; Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015). Lafferty (2012) confirms this led, Kinney to state the Home could only offer the children, elementary education and agricultural training. The NSHCC's financial difficulty continues over the next six decades because of the differential per diem rates and the delinquent and non-payment accounts. Lafferty (2012) believes, "The situation likely resulted, in part, because the geographical origins of the NSHCC's population were more widespread than for other institutions in Halifax County, making collection of support more difficult" (p. 98).

Be that as it may, neither Blois nor the Attorney General of Nova Scotia, made any attempt to collect delinquent and non-payments as they did for the White orphanages. Lafferty (2012) continuing this line of thought declares, "No other institutions reported (or admitted to having) similar problems" (p. 98). Blois also refused to intervene to have the districts, municipalities and towns pay the cost for the upkeep of the children within their jurisdiction, now wards and residing at the NSHCC. Lafferty (2012) provides convincing documents in which Blois and later the Nova Scotia Attorney General threatened legal action against the municipalities, districts and towns for refusing to pay for the upkeep of White children in orphanages. Once they were faced with legal action, all outstanding accounts were settled. Blois never pursues a legal remedy to ensure that the NSHCC received payment for children under their care.

The provincial standard per diem rate in 1917 was \$3.50 per child. It would take the NSHCC thirty-one years to receive that rate (Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015). The board of trustees sent letter after letter, year after year to Blois, the superintendent, and later to his successor, Dr. Fred MacKinnon, explaining the dire financial situation that this low rate had created. Taylor (2015) verifies, “Letters sent from the Board of Trustees to the Department of Social Services suggest the Home was struggling financially and could not properly care for the wards with the scarce financial assistance the government provided” (p. 38). Blois respectfully refused every letter of request, for the per diem parity with their counterparts of the White orphanages. This practice of differential per diems continues and Taylor (2015) provides records stipulating, “In 1980, per diems for the Home had been raised to \$27.88, but by this time wards in other group homes were receiving \$55.00” (p. 39).

The impact of this racialized practice pushed the NSHCC to the fringes of the child welfare spectrum. Lafferty (2012) contends, this positioned the NSHCC in a constant state of financial stress. Lafferty (2012) asserts that, “the effect of racism on the organization of child welfare was one of the signs of continuity between the old and the new” (p. 162). The most evident was the treatment of the NSHCC by Ernest Blois, Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children. Therefore, for all its pomp and circumstances, the grand opening of the NSHCC, was nothing more than window dressing. The mentality of society still maintains the superiority of Whites, which currently persists today. Lafferty (2012) articulates that the wider society’s acceptance of the recapitalization theory that purports the intellectual inferiority of Black people as scientific fact. Lafferty (2012) reminds us, “Governments were interested in knowing about populations in order to maximize their potential—for example, as taxpayers, as potential conscripts, as workers, or as members of any number of possible, useable groups” (p. 12). Lafferty’s (2012) contends that, “What happened within child welfare services was a mirror of these larger governing projects” (p. 12). How the NSHCC was situated on the landscape of welfare services suggests the Black Nova Scotian community was not considered an important, or worthy source for governments and Black Nova Scotians were not perceived as a commodity and therefore were dispensable.

Blois, who approved funding, grants and per diems to orphanages clearly engaged in discriminatory practices, and constructed the child welfare landscape complete with

structural and organic racialized policies (Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012; Bundy, 2014; and Taylor, 2015). The fact that funds were not provided to the NSHCC after its destruction from the Halifax Explosion in 1917, is very telling. It is not surprising that the NSHCC would face financial challenges, which was the direct result of racialized policies that correlated to government funding allocations. The NSHCC had to hire unqualified employees because a qualified employee would not accept such a grossly underpaid position. Saunders (1994) notes that quite often the staff received farm produce instead of a wage, because the NSHCC was unable to pay them.

These conditions created by the Government of Nova Scotia have all the *tell-tale* signs that the NSHCC was ripe for institutional child abuse. I refer to (Daly, 2014; Skold, 2016; Wright, 2017) when these researchers speak of the conditions underlying the abusive nature of congregate care facilities. Stratton (1995) outlines serious inadequacies which leads to institutional child abuse; one being, “a serious lack of funding which hindered [a congregate care facility] in carrying out its objectives” (p. 25). According to Stratton (1995), this lack of funding contributes to, “four serious inadequacies, the physical design of the facility, the quality of the staff, the working ratio of staff to residents and a lack of a firm policy governing the use of force” (p. 25).

Congregate Care Facilities: No Longer in the Best Interest of the Child

Congregate care facilities such as orphanages, had as its purpose to produce children who would become responsible adults. Perry et al. (2006) remind us, “One societal response to providing care for orphans has been institutionalization or the orphanage” (p. 283). This was as Lafferty (2012) argues throughout, that orphanages were not designed to produce future leaders of industry but rather, hard-working labourers, domestics and law-abiding citizens. However, it soon became evident that orphanages had a negative impact on children, leading to emotional and behavioural problems, which interfere with the notion of productive citizens. Roy et al. (2000) assert that, “Studies during the 1940s highlighted the high rates of emotional and behavioural disturbance, together with cognitive impairment, shown by many of the children being reared in institutions” (p. 139). In a similar vein, Kreppner et al. (2001)

conclude from the numerous studies, “Elevated rates of attention deficit and overactivity have been noted previously in samples of institutional-reared children” (p. 513). Extending this line of inquiry, Zeanah et al. (2003) state that, the, “quality of care often is inadequate in these institutions and many problems in children seem related to the ecology of institutional life” (p. 887). Shonkoff and Garner (2012) write:

Central [to the social and economic well-being of a society] is the need to produce a well-educated and healthy adult population that is sufficiently skilled to participate effectively in a global economy and to become responsible stakeholders in a productive society. (p. 232)

Orphanages came to be viewed as a toxic environment for children. Perry et al. (2006) surmise:

While the agencies responsible for the care of these individuals did not set out to design a highly adverse system of child care, they did not adequately put into place institutional mechanisms to assure that it did not evolve as it did. (p. 298)

In 1941, a study conducted by J.C. Harding who inspected the Halifax Infants’ Home reported that children reared in orphanages were intellectually and emotionally delayed (Lafferty, 2012). Orphanages produced children with a host of problems and their future as adults was not *in the best interest of society*. “It was therefore logical to conclude – as many childcare experts had previously done” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 213), that the ecology of institutional life was detrimental to the health and well-being of the child and would negatively affect their future adulthood. Orphanages by their very nature lead to deprivation, lack of stimuli which is so critical for early childhood development. Expanding upon this, Shonkoff and Garner (2012) insist, “A vital and productive society with a prosperous and sustainable future is built on a foundation of healthy child development” (p. 242). Children residing in institutions were at the mercy of the staff, which clearly led to abusive tendencies against the children. Perry et al. (2006) agree and put forward the supposition, “In addition, there were clearly inadequate safeguards against the abusive, occasionally sadistic actions of some caregivers” (p. 298). Perry et al. (2006) write that regardless of the location of the orphanage these abuses occurred.

These studies lead the provincial superintendent Ernest Blois, under the direction of the provincial government, to announce that Nova Scotia's institutions were no longer *in the best interest of the child*. The evidence emerging from such research was overwhelming and its implications pervasive. Lafferty (2012) reasons there was, "widespread belief that 'normal' children would be damaged by institutional stays" (p. 194). Henceforth, orphanages were not *in the best interest of the child* because they were no longer *in the best interest of society* thus, they were now deemed unsuitable homes for children. Instead, orphanages were to be used only as emergency placements and temporary care. Lafferty (2012) contends, "Without exception, however, individual children's homes in Halifax found the work of keeping themselves 'temporary' a serious challenge" (p. 165).

The child welfare *experts* supporting the expertise of the scientific findings began the transition of orphanages into the reformation of the newly conceptualized group home phenomena, "which involved the creation of a new niche for institutional services, the group home, which was specially designed for children unsuited for foster care or adoption" (Lafferty, 2012, p. 194). Orphanages were now passé, and their days as a childcare service provider as a substitute care for neglected and orphaned children had reached its usefulness. Their purpose was now re-defined by the *experts* to provide treatment, rather than long-term institutional care. "Institutions moved – or were pushed – into the field of treatment rather than protection" (Lafferty, 2012, p. 194). The NSHCC was the last congregate care facility to close in Nova Scotia. The NSHCC struggled to re-define its purpose and to articulated its *raison etre*. The NSHCC and the provincial government found itself into a sort of quandary. Racialized ideologies made white foster homes extremely rare for Black children. For centuries, concept diffusion was employed by the Province of Nova Scotia to wage a hate propaganda campaign against the Black Nova Scotian community. The Government of Nova Scotia utilized both a political and cultural platform that had been skillfully crafted to de-humanized Black people which resulted in the creation of an anti-Black mentality by the broader society. Saunders (1994) asserts that, "given the racial difficulties that continued fifty years after the Home's [NSHCC] inauguration, that responsibility remained sufficient to ensure the Institution's survival" (p. 151). Continuing this line of thought, Lafferty (2012) concludes, "Ethnic prejudice in the postwar years trumped even the now-trusted claims of social workers about the damaging effects of congregate care" (p. 194).

The child welfare landscape was controlled by White social workers; they decided fostering in the Black community was contrary to their standards and guidelines, “Because of depressed economic conditions within their black communities, many black families who were willing to host children from the NSHCC did not meet the standards required by the Children’s Aid Society and the Department of Social Services” (Saunders, 1994, p. 136). Lafferty (2012) claims there were, “Two mutually reinforcing local conditions, both of which were underwritten by racial awareness, militated against the closure of the NSHCC in the postwar years” (p. 223). Lafferty (2012) continues proposing, “One of these conditions was the determination expressed by the home’s [NSHCC] board and staff to maintain its services, the other was the serious and chronic lack of foster homes considered appropriate for black children” (p. 231).

The few Black children who were placed in White foster homes, some of them were subjected to racism, name-calling and bullying (Saunders, 1994). It was the policy of the Nova Scotia Children’s Aid Society (CAS) in 1971 that they did not recognize the Black identity culture. This policy was one-sided, because the policy did not permit Black families to foster White children and forbid the adaption of White children by Black families. An excerpt of a report by Oliver (1971, Sept. 4) highlights:

The policy on social welfare is one in which it avoids the race factor. The concept of child care and providing basic necessities is colourless. The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children disagrees and feels that besides providing the basic necessities the factor of race is most important and often contributes to the emotional breakdown of the child, i.e., if the racial identity factor is not nurtured and encouraged. Mr. Burns indicated that the Directors, of CAS would not be prepared to recognized the factor of race and that we can expect a considerable amount of conflict around the issue. (p. 3)

The integration of Black children into White foster homes was an indication that the theoretical conceptualization of integration of Black children into a White culture was flawed. Similar failures would be ascertained from studies of the Nova Scotia education system. Saunders (1994) writes, “But an increasing number of black children placed in white foster homes were beginning to experience adjustment problems of varying degrees of

seriousness” (p. 136). Saunders (1994) provides two examples of Black children placed in White foster families:

One, a teen-age boy left the White foster home he was placed in and walked back to the NSHCC, when he was told that his bed was the floor and they provided him with a list of chores. One questions the standards used by the Children’s Aid Society and the Department of Community Services to approve this foster family, and to deny fostering to Black families when this child did not have a bed to sleep on. The second example, provided by Saunders (1994) was a case of a young Black girl who was repeatedly racially assaulted, called names, and became nothing more than her foster family’s servant. Upon high school graduation, this now young woman refused a scholarship for post-secondary education because continuing school meant she had to remain in this abusive environment. She found a job and left the foster family.

There have been other examples of Black children placed in White foster homes and as Saunders (1994) contends White foster families have caused identity chaos for these Black children. Saunders (1994) reports, “Nova Scotia is filled with troubled black children - refugees from a racist society who need treatment, guidance, shelter and hope” (p. 237). By the mid-sixties, the NSHCC was accepting White children under their care. It was not until 1974 that the board of trustees elected their first Black President, Reverend Fairfax (Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007). In 1976, the NSHCC closed its congregate care facility, which made it the longest and the last orphanage to close in Nova Scotia and officially opened two new group homes in 1978. Saunders (1994) asserts that, “Rather than symbolizing independence, the new buildings confirmed the Home’s [NSHCC] inclusion into the provincial child care network” (p. 170). However, this did not change the prejudicial attitudes of social workers and government officials towards the board of trustees who were now comprised of the majority of Black members, the NSHCC itself, and the staff employed at the NSHCC. The NSHCC was subjected to a multi-layer veil of inferiority. It was a three-prong attack against the Black community – Blacks were incapable of managing their own affairs, the NSHCC’s reputation of a dumping ground, and the racialized attitudes of social workers towards the staff and the children at the NSHCC.

This anti-Black sentiment became normalized by White society and imbedded into cognitive imperialism, especially with respect to Black orphans. Lafferty (2012) puts forward the supposition, “There was little expectation that these children would make their way in the world through academic pursuits” (p. 104). Saunders (1994) produced documents in which a resident of the NSHCC was accepted into university. The resident applied for funding from the province, and a committee met to review the applications. These members immediately denied the resident’s application citing they did not believe that a Black orphan had the intellectual capacity to engage in academic pursuits (Saunders. 1994). Fortunately, Reverend Fairfax was a member of this committee and he forcefully stated that the resident was accepted by the university, and it was not the committee’s role to undermine the university’s criteria of acceptance (Saunders, 1994). Reluctantly, the committee approved the application and granted the resident funding. There are several instances of these types of oppressive practices (see Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012 for a more detailed account).

