# TIME-SPACE COMPRESSION IN THE NOVEL KISS OF THE FUR QUEEN BY TOMSON HIGHWAY: A POSTMODERN APPROACH

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#### Resumo

O romance de Highway *Kiss of the Fur Queen* conta-nos a história de dois irmãos Cree e das suas viagens, físicas e espirituais. A inclusão das duas crianças no sistema de ensino das escolas residenciais canadianas tem um impacto profundamente negativo no desenvolvimento da sua identidade e no modo como, a partir desse momento, se relacionam com a comunidade e cultura aborígenes. Se, por um lado, a abordagem pós-moderna de Harvey contribui para entendermos a dupla identidade das personagens, resultante da experiência na escola residencial, a abordagem pós-moderna de Hutcheon da ficção canadiana permite-nos ler este romance com traços autobiográficos à luz de uma das temáticas que reflectem as ambivalências do Canadá: a dualidade nativo/colonial.

**Palavras-chave:** aborígenes canadianos, escolas residenciais, questões de identidade, literatura no Canadá, abordagem pós-moderna.

#### **Abstract**

Highway's novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* tells us the story of two Cree brothers and their journeys, both physical and spiritual. The inclusion of those two children in the educational system of Canadian residential schools has a strong negative impact in the development of their identity and in the way, from that moment on, they interact with the aboriginal community and culture. If, on one side, Harvey's postmodern approach contributes to the understanding of the double identity of the characters as a result of the experience in the residential school, Hutcheon's postmodern approach of Canadian fiction enables us to read this novel with autobiographical traits in the light of one of the themes that reflect the ambivalences in Canada: the duality native/colonial.

**Keywords:** Canadian Aborigines, residential schools, issues of identity, literature in Canada, postmodern approach.

#### 1. Introduction

Inuk Rosemarie Kuplana (2006, p. 41), Canadian "by virtue of geography and history", suggests this definition for 'what is a Canadian':

A CANADIAN is... a person with origins in other parts of the global village. A Canadian is an English – or French – speaking person whose rights are enshrined in the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982. This Constitution finds its roots in Great Britain – roots that date back the time when England was a world power, and Canada one of its many Commonwealth satellites. Today Inuit and other Aboriginal people are recognized in Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982. Our history with the more dominant society has not been an easy relationship and between us there is much unfinished business.

The purpose of this text is to analyse the novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* by the contemporary Cree Canadian writer Tomson Highway, in the light of the postmodern concept of time-space compression developed by David Harvey. According to this time compression, reality changes. In so far that reality and its image are mingled. We do not aim at approaching exhaustively this theme, once we only aim at finding out to which extent Harvey contributes to the understanding of this novel of the known playwright Tomson Highway and at identifying the contribution of this novel as a sociological act.

## 2. Time-space compression

According to David Harvey (1990, p. 238), one of the characteristics of our time is the transformation in the way we experience space and time: "this sea-change is bound up with the emergence of new dominant ways in which we experience space and time". The acceleration of the business and cultural exchanges and the frequent dislocations lead to a new configuration of social relations.

This author shapes these changes isolating four periods of history after 1500, in relation to the increasing speeds of travel. Thus he mentions that the average speed of a horse drawn coach or of a sailing ship did not overcome 10 miles per hour between 1500 and 1840. After this last year, the steam locomotives could reach 65 miles per hour and the steam ships reached 36 miles. In the 1950s, the propeller aircraft flew at 300 or 400 miles per hour and, after 1960, the jet passenger aircraft could overcome the sound barrier. The time travel lasted varied according to the speed we move in the global space. With this change in the sense of time, comes the change of the sense of space.

Jean Baudrillard, in his book *Le miroir de la production: Ou, l'illusion critique du matérialisme historique* (1973), had already drawn on the importance of perception for the understanding of historicity. On the other hand, Harvey insists on the effect of illusion that the new conditions of existence created and comes closer, in this aspect, to Baudrillard's thought when he develops the concept of "simulacra", in the sense of a generalized representation of a possible distortion: simulacra corresponds to a condition of replica so close to perfection that the difference between the original and the copy is almost impossible to be understood. The interweaving of simulacra in daily life brings together different worlds, in the same space and time.