Summary

Congregate care facilities were used as a regulatory means of social control for orphaned and delinquent children. I have explained the different beliefs and perceptions that society held towards Black and White orphans, first through imperialistic ideologies and later cognitive imperialism. I have connected the shift in economic demands to the establishment of congregate care facilities. Training orphans to be unskilled labourers and domestic workers and to accept their economic-status in life was embedded in the philosophies of all congregate care facilities. Society promulgated the belief that there was something innately inferior about orphans which was a result of their biology. The economic status of their parents was dismissed as a contributing factor for children being placed in orphanages. This was particularly true for Black orphans because society denied the Black population access to certain kinds of employment. If you are prevented from earning wages, how does one expect that you are able to provide and care for your children? There was no expectation that these orphans would rise above their social-economic status of their meager beginnings. Even when Black orphans demonstrated academic talents, the experts such as social workers refused to believe anyone from the NSHCC possessed the intellectual prowess to engage in university studies. These

sentiments, reflect the broader societal beliefs of cognitive imperialism towards the Black community. The Government of Nova Scotia employed concept diffusion to create a political and cultural platform of fearmongering against the Black community.

I have explained how the Halifax Explosion on December 6, 1917, destroyed the first NSHCC. As a result of the Explosion, Halifax underwent a major reconstruction to rebuild a new utopia of Halifax, which excluded Black and First Nation peoples. The HRC was empowered by a federal act to reconstruct Halifax and to provide pensions to those seriously injured as a result of the Explosion. The HRC sent a clear message to the Black Nova Scotian community that the Black community of Africville, the NSHCC and those Blacks seriously injured were denied financial and health services. I have described how the HRC elevated classism, sexism, racism to a whole new understanding; and the HRC created new discriminatory practices. I have discussed the establishment of the NSHCC and how it was situated within the child welfare landscape and the broader societal milieu. I have provided the contextual understanding of the origins of a forced segregated orphanage for Black children, known as the NSHCC. These Black orphans were relegated to the lowest status of the Black community by White society.

In the following chapter, I discuss the conceptualization of institutional child abuse, and how it became understood in the 1990s as a social problem. The prevalence of institutional child abuse stretches across Canada, to the United States, and across continents, including at least 19 countries. I explain institutional child abuse as a global phenomenon and examine the triggering factors which ignited a governmental response. I then focus on institutional child abuse in Canada and examine Nova Scotia's response to this global phenomenon. I investigate the marginalization of the care-leavers by the Government of Nova Scotia that became the driving force for the care-leavers from the NSHCC to pursue social justice. Ernest Blois, the first Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children could never have imagined that these Black orphans would one day proceed with litigation against his Department and the Province of Nova Scotia for what he had created. The care-leavers of the NSHCC would use Blois' own reports, and the reports from his staff to substantiate their claims of systemic, structural and organic racism; and historical institutional child abuse. One cannot understand

the genesis of the NSHCC without an analysis of the formation of the Black community, for they are historically connected and intertwined.

Chapter 7 – The Discovery of Institutional Child Abuse

The care-leavers' struggles for a public inquiry into institutional child abuse at the NSHCC spanned for over 15-years. Daly (2014) suggests that institutional child abuse can be categorized into two classifications. The first classification is historical institutional abuse and the second classification is contemporary institutional abuse. Daly (2014) defers to the literature categorizing institutional child abuse and delineates historical institutional child abuse as:

[dealing] with residential institutions for children in the past, and with adult survivors seeking recognition and redress, whereas, that on contemporary institutional abuse is concerned with mapping the prevalence of sexual abuse in a wide variety of settings and identifying modes of interventions and prevention. (p. 7)

Skold (2016) states that institutional child abuse, “has only in recent decades come to be identified as human rights violations constituting a new branch within the field of restorative or transitional justice” (p. 494). Continuing this supposition, Wright (2017) asserts that, “It has been recognized as a major social problem in many countries” (p. 10). The prevalence of institutional child abuse is global. Skold (2016) explains there are several countries, in which institutional child abuse has been documented and notes, “This, ethically sensitive topic, demanding several cautions from investigators and historians alike, has become the focus of political attention in at least 19 countries, mainly in Europe but also Australia, New Zealand and Canada” (p. 492). This suggests institutional child abuse is a global phenomenon and it transcends nationality, ethnicity, religious denominations and socio-economic class, as Daly (2014) says, “Other inquiries were established in the 1980s and 1990s in England and Wales, Northern Ireland, Canada and Australia” (p. 5).

Lafferty (2012) reports the first public inquiry in Nova Scotia, regarding abuse at a residential facility was at the Halifax Industrial School (distant precursor of the present-day Shelburne Youth Centre) in 1924. “The first sign of serious trouble appeared in the press on 17 October 1924” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 3). Ernest Blois, Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent

Children (the predecessor of the Nova Scotia Department of Community Services) convened a two-week public inquiry. A reporter from the Halifax Citizen, by the name of A.L. Breen, had conducted a covert investigation into the Halifax Industrial School. The headlines in the Halifax Citizen read, “Fiendish Cruelty Practised Upon the Inmates of the Halifax Industrial School” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 3).

This article presented, victim stories and witnesses’ accounts of the pure brutality afflicted upon these boys. Breen describes in details, “a young lad was said to have been so brutally handled that he became insane and was sent to the Nova Scotia Hospital” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 4). Just prior to Breen’s exposé, the Halifax Citizen published an article about three boys sent to the Halifax Industrial School who had contracted a venereal disease, and had to be hospitalized. Lafferty (2012) contends, “The implication of sexual abuse did not generate the reaction that the accusations of harsh discipline incurred” (p.10). Once Breen’s exposé appeared, within two-days Ernest Blois, Superintended of Neglected and Delinquent Children, “had convened a public hearing” (Lafferty, 2012, p. 4). The public inquiry heard testimonies from the current residents, past residents, past and current employees, and from neighbours bearing witness to the violence that these residents were subjected to. Lafferty (2012) believes that Blois for the most part dismissed the allegations, stating these boys could not be trusted. “For Canada, departmental officials thought that much of what the boys said was ‘exaggeration’”, and they were hesitant to believe the boys’ stories (Daly, 2014, p. 9). It should be noted that Blois was a former teacher and later superintended at the Halifax Industrial School prior to his governmental appointment as Superintendent, of Neglected and Delinquent Children of Nova Scotia

Lafferty (2012) suggests, Ernest Blois, the Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children of Nova Scotia was quoted as stating that speaking of matters pertaining to the sexual nature, was not appropriate for public consumption. Morton (2017) agrees with Lafferty (2012) and surmises that, “Cultural factors have also undermined the ability to process this kind of knowledge, particularly norms that prevent talk of sexual matters, which were prevalent in institutions, especially religious organizations, but also society more broadly (p. 112). Lafferty (2012) concludes, she could not find any records suggesting the public inquiry accomplished any remedies or changes to the Halifax Industrial Training School. This was

because as Wright (2017) contends, “It was not until the 1980s that institutional abuse was discovered, that is, conceptualized as a systemic problem that required a societal response” (p. 13).

Daly (2014) asserts that, “Institutional abuse of children was ‘discovered’ in the 1980s [and] [i]t built upon the ‘discovery’ of child physical abuse in the 1960s and the concept of the ‘battered child syndrome’” (p. 8). Extending the argument, Wright (2017) suggests, “Yet, as in other countries, institutional child abuse was not conceptualized as a systemic problem until the 1990s” (p. 14). Daly (2014) proposes, “The social problem of institutional abuse of children is not self-evident: it depends on what is defined as ‘institutional’ and as ‘abuse’” (p. 6). New understandings of childhood began to emerge resulting from, The League of Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924 and later with the 1959 UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, to be followed by a UN Resolution proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of the Child (Wright, 2017). With these proclamations, new concepts emerged of what constituted maltreatment and the conceptualization of child abuse. Daly (2014) postulates, “New concepts of physical and sexual abuse, introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, facilitated the ability for parents or family members, residential staff, social workers, and medical staff to ‘see’ institutional abuse in the 1980s” (p. 9). Wright (2017) extends the debate suggesting, “This was followed by concept diffusion in the 1980s which saw knowledge of the issue spread and gain public attention” (p. 13). Feminism provided the language and, “second-wave feminism brought sexual victimization of children and women to the public attention” (Daly, 2014, p. 8). The feminist theory has evolved in different waves. Taber and Gouthro (2006) assert that:

During the first wave, the emphasis was on attaining basic equality and recognition as citizens through the women’s suffrage movement. During the 1960s and 1970s, the second wave feminism emerged as a collective movement in which women began to advocate for women’s issues. (p. 62)

The second wave feminists gave voice to domestic violence, violence against women and children, including physical and sexual abuse. Daly (2014) believes that, “It is also a consequence of an increased focus on sexual victimization of children in non-family settings” (p. 6), that ignited public attention and outrage. Daly (2014) continues to argue that, “The

reasons for the shift are four-fold: (1) changing concepts of childhood; (2) new concepts that facilitated, 'seeing' abuse; (3) celebrated media cases of clergy sexual abuse, and (4) a 'sexual turn' in the institutional abuse story" (p. 9). Wright (2017) believes, "These cultural shifts facilitated and reflected the increased questioning of institutional power and the recognition of abusive authority" (p. 13). Daly (2014) postulates:

For Canada, this occurred in 1982 with estimates of prevalence in Toronto, which were re-estimated in the Badgley Report (1984). The estimates were not solely of sexual abuse of children in institutions, but sexual abuse of children and youth more generally in Canada. (p. 9)

The Establishment of Inquiries

Daly (2014) articulates, "Since 2000, many more national inquiries, redress schemes, and related responses have been launched or completed in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, and the US" (p. 5). In Australia alone, there have been 17 inquiries pertaining to institutional child abuse and out-of-home-care settings. Skold (2016) asserts that, "comparison is a useful method for highlighting" (p. 495), government responses, types of inquiries and victims' testimonies. Given this transnational analysis, it suggests that institutional child abuse is a global phenomenon. Skold (2016) continues to state, "despite country of origin, context of care or method of inquiry, the victims' testimonies as published in the reports are quite similar" (p. 495). Appendix A, depicts the triggering factors for government responses regarding allegations of institutional abuse of children, youth in congregate care facilities and out-of-family settings. This is a very small sample, but it is indicative of the prevalence of institutional child abuse. The research findings indicate regardless of country, policies, ethnicity and a host of other variables, the findings were similar and pervasive. Surmounting the debate, Wright (2017) puts forward evidence suggesting, "In residential 'care' facilities, inquiry after inquiry has found that care did not meet either the legal or professional standards of the day, that physical and sexual abuse was common, and that neglect and psychological and emotional abuse were pervasive" (p; 16).

According to Daly (2014) the triggering factors for a government response to hold a public inquiry were victim stories, media coverage and political campaigns. There appears to be similarities between the Child Migrants of Australia and the Residential Indian Schools in Canada. The most striking observation is that Child Migrants were children who were taken from Britain and sent overseas without their parents' knowledge or consent. Daly (2014) asserts that, "there is a moral claim of a policy practice against children, which was committed by government or church entities (or both)" (p. 14). There was a policy agreement between Britain and Australia which permitted the removal of British children from their families to populate Western Australia. Continuing the debate, Daly (2014) reveals:

For Child Migrants, the British and Australian Governments established a policy in 1912 to transport British children to Australia. The rationale pre-World War II was rural development, and after the war, population growth. An estimated 7,000 children were sent to Australia from the UK, and 310 sent from Malta. (p. 14)

Regarding, First Nation children, the federal government of Canada developed assimilation policies which required the removal of First Nation children from their homes and communities, placing them in residential schools for the sole purpose of obliterating their culture and language. Lafferty (2012) states there were, "Deliberate attempts by governments to perpetuate cultural genocide" (p. 249). Kaufman (2002c) suggests that:

In 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples ('RCAP') released its Report, entitled *Gathering Strength – Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*. The report contained personal accounts from aboriginal people who had suffered from sexual and physical abuse while at residential schools. It also documented the far-reaching impact of the abuse. In January 1998, as part of its response to the Report, the Government of Canada issues a Statement of Reconciliation. (p. 379)

Besides residential schools, Lafferty (2012) believes, "Between 1960 and 1990, an estimated 11,000 Aboriginal children were thus adopted, and over 90 percent of them were placed with white families, away from their Native reserves and communities" (p. 149). I argue that no amount of healing can redress cultural genocide. Lafferty (2012) posits that, "Children are the most important source of a cultural promise and survival" (p. 249). Once genocide has occurred, the best one can do, is to reclaim one's cultural identity in the face of the obliteration

of a cultural memory and of a people. The Government of Canada provided a community healing fund worth 350 million, which Kaufman (2002c) surmises was, “to be administered by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation” (p. 379). This was not a compensation redress program for individual victims of the residential schools.

Skold (2016) asserts that, “The reports from these inquiries form new kinds of history narratives about childhood in general and out-of-home care in particular” (p. 493). This begs the question, will the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry form new types of knowledge, new historical narratives? Wright (2017) states that:

Historical context shapes the form, functions, and foci of an inquiry. They are, therefore, an important prism on societies over time. Inquiries reflect issues of contemporary concern and their reports can shape public discussion and national histories. Some inquiries also reflect transnational histories, for example, by documenting child migrant schemes between Britain and Australia... or through connections between investigations across jurisdictions. (p. 12)

Nova Scotia’s Institutional Child Abuse Stories

The Government of Nova Scotia was confronted with criminal convictions of some of its former employees at its government operated residential facilities. There were still criminal proceedings pending in the courts with other employees facing pending criminal charges and mounting civil litigations by care-leavers. Amidst the criminal convictions were public outcries of interdepartmental misconduct, government cover-ups and collusion between the government and the police resulting in botched police investigations. Kaufman (2002b) states that, “The investigation was to be directed by a person completely independent from the Government of Nova Scotia, given, “... ‘the allegations of misconduct against Government officials’ ...” (p. 42). Appendix C depicts the criminal charges and convictions of former government employees in the Nova Scotia institutional child abuse scandal. The public had lost faith in the Nova Scotia government, and rightfully so. I present one case in which the government was aware of sexual misconduct committed by their employee, and did not take the appropriate measures to protect the children under their care.

The case involves a counsellor at the Shelburne School for Boys [the predecessor of the Shelburne Youth Centre]. In the 1960s, a male youth at this facility reported that a counsellor by the name of Patrick MacDougall repeatedly sexually violated him. According to Stratton (1995) and Kaufman (2012), the resident reported this to the superintendent, the staff psychologist and his probation officer but no one believed him. “Two counsellors remembered receiving a complaint in 1975 of sexual abuse by MacDougall” (Kaufman, 2012a, p. 26). When MacDougall was finally confronted in 1975 by the Superintendent, Stratton (1995) states that MacDougall did not deny the accusations so the Superintendent dismissed MacDougall on the spot, only to discover later, a meeting was held at the Deputy Minister’s office on May 26, 1975 (Stratton, 1995; Kaufman, 2002). This meeting was attended by, “the Administrator of Family and Children’s Services (D.C.S.3), the Director of Special Protection Services (D.C.S.6), and the Director of Field Services (D.C.S.2)” and the Deputy Minister (Stratton, 1995, p. 32). At this meeting a decision was made to transfer MacDougall to the Children’s Training Centre in Sydney. He was offered the position of night watchman. The Superintendent became aware of this, “when he was advised by the School’s business manager not only that MacDougall was working at the Sydney C.T.C., but also that his salary was being charged to the Shelburne School” (Stratton, 1995, pp. 30-31). The Department of Community Services paid for the cost of his relocation. MacDougall received the same salary as a counsellor at the Shelburne School until his retirement in 1983 (Stratton, 1995; Kaufman, 2002). In 1994, MacDougall was convicted of several sexual assault charges and was sentenced to 11 years in prison (Stratton, 1994; Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2002).

Originally, the independent investigation was just to scrutinized the Shelburne Youth Centre with an estimated cost of \$75,000. However, with the mounting public pressure, criminal convictions of former provincial employees, and more and more care-leavers escalating allegations of abuse, the investigation was expanded to include 5 government operated institutions. The NSHCC was excluded from the independent investigation. As Premier MacNeil states, the NSHCC was not the government’s business. The Government of Nova Scotia also included the investigation of one of its former employees, by the name of Cesar Lalo. Media reports began to circulate that Lalo was sexually abusing boys. Lalo’s first conviction of sexual assaults against boys was in 1993, and more convictions were to follow (see appendix c). In light of the growing public concerns and outraged, this prompted the

Government of Nova Scotia to adopt a three-prong approach in response to institutional child abuse at five of its government operated residential facilities.

The Government of Nova Scotia's Three-Pronged Approach to Institutional Child Abuse

The government's first step of the three-prong approach was to appoint an auditor to conduct an independent investigation, "of the current practices at the Shelburne Youth Centre and other young offender institutions operated by Justice" (Kaufman, 2012b, p. 42). The appointment of an independent auditor was to ensure the residents, their families and the public that their children in care were safe. This audit was a three-month review and would produce a public report. "To demonstrate the government's accountability in this process, the Minister undertook to make the results of the audit public" (Kaufman, 2002a, p. 42). It was at an estimated cost to the taxpayers of \$36,000 (Kaufman, 2002). Ms. Vicki Samuels-Stewart produced the audit report in March, 1995.

The second step in the government's three-pronged approach was the appointment of an independent investigator. "The investigation was to be directed by a person completely independent from the Government of Nova Scotia, given, "... 'the allegations of misconduct against Government officials'..." (Kaufman, 2002b, p. 42). The Government believed that in order to regain public trust, the person appointed must be perceived as a neutral third party. Kaufman (2002b) writes, "On December 1, 1994, the Minister of Justice announced that the former Chief Justice of New Brunswick, the Honourable Stuart, G. Stratton, Q.C., had agreed to undertake the independent investigation announced in November" (p. 45). The report was expected to be completed within eight months. "The government wanted to provide those who had been gravely injured the opportunity to tell their stories without a public spectacle that would re-victimize them" (Kaufman, 2012b, p. 43). This is totally contrary to forcing the care-leavers from the NSHCC to litigate and tell their stories through the courts, thereby creating a public spectacle! The estimate cost to the taxpayers, for the independent investigation was now, at an estimated cost of \$140,000 (Kaufman, 2002).

If Mr. Justice Stratton found that abuse had occurred then the Government of Nova Scotia would implement the third and final step of its three-pronged approach and that was the

Compensation Package for the victims of institutional child abuse at the five institutions. Kaufman (2002b) states that, “The third step was to be the offer of compensation to victims through the alternative dispute resolution [ADR] process if liability was revealed through the investigation” (p. 43). The Government of Nova Scotia believed that the ADR was a faster and fairer process for the care-leavers and it protected the victims’ rights to privacy (Stratton, 1995; Shea, 1999; and Kaufman, 2002). But the Government of Nova Scotia did not demonstrate this kind of compassion and sensitivity towards the care-leavers from the NSHCC? And when the care-leavers filed class-action suits against the Province of Nova Scotia beginning in 1991, the government spent the tax-payers’ money trying to decertify the pending litigations. Taylor expresses that:

In fact, much of the litigation involved the Home’s [NSHCC] and the Province’s repeated applications to the court to block proceedings and dismiss the claims of residents on the basis that they should have come forward with their allegations sooner. (p. 59)

Mr. Justice Stratton concluded that institutional child abuse had occurred in three of the government operated residential facilities. Kaufman (2002b) posits, “A total of 69 former residents of the school provided statements to the Stratton investigation detailing 205 incidents of physical abuse and 103 incidents of sexual abuse (p. 88). Stratton (1995) recommended in his investigative report that the Government of Nova Scotia proceed to the third and final step of the three-pronged approach and that was the Compensation Package for care-leavers from the three residential facilities.

In response to the allegations of sexual and physical abuse against current employees, the Nova Scotia Department of Justice established the Internal Investigation Unit (IIU), to determine if any disciplinary measures were necessary with its employees. Kaufman (2002b) asserts that, “A total of 19 counsellors were named as sexual abusers. Two were named by more than one complainant” (p. 89). Because of the findings in the Stratton Report, “The RCMP established Operation Hope for the purposes of laying criminal charges against former and current government employees. However, the RCMP did not implement due process since as Kaufman (2002c) notes that the RCMP practice as it relates to this matter was, “formally arresting suspects before interviewing them, even though charges might never be laid” (p. 295).

This is a violation of due process which offends the rule of law resulting in the victimization of innocent government employees.

And yet, the RCMP chose not to conduct a criminal investigation into the alleged perpetrators of criminal acts at the NSHCC. This is unacceptable but predictable given the power of cognitive imperialism and the continual oppressive tactics used by the Province of Nova Scotia to reproduce the social order of exclusion and anti-Black sentiment. Hoare and Gorman (2014, June 4) write in response to the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry that:

A care-leaver said, “The alleged abusers will be exposed as ‘true monsters’, something the RCMP wasn’t able to facilitate when it said in late 2012 that investigators didn’t have enough evidence to launch a criminal probe. Some 40 residents went to detachments across Canada that year to lay criminal complaints. (p. A1)

Alternative Dispute Resolution Process (ADR)

In a joint press release of claimants’ (claimants are care-leavers participating in the ADR process) lawyers and government officials, the Minister announced the ADR. This government response will fly by the wayside when dealing with care-leavers of the NSHCC. The joint press release states:

Mr. Justice Stratton’s investigation was just what the Government had hoped it would be – far-reaching, exhaustive, and respectful of the right to privacy of the victims. His findings although not a total surprise, given the allegations and events at similar institutions in other jurisdictions – nevertheless, were shocking. There is no question that former residents of three provincially-operated institutions – the Nova Scotia School for Boys, the Nova Scotia School for Girls and the Nova Scotia Youth Training Centre - were victims of abuse at the hands of some of the people entrusted with their care. It is the opinion of the Government that the province of Nova Scotia has a special obligation – a moral responsibility – to the men and women who, as children, suffered abuse while in the care of publicly-operated institutions. The process I am announcing today cannot undue past wrongs. Rather,

it is intended to help victims recover and rebuild lives that were damaged by the abhorrent and heinous acts of a few people, who grossly betrayed the trust they were given. The province undertook an innovative process in investigating these incidents. It was a process that first and foremost respected the rights of those individuals, who had suffered. It respected their right to be heard, and their right to privacy. (Kaufman, 2002b, pp. 112-113)

I am somewhat dismayed at the hypocrisy and the bigotry that the Government blatantly engaged in towards the care-leavers from the NSHCC. The Government wanted to protect the rights, dignity and privacy of claimants while simultaneously robbing the care-leavers from the NSHCC of their personhood and violating their human rights! This again, is another example of the atrocities that the care-leavers from the NSHCC were subjected to. As Freire (1993) believes it is an oppressive tactic to engage in ongoing violence against the oppressed—the marginalized.

For all the Government's pomp and circumstance at the press conference when announcing the ADR, the implementation of the ADR process was disastrous for all those involved. The IIU staff was overwhelmed with the workload. And when the IIU discovered that there were claimants who made fraudulent allegations, there was a tidal wave which, took a 360-degree course reversal, from care-leavers being perceived as innocent children of institutional child abuse, to claimants with unsavoury and questionable character determined to defraud the government and by extension the lawyers representing the claimants. Kaufman (2002c) agrees with Shea (1999) and states that:

The IIU suggested that the best evidence of collusion lay in the statements of claimants who made allegations against employees at SYC [Shelburne Youth Centre] when records indicated either that the claimants never attended the institution or that the named employees did not work at the institution when the claimants did attend there. (p. 324)

According to Kaufman (2002), now the IIU was investigating the claimants themselves, who made allegations of institutional child abuse. Kaufman (2002) clearly states, the IIU went as far, as requesting claimants to take a polygraph test. The ADR process was a fiasco. The fundamental problem with the ADR process was, that the Government of Nova Scotia did not

have the human resources to process all the claims. Nova Scotia has a history of inaction and botched investigations relating to institutions for children and youth. A clear example is the inquiry into institutional child abuse at the Halifax Industrial Training School for Boys in which Lafferty (2012) states no action was taken.

The Investigation by the Honourable Chief Justice Kaufman

In response to the criticism of the Program, “by current and former employees who feel that their reputations have been tarnished; by claimants who believe changes made to the Program are too restrictive; and by citizens concerned about the cost and other aspects of the program” (Kaufman, 2012b, p. 2), the Government ordered an independent investigation of the Program. But what about the care-leavers from the NSHCC who filed litigations beginning in 1991 and began speaking publicly in 1998, of the historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC, when as children they resided at the NSHCC? One of the major problems with the ADR process was that there were no contemporaneous records and/or collaborative evidence to substantiate claimants’ allegations of institutional child abuse. This was not the case for the care-leavers from the NSHCC, there were contemporaneous official reports dating back to 1924 outlining the regime of care, which was itself institutional child abuse (Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015; P.C., with Ray Wagner, May 14, 2018). The ADR was so flawed that the Government, “appointed the Honourable Chief Justice Kaufman on November 26, 1999 to conduct an independent review of the Government response to reports of institutional abuse in Nova Scotia” (Kaufman, 2002b, p. 2).

Kaufman (2002b) believes, “When the government agreed to a Compensation Program in May 1996, it presumed that there would be approximately 500 claims of abuse” (p. 215). Instead, the Government of Nova Scotia found itself dealing with 20 different lawyers representing over 1200 claimants (Shea, 1999; Kaufman, 2012). According to Kaufman (2002c), “In Nova Scotia, the Government was unsuccessful in persuading the many claimant lawyers that the preferable course was to facilitate a claimant advocacy group, itself represented by counsel” (p. 473). Kaufman (2002b) states that, “On August 11, 1995, a group of lawyers, representing 65 claimants, rejected the Government’s offer to negotiate with a *single* lawyer representing an advocacy group of claimants” (p. 117). The Government was

inundated with claimants' files, and Demands seeking compensation. "Furthermore, the number of Demands and notices by claimants that they intended to make Demands made it impossible to effectively administer the Program with the resources that they had been allocated to it" (Kaufman, 2002b, p. 213). Kaufman (2002) believes this resulted in a ruinous process. Meanwhile, the care-leavers from the NSHCC remained on the out-shirks of citizenship looking in. The investigation by the Honourable Chief Justice Kaufman took over 2.5 years, and I suspect, costing the taxpayers well over a million dollars. The Kaufman Report comprised three separate documents, totalling nearly 700 pages. There is no acknowledgement from Kaufman (2002) that the government was facing another avalanche of allegations and that there were pending litigations filed by the care-leavers from the NSHCC against the Province of Nova Scotia.

Kaufman (2002c) concludes, "there needs to be an assurance that justice has been done; that victims have been fairly treated through a process which is seen as fair and impartial" (p. 517). And Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman concludes with justice! Justice for who? While Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman was investigating the ADR process, and reviewing all aspects of the Compensation Program, the care-leavers of the NSHCC were still waging a battle with the Government of Nova Scotia to be acknowledged. In fact, in 2001 and 2002, legal proceedings against the Government and the NSHCC were making their way through the courts (Taylor, 2015). "At every opportunity, the Government aggressively attempted to have the matter dismissed" (P.C. Ray Wagner, May 14, 2018). Once Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman completed his report, and it became public, the Government of Nova Scotia did not implement the recommendations as it pertains to the care-leavers from the NSHCC. What about the legal and moral obligation of the Government, and the Blueprint for the Future with its 105 recommendations that the Government had paid by my estimation, including the audit and the report by Stratton (1995) and Kaufman (2002) over 1.5 million dollars of taxpayers' money? I argue in this thesis, that the government's response to the care-leavers' demands for an inquiry is just an example of the postcolonial relationship that the Nova Scotia government has been cultivating, since the arrival of Blacks in Nova Scotia, and the residual effects of cognitive imperialism. Premier MacNeil states it quite simply as, the governments believed the care-leavers from the NSHC, "wasn't their business" (Gorman, 2014, October 11, p. A4). This is a

very powerful statement and speaks to how the Black Nova Scotian Community was positioned on the margins of society.

Nova Scotia's Response to the Care-leavers from the NSHCC: Silence...

When the first care-leaver from the NSHCC shared publicly his victim story in 1998, Canada as well as other countries were well aware of institutional child abuse, in particular historical institutional child abuse. Actually, the Province of Nova Scotia was at the end of the compensation program for care-leavers of three of its provincially operated residential institutions. So why did the Government of Nova Scotia not investigate the allegations of institutional child abuse claimed by the care-leavers from the NSHCC, when they began to publicly surface, commencing with litigation in 1991 and later in 1998 when the care-leavers began to develop a political platform taking their allegations of institutional child abuse into the public arena. Clearly the recommendations from the Stratton (1995); and later Kaufman (2002) suggest that the Province of Nova Scotia has a moral and a legal obligation to the care-leavers from the NSHCC to investigate allegations into historical institutional child abuse. From these reports, the Government of Nova Scotia was informed of the contributing factors leading to institutional abuse. These contributing factors were severe lack of funding, which triggered institutions hiring unqualified staff, lack of firm policies and lack of resources. This was the case for the NSHCC. I have discussed these factors leading to institutional child abuse at the NSHCC in chapter 6, which the Government of Nova Scotia created. The numerous reports written by provincial employees regarding institutional child abuse at the NSHCC are well documented.

These reports, and the Government of Nova Scotia's treatment of the NSHCC created an environment, which would produce institutional child abuse. Of all the congregate care facilities for children and youth in Nova Scotia, the NSHCC had a higher probability that institutional child abuse occurred. One need only to review the reports by Stratton (1995) and Kaufman (2002). Both Stratton (1995) and Kaufman (2012) speak about the participating factors leading to institutional child abuse. All of these factors were present in the NSHCC; factors, which the Government of Nova Scotia created and perpetuated. Pretending that the

care-leavers from the NSHCC were invisible, did not distract the determination of the care-leavers from the NSHCC to continue their political platform.

Just as the Black population was relegated to the periphery of society, thus wavering on the eclipse of citizenship, the NSHCC was consigned to the outskirts of the child welfare landscape. As the forced marginalization continued, there would be a shift in mentality regarding the *best interest* of the child from congregate care, to group homes and foster care. In conjunction, there was a societal shift from the segregation of the Black population to desegregation. In 1994, Saunders wrote a book about the NSHCC. Perhaps this was the catalysts that ignited the determination of a few care-leavers from the NSHCC to speak publicly about the institutional child abuse, they suffered when as children, they resided at the NSHCC. To read Saunders' (1994) depiction of the care provided by the NSHCC to its residents, as loving, supportive, and nurturing must have infuriated some of the care-leavers from the NSHCC. Within the Black community, we knew that the NSHCC held dark terrifying secrets. Many care-leavers privately spoke about the horror they experience as residents of the NSHCC, to family and friends. The NSHCC was used as a disciplinary measure within the Black community when children were misbehaving. Quite often children were told—"if you keep acting up, you are going to the Home". Taylor (2015) confirms this when she writes:

Still, incidents at the Home [NSHCC] became so well [-] known and so often spoken about that people in the community would use them to make idle threats to their kids. When their children misbehaved, parents would say, 'If you keep acting out, I will put you in the Home'. (p. 47)

In 1998, a care-leaver was interviewed by a reporter from the Chronicle Herald. When the care-leaver was asked about the NSHCC, the care-leaver spoke about the institutional child abuse which had occurred. This became a first step among many, and it would take the care-leavers from the NSHCC, on a 15-year learning journey to achieve social justice. Why did the Government of Nova Scotia not appoint someone to investigate the allegations of institutional child abuse by the care-leavers from the NSHCC? The Government of Nova Scotia had appointed Mr. Justice Stratton to investigate allegations of institutional child abuse at five of its government operated institutions. Why did the government not include the NSHCC as part of Stratton's investigation? And when the Cesar Lalo case became public, they requested

Mr. Justice Stratton to include this case as part of his investigation. In 1999, Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman was appointed by the Minister of Justice to evaluate the government's response to institutional child abuse at five of its government operated residential facilities. During the same time, care-leavers from the NSHCC were gathering media attention. The Government of Nova Scotia could have requested, Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman to include an exploratory assessment regarding the allegations being made by the care-leavers from the NSHCC. But they ignored these care-leavers, just as they ignored Africville, Turtle Grove and those Blacks and First Nation Peoples injured in the Halifax Explosion.

The care-leavers of the NSHCC's struggles for the Government of Nova Scotia to respond to their allegations of historical institutional child abuse remains a prime example of how the Province of Nova Scotia relegates the Black community to the margins of society, and its continuous perpetuation of anti-Black sentiment. There are contemporaneous reports dating back to 1924 by provincial employees of Nova Scotia, expressing concerns regarding the care or lack thereof, which residents at the NSHCC were receiving. Taylor (2015) postulates, "Numerous records indicate the Province was aware of issues and complaints regarding the Home [NSHCC] but did not act upon them and, as a result, neglected to protect the wards in its care" (p. 43). I am reminded of Premier MacNeil stating, the governments did not think the allegations of institutional child abuse made by the care-leavers from the NSHCC was their business. Gorman (2014, October 11) reports, "McNeil said previous governments put off addressing the residents' concerns, suggesting it wasn't their problem" (p. A4).

The Government of Nova Scotia ignored their moral and legal obligation to investigate institutional child abuse at the NSHCC. Numerous articles were published in the local, provincial and national newspapers, beginning in 1998. A documentary was aired on national TV in 2012 entitled, *Throwaway Children* by the journalist Victor Malarek. According to Daly (2014), "a social problem must be strange, disturbing and noticed" (p. 9). The care-leavers allegations of historical institutional child abuse at the NSHCC were characterized by observability. That is to say, based upon Daly's (2014) supposition, "There was 'observability' with media stories and a sense of 'widespread prevalence'" (p. 9). And there were victim stories. Here again, Daly (2014) argues media stories, "must have a 'quantifiable element' and be newsworthy as well" (p. 9). All of these components were present, compelling the reader or

viewer to take pause of the numerous allegations of institutional child abuse at the NSHCC, and the endless number of victims stretching for more than five generations.

However, the Government of Nova Scotia did not respond to the care-leavers' political and cultural platforms. I argue, that it was because there was limited public outrage, and there were no widespread public demands for an investigation into allegations of institutional child abuse at the NSHCC. Black Nova Scotians were positioned on the margins of Nova Scotian society. The Government, therefore, simply ignored the endless media coverage, the petitions and the protests. Nova Scotia's lack of response to the care-leavers from the NSHCC challenges Daly (2014), Skold (2016) and Wright's (2017) assertions that political and cultural platforms force governments to respond to institutional child abuse. Perhaps these scholars did not factor into their equation, cognitive imperialism! Doucette (2014, October 10) reports Premier MacNeil stating, "It is one of the great tragedies in our province's history that your cries for help were greeted with silence for so long, MacNeil said" (np). The Government of Nova Scotia engaged in a response of silence, treating the care-leavers of the NSHCC as invisible and as non-Canadian citizens. But how could the Government of Nova Scotia ignore the report by Mr. Justice Stratton in 1995; and later in 2002, the report by Mr. Chief Justice Kaufman? As I mentioned earlier, when it came to the care-leavers from the NSHCC, the Government thought their resources was better spent, "in repeated applications to the court to block proceedings and dismiss the claims" (Taylor, 2015, p. 59). It would take a provincial election in 2013; and a transfer of power from the New Democratic Party (NDP) to the Liberal Party, and Stephen McNeil as Premier of Nova Scotia to uphold Nova Scotia's legal and moral responsibility to the care-leavers of the NSHCC.

Summary

Institutional child abuse is a global phenomenon. Its prevalence transcends countries, nationality, religious afflictions and cultural make-up. Scholars researching this phenomenon conclude their findings are consistent, and suggest institutional child abuse appears to be the very nature of congregate care facilities. Institutional child abuse is a result of several underlying factors all related to lack of funding. This lack of funding underscores orphanages not meeting the child care standards, from the physicality of the facility, to lack of

firm policy, to staff-resident ration, to unqualified staff, to lack of professional development for employees, to other inadequacies. The most disturbing aspects of institutional child abuse are the human rights violations committed against children.

In this chapter, I have provided samples of the global prevalence of institutional child abuse. and I have discussed Canada and several other countries' responses to institutional abuse. I have demonstrated the triggering factors which led governments to respond to care-leavers' allegations of institutional child abuse and out-of-home care settings for children. In all cases, care-leavers launched cultural and political platforms which forced the governments to respond to institutional child abuse. The governments' response was unusually in the form of an inquiry or an investigation. Except in the case of the care-leavers from the NSHCC. I assert that this is because of cognitive imperialism. The care-leavers from the NSHCC demands for an inquiry were meant with silence from the Government of Nova Scotia. This is surprising since the province had spent over \$1.5 million dollars on investigations into institutional child abuse outlining the response government should follow.

I have demonstrated the Government of Nova Scotia's response to the care-leavers' allegations of institutional child abuse from three of its government operated residential facilities. The ADR process was a disaster for the care-leavers, for their government employees both former and current, and also the public. The problem with the ADR process was that the government miscalculated the number of claimants submitting Demands. It was impossible with the limited human resources to process these claims, which was over 12 hundred and counting. There is indication that the employees responsible for the ADR process were overwhelmed with the workload that included the validation process of claimants' allegations. In most cases, these employees were not able to validate the claimants' allegations because there were no contemporaneous records. This led to these employees developing resentment towards the claimants and against the claimants' lawyers. Both Stratton (1995) and Kaufman (2002) clearly state the government's responsibility regarding institutional child abuse. From the ADR process, which was a fiasco, in the end, only one claimant was criminally charged with fraud.

However, in the case of the care-leavers from the NSHCC, there were contemporaneous records dating back to 1924 and onward. Premier McNeil quite frankly stated

that previous governments believed that care-leavers from the NSHCC was not their business. These care-leavers from the NSHCC are Canadian citizens and are taxpayers of the Province of Nova Scotia; and this was not the business of the government! This differential treatment the care-leavers of the NSHCC received from the government exemplifies how the marginalization of the Black Nova Scotian Community continues in the modern era. The treatment by the Province of Nova Scotia towards the care-leavers from the NSHCC, as not quite full citizens, even though the Black Nova Scotian community is one of the charter groups of Canada. This establishment treatment, I argue in this thesis, is dismissive and once again, Black Nova Scotians are treated as invisible. This, I suggest is parallel to how the Halifax Relief Commission treated the Black community of Africville and the Black people of Halifax, during the reconstruction of Halifax city. Blacks simply do not exist!

Under the leadership of Premier McNeil, the Liberal government granted recognition and social justice to the care-leavers in 2014. In 2015, the Premier McNeil announced the Restorative Inquiry. The Restorative Inquiry has as one of its remits to address institutional and systemic racism. Scholars such as Daly (2014), Skold (2016) and Wright (2017) believe this type of inquiry has the capacity to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. In the following chapter, I discuss the remits of the Restorative Inquiry.

Chapter 8– The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children Restorative Inquiry (RI)

Fourteen years in the courts, interviews, affidavits, applications and an intense shame that loomed for decades ended Monday after a Supreme Court judge finalized a \$29-million settlement in the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children case. The class action became moot after the McNeil-led Liberals and the residents' lawyers arrived at an agreement last month, but that required formal court approval. (Hoare and Fairclough, 2014, July 8, p. A1)

I assert that Premier McNeil initiated the settlement agreement and the public apology because the Government of Nova Scotia had sufficient evidence in its possession, from the numerous contemporaneous reports written by provincial employees regarding the regime of care and the allegations of abuse dating back to 1924 at the NSHCC. In the previous chapter, I have provided evidence that the Government of Nova Scotia was aware of institutional child abuse occurring at the NSHCC but chose to ignore it. Premier McNeil acknowledges this, when he states, previous governments put off addressing the resident's concerns, suggesting it wasn't their problem" (Gorman, 2014, October 11, p. A4). I believe that Premier McNeil was also responsible for the settlement agreement between the care-leavers from the NSHCC and the NSHCC. This settlement agreement was in the amount of five million and the settlement agreement was announced in 2013. Tutton (2013, February 14) reports, "The class-action involves about 140 former residents who alleged abuse at the home over a 50-year period up until the 1980s" (p. A4). The care-leavers of the NSHCC achieved two settlement agreements totaling 34 million. The Ujima Design Team (2015) states:

In the apology, the Premier acknowledged that the experience of the NSHCC was connected to the history of systemic and institutionalized racism against African Nova Scotians indigenous to Nova Scotia. He committed to a public inquiry process that would seek to understand the experience of the NSHCC in the context of systemic and institutionalized racism in Nova Scotia. (p. 2)

The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children Restorative Inquiry (NSHCC Restorative Inquiry), "uses processes grounded in restorative principles" (Council of Parties, 2018, p. 4). It

is a process with the aim of reducing harm and building relationships. “Restorative practices are a social science that studies how to build social capital and achieve social discipline through participatory learning and decision-making” (McCold and Wachtel, 2013, p.2). Building social capital for the Black Nova Scotian community is reconfiguring postcolonial relationships. The website for the NSHCC Restorative Inquiry states that, “The Restorative Inquiry has examined the past with a focus on future solutions: not only preventing any more harm, but making meaningful changes that will help us treat each other more justly and equitably in the future” (<https://restorativeinquiry.ca/restorative-inquiry>).

The NSHCC Restorative Inquiry (RI) was established in 2015 and has as one of its remits, a redress program. Ujima Design Team (2015) explains, “The settlement included a common experience payment available to all those who were proven former residents of the NSHCC. It also provided further compensation for those who suffered harms from abuse beyond the common experience” (p. 1).

All care-leavers from the NSHCC beginning in 1921 to the 1980s will be entitled to a financial settlement for common experience and the amount of their financial settlement depends on the length of their residency at the NSHCC. Those care-leavers alleging institutional child abuse will be assessed and appropriate financial compensation rendered to them. (Hoare and Gorman, 2014a, June 4)

The RI is functioning similar to a Royal Commission since it has the power to compel witness testimonies, and subpoena documents. The Ujima Design Team (2015) reports, “The Council of Parties will utilize all existing relationships and connections to seek voluntary participation. It will issue summons only in situations where it is not otherwise possible to gain information or participation from individuals and/or organizations” (pp. 18-19).

The remits of the RI among other things, are investigating the policies, government failures and the practices which allowed government officials to turn a blind eye to the abuses spanning decades within the NSHCC. Does the RI have the capacity to reconfigure postcolonial relationship between the Black Nova Scotian community and the Province of Nova Scotia? The RI acknowledges, “the depth and strength of cultural knowledge, traditions and leadership of African Nova Scotians as one of Nova Scotia’s founding peoples” (Ujima Design Team, 2015, p. 3). The terms of reference and the mandate of the RI is connecting the historical institutional

child abuse at the NSHCC, to the broader societal issues. According to Daly (2014) and Wright (2017), the RI has the capacity to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. Wright (2017) believes reconfiguring postcolonial relationships, academic discourse and the production of new forms of knowledge, is the power of these types of inquiries. What impact will the RI have in developing policy, establishing facts and shaping public discussion? The following is the remits of the RI. The Ujima Design Team (2015, p. 2) states the remits of the RI are to:

- a) Examine the experience of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children (NSHCC) as part of the history and legacy of systemic and institutionalized racist, both historic and current, in Nova Scotia.
- b) Examine and seek to understand the experiences of former residents within the NSHCC and the legacy and impact of these experiences for former residents, their families and communities.
- c) Examine the experience of former residents within the NSHCC for what they might reveal about issues of institutional child abuse and prevention and protection in future.
- d) Inquire into how the history and legacy of the NSHCC has impacted not only African Nova Scotian communities but all peoples in Nova Scotia and consider how to address the harmful history and legacy of anti-Black racism in the Province of Nova Scotia.
- e) Empower those involved in, and affected by, the history and legacy of the NSHCC to learn about what happened and the contexts, causes, circumstances and ongoing legacy of the harms related to the NSHCC.
- f) Examine the role and contribution of various systems, sectors, and institutions in the harmful history and legacy of the NSHCC, including, for example: education, justice, health and community services.

As I review the remits of the RI, it suggests to me that, the Government of Nova Scotia, is attempting to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. Throughout the document produced by the Ujima Design Team (2015), the central focus is relationship building, inclusivity, cultural responsiveness of the Nova Scotian Black community, knowledge production, creating new understandings, and the educative function of this RI. The Ujima Design Team insists that:

The RI must foster collective ownership and shared responsibility and decision making. While not every process will be held in public or open to everyone who wishes to participate, every process will consider how to ensure the knowledge and learning gained therein is accessible to the broader public. The overall work of the RI must be done in the public interest and for public benefit. The RI process involves three stages of activity: Gathering Knowledge [,] Analysing (Making Sense Of) Knowledge [and] Outcome – Acting On Knowledge. The RI process also involves three elements of work related to its overall objectives: Relationship Building [,] Learning And Understanding [,] Planning And Action. (pp. 8-9)

I am curious to learn: How will the RI address the education system? Will the RI examine the lifelong learning strategies for Black Nova Scotian learners? I am interested in the processes that will be employed to correct these historical wrongs. I am also curious, if the RI will use concept diffusion as an educative mechanism to create new understandings, new relationship building between the Black Nova Scotian community and society at large. How else, can these social and cultural shifts occur? Morton (2017) believes social and cultural shifts is a process and entails challenging previous knowledge and beliefs. These social and cultural shifts require, “changes in awareness, understanding, and attitudes are all necessary for policy or practice change to occur” (Morton, 2017, p.112). It requires as Battiste (2013) postulates, engaging in the process of decolonization. How else can society challenge and understand cognitive imperialism and its deadly affects of the mind virus? Morton (2017) asserts that:

If we view research and evidence as a dynamic and iterative process, with information and people interacting over time, in context-specific ways, then it is not surprising that it takes time for ideas from research to slowly seep into public discourse, gradually changing understandings, policy priorities and debates. (p. 112).

What mechanism will be used for the implementations? What government policies will be enacted to ensure the continuation of relationship building, and the ongoing process of addressing the historical wrongs committed against the Black Nova Scotian community. I dare to hope like my ancestors, that the future for Black Nova Scotians appears to be somewhat brighter, since the RI has the power to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. Reconfiguring

postcolonial relationships is complex business, and it is a process, which will take time. The very formation of the Black Nova Scotian community is embedded in the historical wrongs committed against Black people. But Premier McNeil has proposed the RI will have a redress policy program, which addresses these historical wrongs.

Summary

The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children Restorative Inquiry (RI) has been legislated as a royal commission. The RI has legislative powers and the power to compel witness testimonies and the production of documents. The subpoena power of the RI will be used when relationship building with all those involved, are unable to produce testimonies and/or retrieval of documents. The Council of Parties was comprised of care-leavers from the NSHCC, a member from the NSHCC, a member from the AUBA, government officials, a Black youth, a Black elder and others with expertise deem useful for the work of the RI. The Council of Parties are government appointments, and are the commissioners as outlined in the *Nova Scotia Inquires Act*. Their role is to direct the work of the RI. An important component of the RI is the recognition, and the acknowledgement of Black Nova Scotians as one of the founding peoples. This sends a clear message to the Black community of Premier McNeil's commitment to the Black Nova Scotian community. The formation of the Black Nova Scotian community is riddled with historical wrongs. Is it reasonable, to be hopeful that the RI will reconfigure the postcolonial relationship between the Black Nova Scotian community and the Province of Nova Scotia? How will the Province of Nova Scotia address the marginalization of the Black community? Will the RI employ concept diffusion to create social and cultural shifts within the Province of Nova Scotia to construct a more humane society for all Nova Scotians? And will correcting these historical wrongs, lead to new understandings regarding lifelong learning for Black Nova Scotian learners?

Chapter 9—Concluding Remarks: Moving Forward

The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children Restorative Inquiry (RI) has concluded its mandate on March 31, 2019. Wright et al. (2017) argue that:

The Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (the Royal Commission) is a public inquiry that warrants close attention from the international community. The largest royal commission in Australia's history, measured by financial investment, length of operation, volume of evidence taken, and number of commissioners, witnesses and submissions, it is one of the most important public inquiries into institutional child abuse globally, comparable in significance and impact to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (the Ryan Commission) in Ireland, which reported in 2009. (p. 1)

This is probably true, but it will be interesting to witness how the RI, will be situated on the global landscape, with the Royal Commissions and Truth Commissions. The Council of Parties (Fall, 2018) states:

One way the Restorative Inquiry differs significantly from a traditional public inquiry model is its commitment to begin planning and action within the mandate of the inquiry. Most inquiries produced an inquiry report before acting upon the recommendations for a particular inquiry. (p. 12)

Wright (2017) articulates that the Ryan Commission is the most comprehensive restorative inquiry in the world. I submit, however, that the RI has the capacity to figure prominently within the global landscape of restorative inquiries, truth commissions and transnational justice.

The Council of Parties replaced the Ujima Design Team, after the commissioners were appointed by an Order in Council at the Nova Scotia Provincial Legislature (Ujima Design Team, 2015). The Council of Parties (Fall, 2018) has provided an in-depth analysis, “to appreciate the systemic nature of racism and the ways in which it works to structure relations and interactions at all levels” (p. 12). Wright (2017) believes this type of inquiry, “is to learn lessons from past events to better understand the dynamics of institutional abuse to improve

policy and practice in the future” (p. 16). The RI is being employed to interrogate, and to examine the historical wrongs and the anti-Black sentiments committed against the Black Nova Scotian community. “The Restorative Inquiry is guided by relational principles that inform its analysis and response to the central issues” (Council of Parties, Fall, 2018, p. 6). I wonder if this relational principle is reflective of the relational epistemology of the Black Nova Scotian culture? The Council of Parties (Fall, 2018) contends, “This picture of the Home [NSHCC] as an example of systemic racism requires a broad lens on the problems, viewing them as complex and inter-related” (p. 13).

On February 14th, 2019, I attended a community meeting with four of the Commissioners of the Council of Parties. This meeting was one of several that the RI has conducted within the Black Nova Scotian community. The purpose of the community meetings are to share information, answer questions and gather input for the RI, from the Black Nova Scotian Community. The RI has legislative power, which situates the RI as a Royal Commission. Wright (2017) articulates, “Royal commissions are more powerful than non-statutory inquiries because they are governed by legislation that confers considerable power, for example subpoena witnesses and compel documents” (p. 12). The Parties of Council, “have the duties, powers and functions accorded commissioners under the *Public Inquiries Act* including the power to summon witnesses or evidence” (Ujima Design Team, 2015, p. 12). Wright (2017) believes, “A growing body of interdisciplinary research on historical institutional child abuse inquiries is beginning to document a raft of legislative and policy reforms internationally” (p. 18). Compelling the production of documents, indicates the power of the RI.

Not only is the RI addressing historical institutional child abuse but also contemporary institutional child abuse which includes out-of-home-care settings. Wright (2017) postulates, “The implementation of recommendations is a key indicator of an inquiry’s effectiveness, particularly in the policy domain” (p. 17). A final report will be produced for the public in late summer, detailing its research initiatives, its findings, the legislative and policies changes made. The question becomes how will this impact the Black learner from Digby, Beechville or Preston? During the community meeting, there was a discussion that a group from the United States met with the Council of Parties, because they are interested in adapting

the healing model process that was developed by the care-leavers of the NSHCC. McCold, P., and Wachtel, T. (2013) express, “This new focus on healing and the related empowerment of those affected seems to have great potential for enhancing social cohesion in our increasingly disconnected societies” (p. 1).

This situates the RI on the transitional landscape. We were also informed at this meeting, that the United Nations has indicated, an interest in the work of the RI, and this positions the RI within the global framework of transnational justice. Skold (2016) argues that child abuse, “[came] to be identified as human rights violations constituting a new branch within the field of restorative or transnational justice” (p. 494). The learning journey for the pursuit of social justice that the care-leavers from the NSHCC have experienced is the aligning of the stars, the wonders of the universe, where all things in life are possible!

So, look-out, Ryan Commission and the Royal Commission, you might be upstaged by the RI. Wright (2017) asserts that, “However, a fuller appreciation of the complexity of the social, cultural, political, and policy effects of inquires is necessary to understand their overall significance, wide-ranging impact, and enduring legacy” (p. 19). Imagine, when locating Nova Scotia within the global context. First, according to Canada Population (2019) – Worldometers, Canada represents 0.48 % of the total world population. Second, based upon the Nova Scotia Population – World Population Statistics, the population of Nova Scotia represents 2.8 % of the Canadian population. Third, the Nova Scotian Black population is less than six percent of the Nova Scotia population of 2.8 %. Fourth, then there are the care-leavers from the NSHCC, whose percentage of the Black Nova Scotia population is a micro-data point in terms of population. When situating the care-leavers within the landscape of transnational and transitional justice, the RI is statically insignificant in terms of population. Yet these care-leavers of the NSHCC are remaking history which will be located on the global landscape. I speculate that the legacy of the care-leavers from the NSHCC, will be positioned within the transnational and transitional justice models, and its locale situated on the global world of inquiries with Truth Commissions and Royal Commissions. Skold (2016) believes these types of inquires, “[constitutes] a new branch within the field of restorative or transitional justice, and subsequently how this politicised concern about historical institutional abuse shapes narratives of the history of childhood and history of education” (p. 494). I hope Ernest Blois,

Superintendent of Orphaned and Neglected Children, from the spirit world, understands that these Black children that he spoke of, “as dirty, ill-clad, under-nourished, cross-eyed, veritable littles street Arabs with ‘sub-normal’ written all over them” (p. 7) have made history, in so doing, have been transformed into social justice agents. I believe the care-leavers of the NSHCC are best described by Freire (1993) when he states:

The process of writing and reading the world, which what they were doing in the course of their understanding of discourse, emerged from, or was part of, a larger, more meaningful process—that of the taking up their citizenship, the taking of history into their hands. (p. 186)

The care-leavers of the NSHCC were exercising their rights as citizens, when they began their 15-year pursuit of social justice. “Their legal actions would take 16 years” (N.A. 2014, December 6, p. M29). Another newspaper article by Doucette (2012, November 27) reports a care-leaver stating, “We are not prepared to back down”, she said. [The care-leaver continues to state], “At the end of the day, we will get justice one way or the other” (np.). Indeed, many newspaper articles indicate this sentiment. Hoare and Gorman (2014, June 4). write that a care-leaver stated, “For all these years we were treated like second-class citizens. Today marks the beginning of us; the government acknowledges us as being equal citizen” (p. A1).

There has been a concerted focus placed upon relationship building during the community meeting, and relationship building highlights all the reports of the RI. Doucette (2017b, October 21) reports, “The inquiry’s three phases include relationship building, learning and understanding, and planning and action” (p. A8). Wachet, T. (2013) believes. “The most critical function of restorative practice is restoring and building relationships” (p. 4). In the case for the Black Nova Scotian Community, the focus of the RI is attempting to reconfigure postcolonial relations. Relationship building is occurring between the Government of Nova Scotia’s Deputy Ministers, the Ministers, Provincial Employees, Care-leavers, the Council of Parties, Black organizations and other Stakeholders. Doucette (2017c, October 21) writes a care-leaver stating:

This approach we are taking – its not blaming, it’s working together collaboratively. In order to understand why this happened in the first place we have

to be in a position to have dialogue and a safe place so that everybody can contribute. (p. A8)

I may be optimistic in my analysis that the RI, has the capacity to reconfigure postcolonial relationships between the Province of Nova Scotia and the Black Nova Scotian Community, but I have read and heard signs of the reconfiguration of postcolonial relationships. For example, I attended a meeting in January, 2019. At this meeting, a provincial employee framed her presentation, in terms of understanding the impact that colonization has had, on Black and First Nation peoples. In all my many years of attending meetings, this is the first time, I heard a discussion on the impact of colonization! My immediate thought, “This has to be one of the results of the RI”. Building relationships, new ways of understanding relationships, are central to the RI.

Reconfiguring postcolonial relationships between the Province of Nova Scotia and the Black Nova Scotian Community is complex business. According to Daly (2014) and Wright (2017) correcting historical wrongs has the power to reconfigure postcolonial relationships. There are indications, that the RI has situated itself to do precisely that. The first indication, was Premier McNeil’s announcement about addressing systemic racism in Nova Scotia. Doucette (2017b, October 20) writes:

Government is committed to critically examining its role in the history of the NSHCC (orphanage) as a pathway to address how the legacy of systemic and institutional racism has impacted individuals, families and communities for generations in Nova Scotia,’ McNeil told reporters. (np)

The second indication was the announcement by Premier McNeil, that the Government of Nova Scotia has allocated \$2.7 million dollars to settle land titles, in several of the Black communities. The problem with land titles can be traced back to the Black Refugees, where the Government of Nova Scotia refused to provide the Black Refugees with land grants, as per the contractual agreement made between the Black Refugees and His Royal Majesty, the King of England. I argue in this thesis that, the \$2.7 million dollars can only be considered, as correcting an historical wrong. Doucette (2017a, September 28) reports:

[Minister] Ince announced residents of five-predominantly black communities will get \$2.7 million over two years to help clarify their land ownership. Ince said the province is taking action to address disparities and ‘systemic discrimination’ that blacks have faced.” As an African Nova Scotian [,] I understand what land means to our people. I can only imagine the frustrations you have felt and as minister ... I can assure you that my government is committed to doing the right thing for you. (p. 28)

Black churches were established in response to Nova Scotia’s insistence, that the mingling of Whites with Blacks even at church services, was unholy. This compelled the Black community to establish Black churches, which gave rise to the establishment of the AUBA. The establishment of an orphanage for Black orphans and neglected children, known as the NSHCC, was the result of White orphanages refusing to accept Black children into their care. Homeless and orphaned Black children were placed in mental asylums (Saunders, 1994; Pachai, 2007; Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015). Without exception, the placement of Black children in mental asylums was literally a death sentence. Although, it was against the law to place children in such places, the Government of Nova Scotia did not apply this law, when it came to Black children (Saunders, 1994; Lafferty, 2012; Taylor, 2015). This is representative of the imperialistic ideologies that has polluted the minds of Nova Scotians, creating a mind virus. Segregation was legalized by the Government of Nova Scotia, and accepted and condoned as natural law by its citizens. The Council of Parties (Fall, 2018) acknowledges this when they state, “The economic inequality also generated conditions that led to children residing in the Home [NSHCC]” (p. 12).

The AUBA’s establishment of the NSHCC, was a result of forced segregation. The AUBA had to decide between establishing a separate orphanage, or have nothing for Black children who were in need of care. The use of concept diffusion had the power, to supplant this belief of racial ranking as a core value for the protection of Whiteness. It was perhaps, an easy process, since it was aligned with the widely held beliefs of European superiority. Battiste (2013) postulates, “any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust, and dangerous” (p. 129). It became acceptable practices to denied Blacks full participation as citizens in Nova Scotia. Afterall, Nova Scotia

was established as a slave society. Morton (2017) believes that, “There needs to be a process of unlearning—letting go of previously held notions about the world” (p. 112), like White privilege. What processes will the RI utilize to create new learnings; while simultaneously creating unlearning of cognitive imperialism? Will the process of decolonization be employed to achieve this goal? How will concept diffusion be used?

Concept diffusion was also employed to create *The Century of the Child* with the emerging sciences of pediatrics and psychology. The *Century of the Child* was also accompanied by new legislation, that provided care and protection for White children. Laws were enacted that criminalized those who abused children. It created a shift in the social and cultural norms within society. This resulted in society understanding the conceptualization of childhood, and that White children needed to be cared for. Accompanying this social and societal shift was the conceptualization of congregate care facilities for White children. Which meant, citizens accepted that part of their taxpaying dollars, would be allocated to orphanages. Here we have concept diffusion employed in one case, to justify the dehumanizing of non-Europeans, creating the term race. And in another case, concept diffusion is used to protect and care for White children. It is the same method but for different purposes. Morton (2017) postulates, “By understanding evidence use as a complex process, it important to pay attention to specific contextual variations, for example between different cultures, geographies, organisations, times, spaces and according to the particularities of the individuals and group involved” (p. 112). In both cases, concept diffusion was accompanied by science. Science was used as an educative process to convince their citizenry that non-Europeans were sub-human based upon science; while the emerging sciences of pediatrics and psychiatry supported the need to care for and protect White children.

The Government of Nova Scotia enforced separate and segregated schools for Black children. The Black community was forced to pay taxes on schools that their children were forbidden to attend (Winks, 1969). Segregated communities, segregated schools and a segregated orphanage, these were all historical wrongs committed against the Black Nova Scotian community. The marginalization and the ghettoization of the Black Nova Scotian community has made lifelong learning strategies more difficult for Black learners.

Compounding these challenges, are the acknowledgements that learning theorists have excluded Black learners from their theorization.

I discussed the absence of people of colour from the theorization of learning theories, in chapter 3. These learning theorists perpetuate exclusionist academic discourse. Prins, J., et al. (2015) believe that, “These exclusionary discourses ... have important consequences for the ways [Black and First Nation learners] interpret their everyday experience” (p. 178). Preece (2001) states that, “There is yet again a danger that in the drive for standardization and technological enhancement some diverse groups with remain excluded” (p. 117). McNair (2001) agrees with Preece (2001) and postulates, “This creates social exclusion” (p. 19). Education pedagogies are grounded upon theorization and learning principles followed by curriculum development. Battiste (2013) asserts that, “Domination, assimilation, marginalization, and hegemony are the norms which are far from being banished in contemporary education and society” (pp. 93-94). But is it possible for the RI to reconfigure and create a social and cultural shift thereby developing education approaches not based in dominance or marginalization? Jarvis (2001) believes, “Education was obviously a recipient of the dominant social pressures for change, rather than being a major force for change” (p. 29). With all this discourse of standardization, perhaps, this is why the learning theorists do not believe it is necessary to include learners of colour in their learning theories! Brownhill (2001) puts forward the supposition, “A feature of both modern industry and bureaucracy is its tendency to standardize and reproduce clone-like people” (p. 72). There is speculation from learning theorists, such as Jarvis (2001), Merricks (2001), McNair (2001) and Griffin (2001) that the marginalized are becoming more marginalized as the result of globalization, which perpetuates social exclusion from the local and the global labour markets. This is the result of neoliberalism, and the neoliberalism pedagogy. Giroux (2012) asserts that:

As governments globally give up their role of providing social safety nets, maintaining public services, and regulating corporate greed, capital escapes beyond the reach of democratic control, leaving marginalized individuals and groups at the mercy of their own meager resources to survive. (p. 48)

The use of concept diffusion has the power to shift social and cultural norms. Morton (2017) states that:

There is a substantial body of empirical work that has led to understanding evidence-use as a social process, mediated by relationships, in which any new evidence is competing with other forms of evidence as well as current understandings, ways of thinking and doing, beliefs and values, and the political and power issues of the day. (p. 112)

I assert that, if the Government of Nova Scotia, at least its current leadership, wants to reconfigure postcolonial relationships, they must employ concept diffusion to accomplish this goal. Concept diffusion is a process that takes time, and stretches over many generations. This will not be an easy process. Morton (2017) articulates, “This process may take a long time when issues are controversial, taboo, and challenge the cultural norms and power structures of the day, and especially where powerful vested interests are working hard to maintain their position” (p. 112), such as White privilege. It will require the Province of Nova Scotia to commit to an educative process including several strategic plans and processes that challenges cognitive imperialism. As I argue in my thesis, concept diffusion can be used to create new understandings that enlighten our understanding of new concepts and knowledge production; or concept diffusion can be employed as a destructive force which elevates one group of people, simultaneously marginalizing another group of people, as is the case with the Black community. When concept diffusion is used in the othering of people it becomes a mind virus. Battiste (2013) suggests, “Cognitive imperialism is a form of manipulation used in Eurocentric educational systems” (p. 161). I am uncertain if the RI has considered competing beliefs, values and learnings. Wright (2017) puts forward the supposition that public inquires have a valuable pedagogical role in the remaking of collective knowledge” (p. 19). According to Morton (2017), “In such cases, those seeking change may need to consider a range of ways to influence policy to accelerate the move towards the tipping point” (p. 112).

I wonder if the RI, in addressing systemic and institutional racism has considered, their greatest challenge is cognitive imperialism. Battiste (2013) states:

As a result of cognitive imperialism in education, cultural minorities in Canada have been led to believe that the poverty and powerlessness are the result of their cultural and racial origins rather than the power relations that create inequality in a capitalistic economy. (p. 161)

Wright (2017) articulates, “Indeed, the role of inquiries in generating new knowledge and understandings and bringing issues into public discussion is a powerful effect of such investigations” (p. 19). Addressing racism means unravelling imperialistic ideologies and bringing to consciousness the colonized mind; and the understanding of the duality of the oppressed and the oppressor imbedded in one’s identity. It means challenging cognitive imperialism in all of its forms. Morton (2017) asserts that, “there needs to be a process of individual, social and organisational learning to integrate new knowledge with existing knowledge” (p, 112). How will the RI achieve this, especially organizational learning which includes, government departments, the education system, universities, corporations, businesses, the non-profit sector, the list is endless? “The mechanism for bringing that evidence together may be one of the policy recommendations from the [RI] which needs its own evidence-to-process to ensure success” (Morton, 2017, p. 112).

Of course, not all historical wrongs can be corrected but they cannot be forgotten. Smith (2012) believes that, “history is not important for indigenous peoples because a thousand accounts of the ‘truth’ will not alter the ‘fact’ that indigenous peoples are still marginal and do not possess the power to transform history into justice” (p. 35). Well, the care-leavers from the NSHCC have challenged Smith (2012) in this respect, because they achieved social justice. But one can, as the RI indicates in its reports, engage in building new relationships between the Province of Nova Scotia and the Black community. The RI in correcting historical wrongs committed against the Black Nova Scotian community by the Government of Nova Scotia, is correcting some historical wrongs that are achievable. For example, the Government of Nova Scotia’s announcement of \$ 2.7 million dollars to provide clear land titles to residents from several of the Black Nova Scotian communities. Wright (2017) asserts that, “Political will is crucial, but there also needs to be shifts in attitudes and behaviours for which education and wider social change is required” (p. 20). This is especially true for addressing cognitive imperialism. According to Battiste (2013) addressing cognitive imperialism, requires that one engages in the process of decolonization. What processes will the RI employ to create these shifts? Another historical wrong that the government can correct, is regarding the Halifax Relief Commission (HRC) which I discussed, in chapter 6. You may recall, that the community of Africville was denied any funding during the reconstruction of Halifax, after the Halifax Explosion in 1917. According to Hebert (1996):

All remaining funds were then transferred to the federal Minister of Finance, who established a ‘Halifax 1917 Explosion Pension Account’ to be administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs. The federal legislation that created the HRC spelled out that when no further pensions need to be paid out, any remaining funds will be transferred to either the province or the City of Halifax ‘to be used for the continued rehabilitation of the area of Halifax that was damaged by the Explosion at Halifax in 1917’. (p. 8)

Hebert (1996) believes the remaining funds will be, “hundreds of thousands of dollars” (p. 8). The Government of Nova Scotia in conjunction with the Africville Genealogical Society should make every effort, to have the remaining funds transferred to the Africville Genealogical Society. This would correct a historical wrong committed against the community of Africville by the HRC.

Some people may believe that the two settlements totalling \$34 million dollars, achieved by the care-leavers of the NSHCC is a great deal of money. When you have been a victim of institutional child abuse it is not about the money. Rather, it is about justice, it is about healing, and it’s about self-worth, dignity and your value as a human being. Bracher (2006) puts forward the proposition that, “The most fundamental identity need is the need for recognition, the need to have one’s being appreciated and validated, or at least acknowledged, taken into account” (p. 7). This was precisely what the care-leavers from the NSHCC were fighting for. To put this in perspective, the \$34 million dollars was negotiated for 160 care-leavers from the NSHCC compared to a sexual abuse scandal at Penn State in USA in which the University had to pay \$59.7 million to twenty-six young men who were victims of sexual abuse. (Giroux, 2012, p. 127).

The impact of marginalization on the Black community has made lifelong learning strategies difficult for Black learners. The pursuit of social justice when conflated with cognitive imperialism may result in lifelong learning strategies becoming lost. Bracher (2006) states that:

Learning and the failure to learn are often at least partially motivated by the need to maintain one’s identity-bearing signifiers. [...] Sometimes students resist becoming involved with or proficient in certain types of knowledge because such involvement

and proficiency are coded as antithetical to one of their identity-bearing signifiers.
(p. 18)

Battiste (2013) brings to our attention how the, “Eurocentric system, that hides its power and privilege in whiteness, and ignores complicities with dominance, difference, and disadvantage” (p. 33). As a Black Nova Scotian lifelong learner and adult educator, to be bombarded with White supremacy requires an understanding of cognitive imperialism. And as Battiste (2013) believes, to combat cognitive imperialism means, engaging in the process of decolonization. I have shared some of my learning experiences, in chapter 4, which I refer to as *Time Travel*. In preparation of framing my study, I agree with Battiste (2013) that, “Decolonization is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (p. 35). This was particularly important for me, as I was conducting research of the Black Nova Scotian community. I was aware of Battiste’s (2013) supposition that, “When [a researcher] approaches Indigenous issues, or peoples, [their] research methodology is contaminated with multiple forms of imperialism (p. 186). I am determined not to succumb to those failings.

As long as we as a society use the term race, the *Othering* of people will continue. The *Othering* of Black Nova Scotians reproduces the perpetuation of the marginalization and the oppression of my community. We know that oppression is violence (Freire, 1983, 1993). The violence has been perpetuated against Black and First Nations peoples since European’s arrival in Canada as colonizers. This violence has caused intergenerational trauma to Black Nova Scotians and First Nation peoples resulting in human rights violations. And when Black and First Nation learners are being robbed of their personhood, these learners become underachievers throughout the Nova Scotian schools.

If the exclusionist public discourse continues its momentum, Black and First Nations peoples shall remain subjugated. Their educational aspirations become hijacked and replaced with clonish identities and they become disconnected from their culture. Academics provide the foundations for education since they produce the learning theories from which society treats as scientific about how learning occurs. The learning theorists I have investigated, their scholarly endeavours reproduce exclusionist curricula and a pedagogy bent on reproducing the social order of oppression. Academics have a responsibility not to engage in exclusionist

academic discourse. After all, the purpose of education is to advance humanity. Giroux (2014) warns us that higher education is now hijacked by the neoliberal agenda and in some instances, universities have become willing partners and have adopted neoliberalism as a form of scholarship. Humanity is stifled by exclusionist public discourse that brainwashes people into becoming necrophiliacs. We must begin the transition from being necrophiliacs to becoming human beings that understands humanity in all of its forms of diversity and only through concept diffusion can this be achieved. But all things in life are possible, are attainable when advancing humanity. The care-leavers from the NSHCC are a testament to this.

The care-leavers of the NSHCC have engaged in knowledge production through the RI. If we are to believe Daly (2014), Skold (2016), Wright (2017), and Wright et al., (2017), the care-leavers through the establishment of the RI, have expanded the new interdisciplinary field of scholastic undertakings that these types of inquiries attract. But will the RI have the capacity to address the education failures of the Nova Scotian schools? Will the RI develop lifelong learning strategies, that will facilitate learning for Black Nova Scotian learners? I suspect, in the following years, various scholars from several disciplines will be engaged in conducting research of the RI. The impact of marginalization on the Black Nova Scotian community forced the care-leavers from the NSHCC to pursue social justice. The care-leavers of the NSHCC have now been situated on the global landscape with Transnational Justice and Truth Commissions. And that is an awakening of consciousness. This is learning!

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Appendix A: A Sample of Countries' Responses to Institutional Child Abuse

The following table depicts the typical response to institutional child abuse was an inquiry or an investigation. Skold (2016) postulates, "A common response [by government] has been to launch an inquiry investigating the past" (p. 493). In some cases, there was a public panic that organized paedophile rings were operating within children's residential facilities resulting in an immediate inquiry. Daly (2014) suggests this was the case with one inquiry in that, "Alleged sexual offences against children in Queensland Institutions, which were linked to organised paedophilia in Queensland and other states" (p. 14). In Upper Canada, an investigation uncovered a paedophilia ring operated by Father Epoch. The victims were First Nation children from the reserves of Wikwemikong, Saugeen and Cape Croker. Shea (1999) indicates, "Following accusations of child sexual abuse, the Jesuits began an investigation that revealed a vast framework of paedophilia set up by Father Epoch" (p. 40). In conjunction, with the triggering factors, there were public assumptions of botched investigations resulting in police and governmental cover-ups (Daly, 2014; Skold, 2016; Wright, 2017).

Wright (2017) postulates, "The functions of inquiries are multiple and complex. In addition to developing policy and discharging legislative obligations, they are charged with establishing facts, identifying wrongdoing and assigning blame" (p. 11). Skold (2016) describes an inquiry which was conducted in Ireland after, "the three- episode documentary *States of Fear* was broadcast on the national television, ... 1999" (p. 495). This documentary interviewed the care-leavers of the reformatory and industrial schools in Ireland. These care-leavers shared their lived experiences of systematic abuse and severe neglect. Skold (2016) continues to note that, "On the very day the last episode was broadcast" (p. 495), the Prime Minister of Ireland apologized to the victims of abuse. Skold (2016) asserts that, "Within a year, the Irish Government had launched what subsequently came to be known as one of the world's most extensive restorative processes for historical institutional child abuse" (p. 495). Wright (2017) puts forward the supposition that, "Large public inquiries, are usually only established in exceptional circumstances and are at the extreme end of what Sheriff (1983) terms non-routine bureaucracy" (p. 11).

Table 1: Information Taken from Daly (2014)

Name of Institution	Country	Location	Type of Abuse	Number of Institutions	Triggering Factors	Government Responses(s)
Numerous	North Wales	Numerous	Sexual and Physical	Numerous Institutions	Sustained Pressures from Politicians and Campaigners, Sustained Media Coverage	North Wales Tribunal of Inquiry 1996
Numerous	Scandinavian Countries	Institutions and Foster Homes	Sexual and Physical	Numerous Institutions	Television Program: Men sharing their victim stories	Swedish Inquiry on Child Abuse and Neglect 2006
John Oxley Youth Detention Centre	Australia	Queensland Institutions	Sexual and Physical	Numerous Institutions	Victim Stories, Media Coverage Linked to organized paedophilia	Several Queensland Inquiries: Heiner Inquiry 1989 Wood Royal Commission 1995 Ford Inquiry 1996 Children's Commission of Queensland 1997 Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions 1998

Table 1: Information Taken from Daly (2014)

Name of Institution	Country	Location	Type of Abuse	Number of Institutions	Triggering Factors	Government Responses(s)
Child Migrants	Australia 7,000 children were sent to Australia from the U.K. and 310 sent to Malia (Without Parental Knowledge or Consent). Policy Agreement Between the British and Australia Governments	West Australia and Malta	Sexual and Physical	Numerous Institutions	Victim Stories, Films, Numerous Documentaries: Lost Children of the Empire, Political Campaigns, Social Movement Activism: Stolen Generations Movement, Cultural Platforms	British Report 1998 Senate Inquiry (Australia) 2000

Appendix B: *Canada's Institutional Child Abuse Stories*

In Canada, the following table, (Table 2) illustrates examples of redress programs undertaken in Canada as a result of allegations of institutional abuse of children, and the abuse by clergy men against children. Table 2 is a small sample of responses from several provinces within Canada. A pattern emerges as to the triggering factors that caused provinces to respond to care-leavers' allegations of institutional child abuse. Lafferty (2012) confirms that:

Millions of dollars in reparations have been paid for former inmates, [the term inmates was used for children in congregate care facilities such as orphanages] official public apologies have been issued, royal commissions have been held, lawsuits continue on in the courts, and the history of these homes now comprises one of the darkest chapters of Canada's past. (p. 5)

According to Skold (2016), a common response by government regarding allegations of institutional child abuse was to launch an inquiry. Wright (2017) insists:

For historical institutional child abuse inquires, this includes how an inquiry can set a national agenda for child safety, bring the perspectives of marginalized and victimized groups into public discussion, and serve as an educative function for governments and society more generally. (p. 19)

Table 2 may be considered a representative profile of the triggering factors and the types of redress programs that were administered in Canada. Most disturbing, is the Sexual Sterilization Act under the Eugenics Project. According to Shea (1999), "The Sexual Sterilization Act of Alberta was passed in 1928 and revised in 1937, and further in 1942" (p. 4). This Act is a blatant human rights violation against children. Shea (1999) continues to posit, "To enable the sterilization of a mentally defective person, there was no statutory requirement of consent" (p. 4). Many years ago, I recall speaking with one of my relatives who resided in Alberta. I remember my relative telling me, when as a child, the teachers at the school wanted her parents to place her in one of those institutions. Her parents adamantly resisted the school's recommendation. I did not realize at the time, the ramifications of being institutionalized in Alberta, nor was I aware of this Eugenics Project and the Sterilization Act which made it legal. My relative is a professional and a senior manager.

Equally horrifying, is the Duplessis Orphans. Maurice Duplessis was premier of Quebec (1936-39, 1944-59). According to Bertrand (2015) his tenure as premier, was referred to as, “the great darkness” (p. 1). Continuing this line of thought, Bertrand (2015) argues that, “The term ‘Duplessis orphans’ refers to the cohort of children who suffered particularly traumatic abuse at the hands of the state and the Catholic Church: they were falsely diagnosed as mentally unfit and sent to psychiatric hospitals” (p. 2). Perry et al. (2014) articulates they were children, “who were given up generally at birth, and placed in institutions in Quebec run by the Roman Catholic Church during the era of Premier Maurice Duplessis” (pp. 284-285). It is Bertrand’s contention that children were wrongfully diagnosed with mental illness because the Catholic Church could receive more funding. “At a point in Quebec history in the early 1950s, for complicated, political, religious, fiscal, and other reasons (Malouin, 1996), a sizable number of the children were sent to asylums for the mentally retarded and/or ill” (Perry et al., 2014, p. 285). Bertrand (2015) notes it is not complicated or problematic, “The purpose of this was to maximize federal funding, which, at the time, was more generous for hospitals than for orphanages” (p. 2). As a result, the Catholic Church simply re-classified orphanages as psychiatric institutions. This is an atrocity against all humanity! Perry et al. (2014) postulates, “These individuals, numbering in the many thousands” (p. 285). Both the Sterilization Act and the Duplessis Orphans are considered policy wrongs committed against children.

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
The Sexual Sterilization Act	Alberta	Sterilization, Sexual and Physical Abuse	In 1996, an Alberta woman was awarded damages totalling \$740,780.00 for Wrongful Sterilization. This set the stage for care-leavers to come forward demanding social redress. Due to public and political pressure the Government institutes a Redress Program.	In 1998, the Public Trustee administered the Compensation Program, a Settlement Panel Reviewed applications: 500 Claimants at a cost of \$48 million. In 1999, the Honourable Joseph Stratton, Q.C. was appointed by Alberta to negotiate a Settlement with a Committee of Lawyers representing close to 250 of the remaining cases. The Stratton Agreement cost \$82 million for a total cost of \$142 million.
Jericho Hill School	British Columbia	Sexual, Physical and Emotional	In 1992, investigation by Ombudsman and a Report. In 1993, Government appointed Thomas Berger, Q.C. to inquire into allegations of sexual and physical abuse. Berger released his report in 1995. It became known as the Berger Report.	In 1992, Residential Historical Abuse Program (Counselling and Therapy Services) was established. In 1993, Jericho Individual Compensation Program for Victims of Sexual Abuse Only. Established the Compensation Panel and hired Compensation Consultants. As of 1999, 377 applications with a cost of \$8.138 million.
3 Institutions: Kingsclear Training School, Former Dr. William F. Roberts	New Brunswick	Sexual and Physical Abuse	In 1985, a Counsellor reported an incident of Sexual Molestation involving an Employee and a Student. Employee was transferred and years later, one of his colleagues and three other boys filed complaints of sexual assault against the same Employee with the RCMP. In 1991, the Employee was Charged with 27 Counts of Sexual Assault.	In 1995, Government established No-Fault Compensation Program for Victims of Sexual Abuse committed by Employees. Victims had access to an Independent Arbitrator. Psychological Counselling, Social Assistance Waiver (Victims Receiving Less Than \$50,000.00, a Limited Social Assistance Waiver was Provided: The amount received was not to be considered income for the Purpose of the Act). financial counselling. Access to vocational training. Victims had the Option of a Structured Settlement. Maximum total compensation (all

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
3 Institutions: Kingsclear Training School, Former Dr. William F. Roberts Hospital School and the Former Boys' Industrial School	New Brunswick	Sexual and Physical Abuse	Allegations of Inter-Ministerial Interference began to emerge. In 1992, 12 additional charges were laid. Employee Pleaded Guilty to 34 Counts and was sentenced to 13 years in prison. Government set-up a Committee of Internal and External Experts to investigate the operation of the Attorney General's Department for their inability to act on what had been 30 years of known incidents of paedophilia. In 1992, Commission of Inquiry conducted by Justice Richard L. Miller. The Miller Report was Released in 1995, and was referred to as the Miller Inquiry.	inclusive) per Claimant was \$120,000.00. Average Settlement Was \$35,000.00 per Claimant. 350 Claimants. Claimants who were incarcerated had their Lawyers put their Settlement in a Trust Fund until their release. Estimated cost was \$13 million.
Grandville Training Schools for Girls	Ontario	Sexual and Physical Abuse	In 1991, two women who were being treated by the same psychologist told him of very similar experiences of abuse. Psychologist introduced the two women and said he would support them if they publicly revealed their stories of abuse. Women made public appearance on television asking other women who had been at Grandville to contact the Police or Government. In 1991, the Waterloo Police and the	In 1994, the Agreement was Jointly Announced. Awarded Benefits for Sexual, Physical and Maltreatment. General Benefits (intended to Benefit Society as a Whole): Research and Evaluation of the Agreement. In 1998, Educational Project which produced a video entitled <i>Until Someone Listens</i> (including a booklet <i>about the</i> experiences of Grandville Survivors). Individual Benefits (For individuals who claimed Specific Incidents of Abuse). This included a Financial Award for Pain and Suffering. Major Medical/Dental, Therapy/Counselling, Residential Treatment (for Substance Abuse), Vocational/Educational

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
Grandville Training Schools for Girls	Ontario	Sexual and Physical Abuse	Provincial Police began a Joint Investigation. In 1992, a Victim Witness Program Site was established in Kitchener and women formed the Grandville Survivors' Support Group (GSSG) and hired Legal Counsel and later elected an Executive, paid for by the Government. In May, 1993, negotiations began between the GSSG and the Government. Agreement was ratified by over 80% of the members of the GSSG. Government approved Agreement in June, 1993. Commission of Inquiry conducted by Justice Richard L. Miller. The Miller Report was released in 1995, and was referred to as the Miller Inquiry	Training or Upgrading. Contingency Fund to cover Validated Claimant Individual need for items. Group Benefits (For all former residents of the institution). Included a Crisis Line, Self-Inflicted Tattoo/Scar Remove, General Acknowledgement. In 1999, an Apology. 320 Claimants at a Cost of \$16.4 million.
St. John's Training School, Uxbridge St. Joseph's Training School, Alfred	Ontario	Indecent Assault and Sodomy; Physical Abuse	In 1990, Allegations of Abuse dating back to the 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s began to surface. 28 Christian Brothers from both Schools and one Employee were Charged with 200 Counts of Abuse ranging from Assault Causing Bodily Harm to Indecent Assault and Sodomy. Former Students formed a Helpline (a group of	In 1993, Production of the Reconciliation Agreement. Parties to the Agreement: The Government of Ontario, the Roman Catholic Church (the Archdiocese of Toronto and the Archdiocese of Ottawa) and the Ottawa Christian Brothers. The Toronto Brothers implemented a separate Confidential Compensation Package. As of May 31, 1996: 565 Helpline Claimants Validated; 97 % of all Claimants Validated, \$14.5 million in cash benefits awarded to Validated Claimants.

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
St. John's Training School, Uxbridge St. Joseph's Training School, Alfred	Ontario	Indecent Assault and Sodomy; Physical Abuse	282 men, who, as boys, attended either School). In 1992, The Helpline Agreement was developed to compensate former Students at the School.	Counselling Services for 468 Persons, \$1,570,561 million for Opportunity Fund, Educational, Vocational and Medical Benefits for 468 Persons. Institutional and Personal Apologies issued to Validated Claimants. Steps taken to prevent abuse in future. Events of Abuse Memorialized. Thus far, Cost of \$19 million.
Maple Leaf Gardens	Ontario	Sexual Abuse	In 1997, a Toronto Man went public with his story of abuse at Maple Leaf Gardens. About 90 other men followed and named three Employees of the Gardens as Abusers. In 1998, Gardens Settled Out of Court with the Victims. In 1998, with the help of a Mediator, all Cases were Settled. The Terms of Compensation are Confidential but were based on the Common Law Guidelines.	In 1998, President of the Gardens issued a Public Apology to the Victims. Individual Settlements ranged from \$5,000-\$46,000. Counselling Services was provided and paid for by the Gardens. Installation of Security Cameras, Electronic Doors and Screening of Potential Employees. A Forum on Child Abuse was held at the Gardens for Victims, Service Providers, Volunteers and Families interested in Abuse Prevention. Commitment to increase efforts to raise money for child abuse charities through events at the Garden. Cost to the Gardens unknown.
Reserves in Holy Cross Mission in Wikwemikong, Saugeen and Cape Croker	Upper Canada and Cape Croker	Indecent Assault and Sodomy; and Physical Abuse	Following accusations of Child Sexual Abuse and Physical Abuse, the Jesuits Fathers began an investigation that revealed a vast framework of paedophilia, set-up by Farther Epoch. Following accusations of Child Sexual Abuse and Physical Abuse, the Jesuits Fathers began an investigation that revealed	In 1990, the Appropriate Assistance Program was implemented. The Leader of the Ontario Jesuits community, Publicly Apologized. In 1994, after 4 years and spending \$2 million, they withdrew their Assistance Program. A small group of victims contacted the Jesuits Fathers and negotiated the Reconciliation Agreement between the Jesuits Fathers of Upper Canada and the primary victims of abuse by Father George Epoch and was ratified

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
Reserves in Holy Cross Mission in Wikwemikong, Saugeen and Cape Croker	Upper Canada and Cape Croker	Indecent Assault and Sodomy; Physical Abuse	a vast framework of paedophilia, set up by Father Epoch.	on October 11, 1994. All validated claimants received \$25,000 deemed in the nature of Pain and Suffering and represented Non—Pecuniary Damages for the purposes of tax and government social assistance/benefit programs. All validated claimants were eligible to receive Vocational Training, Medical and Dental Needs, not to exceed \$4,000 per claimant. The Agreement created a Counselling Advisory Group. The Jesuits committed \$500,000 (including \$100,000 for discretionary counselling) for Professional Fees and Support Services for a Multi-Faceted Counselling Program, over a three-year period. Monies not spent were released for use in Educational Programs for Sexual Abuse Prevention. An individual Written Apology from the Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada to the Victims. A Written Statement of Apology was sent to Chiefs of the Band Councils at Cape Crocker, Saugeen and Wikwemikong with a request that it be printed in Band Newsletters and it was also sent to the principle newspapers serving each of the communities. 83 of the 97 Claims were Accepted. Estimated Cost of \$5 million.
Sir James Whitney School for the Deaf, Belleville	Ontario	Sexual and Physical Abuse	Former Students' complaints of sexual and physical abuse. In 1991, the Ontario Minister of Education and Training conducted a review of student	Advocates were assigned to all Schools as an independent safeguard for the Students and a Strick Zero Tolerance Policy for any violation or abuse. Former Students initiated meetings with the Ministry of Education and Training

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
Sir James Whitney School for the Deaf, Belleville	Ontario	Sexual and Physical Abuse	care. In response to the Recommendations of the Report, a number of policies and procedures have been developed and implemented.	and the Ministry of the Attorney General. After 4-years of meetings, a Joint Agreement was reached and the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Project was established in 1999. The ADR process includes a comprehensive investigation section to ensure that all Claims of Historical Sexual and Physical Abuse are validated prior to Adjudication. Each Validated Claimant is eligible to receive compensation: Counselling, Educational or Vocational Upgrading and Financial Awards to a maximum of \$60,000. An estimated 310 former students are eligible. No estimated cost indicated.
Duplessis Orphans (Describes children who, before reaching 12 years of age, were placed in nurseries, orphanages, industrial schools or psychiatric institutions in Quebec	Quebec	Sexual, Emotional, Psychological and Physical Abuse	Since the 1970s, hundreds of complainants were made to the Quebec Provincial Police involving 30 institutions, 240 complainants and 341 suspects. In 1992, the Duplessis Orphans Committee was founded. The Committee made failed attempts at instituting a class proceeding. In 1994, four private criminal complaints were filed against the same person. The Assailant pleaded guilty to the charge of indecent assault and was given a six-month sentence. In 1995, the Attorney General of Quebec	In 1999, the government made a settlement offer. The Premier Bouchard apologized to the Duplessis orphans and stated that the government had a moral obligation to the orphans. The Premier refused to conduct a public inquiry, stating that the orphans would be better served through assistance and support. The Committee rejected the Settlement Agreement which was to be administered by the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. At the time Shea (1999) conducted her research, a Settlement Agreement had not been reached. According to Bertrand (2015), in 2001, individual compensation of \$10,000 plus \$1,000 for each year spent in an asylum: 1,500 people qualified.

Table 2: Information Gathered from Shea (1999)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
<p>Duplessis Orphans (Describes children who, before reaching 12 years of age, were placed in nurseries, orphanages, industrial schools or psychiatric institutions in Quebec</p>	<p>Quebec</p>	<p>Sexual, Emotional, Psychological and Physical Abuse</p>	<p>investigated and declined to prosecute. In 1997, the Quebec Ombudsman studied the situation and produced a Report proposing Recommendations for a Compensation Package. Following Extensive Publicity and Public Pressure, the Government extended another Apology in 2001 (Bertrand, 2015).</p>	<p>The Duplessis Orphans Committee accepted the offer and the Government provided an additional \$26 million compensation in 2006. Estimated cost was \$40 million (Bertrand, 2015).</p>

Appendix C: Nova Scotia's Response into Institutional Child Abuse

In Nova Scotia, Table 3, illustrates the triggering factors, which led the Government of Nova Scotia to address institutional child abuse, were criminal convictions of former government employees and one current employee; and there were several pending civil lawsuits before the courts. In response, “on November 2, 1994, the Nova Scotia government announced three goals to deal with allegations of sexual abuse at these provincial institutions” (Shea, 1999, p. 21). Kaufman (2002b) advances the supposition that the Nova Scotia government adopted a, “three-prong response [which] was intended to ensure that victimization not recur, determined what happened and who was responsible, and provide fair compensation for victims, all in a reasonable amount of time” (p. 43). On the following pages, I have highlighted the triggering factors which compelled the Government of Nova Scotia to respond to the care-leavers from three of its government operated residential facilities. It must be noted that the Government of Nova Scotia dismissed the care-leavers from the NSHCC allegations of institutional child abuse and forced these care-leavers to pursue social justice.

Table 3: Information Gathered from Stratton (1995); Shea (1999); and Kaufman (2002)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
<p>Shelburne School for Boys (its predecessor was the Halifax Industrial School for Boys, now the Shelburne Youth Training Centre)</p> <p>Truro School for Girls (now the Nova Scotia Residential Centre)</p> <p>Nova Scotia Youth Training Centre, Bible Hill</p>	<p>Nova Scotia</p>	<p>Sexual Abuse and Sodomy; and Physical Abuse</p>	<p>Criminal Convictions of three former Male Counsellors and one Current Government Employee. Public outcries of cover-ups by Government and Police. In 1992, Counsellor George Moss plead Guilty to four Counts of Indecent Assault and Sentenced to one year. In 1992, Counsellor Doug Hollett was found Guilty after a trail by judge and jury for having intercourse with a female between 14 and 16 years of age, and Sentenced to two years and four months. In 1993, Cesar Lalo was Convicted of Indecent Assault on a male and Sentenced to five years consecutively to time being served. In 1994, Lalo was convicted on one Count of Touching for a Sexual Purpose and one Count of Indecent Assault, totalling seven years in prison. In 1994, Counsellor Patrick MacDougall Convicted on 11 Counts of Sexual Misconduct and Sentenced to prison for terms totalling 11 years. In 1994, the Government responded by appointing Vicki Samuel-Steward to conduct an Independent Audit of</p>	<p>An Internal Investigation Unit (IIU) was established at the Department of Justice to investigate allegations of abuse against current employees. The RCMP established Operation Hope to handle the criminal investigation of alleged perpetrators. In 1996, after a year of negotiations with twenty lawyers representing victims, the Government adapted the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) from Ontario. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was announced in May, 1996. The Government set aside \$33 Million Compensation Fund. Government gave a public apology in 1996. The Compensation Program operated from 1996 to 1997, at which time the Government amended the MOU and re-instated the Compensation Program within one month. The Compensation Program included: Counselling and Therapy, Vocational Training, Financial Counselling and Individual Financial Awards. Kaufman (2002b) states that., “As of November 20, 2001, the total cost was \$61, 086,805” (p. 280).</p>

Table 3: Information Gathered from Stratton (1995); Shea (1999); and Kaufman (2002)

Name of Institutions	Province	Type of Abuse	Triggering Factors	Redress Program
<p>Shelburne School for Boys (its predecessor was the Halifax Industrial School for Boys, now the Shelburne Youth Training Centre)</p>	<p>Nova Scotia</p>	<p>Sexual Abuse Sodomy Physical Abuse</p>	<p>current practices, and appointed the Honourable Stratton, Q.C. to conduct an independent review of the Government response to reports of institutional abuse child of five of the its operated residential facilities in Nova Scotia, appointed Ross Dawson to conduct an Operational Review of Centres operated under the aegis of the Department of Community Services, the Department of Justice. The Stratton Report was released in 1995 and indicated there was a prevalence of widespread institutional abuse in three of the government’s operated residential settings for children and youth; and there was no need for an inquiry and the Government of Nova Scotia should proceed with the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR).</p>	