The change in the sense of space and of time is shaped in the financial area. The commercialization of goods and services is submitted to this same process of evaluation of reality. Goods as much as ideas are becoming more and more unrooted from its context. Cultural productions progressively reach space in everyday life. They work as subterfuge, nourish imagination and distract. In this same sense, Harvey underlines the ephemeral and fragmented characteristic of the contemporary world. In fact, the reality in which we live in is not but a collage of several similar realities similar to the collage of images in a television screen. The space-time compression is an acknowledgement of the complexity of the world.

Facing the lack of coherence and the fragmented characteristic of everyday life, the individual, according to Harvey, can choose to take advantage of all the possibilities and grow thus a set of simulacra as means to subterfuge, as fantasy or distraction. Confronted with fragmentation, the ephemeral and collage, the individual extends itself to a personal or collective identity, being thus the connection between place and social identity emphasized. The intensity of space-time compression takes on characteristics of excessive ephemeral and fragmentation at the private, political and social levels<sup>1</sup>.

In the acceleration of the rhythm of life associated to capitalism and to movement and breaking of space barriers, the space is shrunk, it is global.

## 3. Postmodern approach to Canadian literature

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We recognize here that the space-time compression is useful to distance learning and research, through the electronic information technologies.

Ball (2002, p. 895) frames postmodernism in the global capitalism of the end of the 20th century:

'Postmodernism' is variously deployed to mean historical period (broadly contemporary), artistic style (parodic, self-conscious, fragmentary), worldview (sceptical, pluralist), and as the dominant cultural mode of late-20th-century global capitalism.

Science, religion and culture are imperfect human constructs and not revelations of a transcendent truth. Human identity is undetermined and fragmented. In this line, the barriers between binary divisions are destroyed, as for example, image and reality, fiction and history, text and context. In a time when information and goods proliferate in a global sphere, the image, symbolized on TV, dominates human existence, bringing about, at the same time, an absence of depth. In Baudrillard's more extreme terms, reality itself is replaced by images produced massively, but content emptied.

Postmodern literature shapes and promotes these cultural anxieties, favouring the novel that registers incredulity in unified structures, through incompatible realities and unsolvable contradictions. The focus of the novel is on the marginal individual, socially and psychologically, exploring unofficial or invented stories, as an alternative to sanctioned stories. Disconnected structures and self-reflexive narrators are strategies of the novelists to construct their text, as in a human process of fabrication and signification.

Canadian critic Linda Hutcheon (Cheetham and Hutcheon, 1991) refers the ambiguity of postmodern texts as a function of the paradoxical use of conventions, illustrated, for example, in a divided identity. Acknowledging the complicity with the dominant structures, the postmodern text corrupts itself with what it questions in the spheres of art and society. Hutcheon considers that the multicultural population and decentralized geography of Canada, as well as the ambivalence of Canada with the English and with the Americans, bring together the conditions for the postmodern text. The Canadian obsession with limits and frontiers and with the dualities, as for example, federal/provincial, French/English, native/colonial,<sup>2</sup> are themes shaped in Canadian postmodern fiction, exploring fissures and challenging cultural dominants.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> To refer to internal colonization of the native and Québécois, see Thomas King.

Examples of postmodern texts referred to by Hutcheon include, for example, novels by authors such as Leonard Cohen, Sheila Watson, Dave Godfrey, Rudy Wiebe, Michael Ondaatje, Margaret Atwood, Andrey Thomas, Susan Swan, Timothey Findley, Robert Kroetsch, Hubert Aquin, Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, Lousky Bersianik, Nicole Brossard.

It is in this line, suggested by Hutcheon, that of the duality native/colonial, we intend to read the novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* by Tomson Highway, in the light of a postmodern approach. The novel tells us about educational and institutional experiences and about personal and artistic schools, being the association of these themes with autobiographical aspects of the author easily recognized, namely: the death, in 1990, of his brother, at the age of 36, with aids; the education that he received at the *Roman Catholic Guy Hill Indian Residential School*; the education of the writer in music, as well as that of his brother, René Highway, notable dancer and choreographer.

### 4. Cree orature

Highway's novel includes, in the end, a glossary of Cree terms with a translation into English language. Winona Wheeler and Lorraine Brundige are two examples of academics that started keeping a record of Cree words in conventional characters with the corresponding translation into English. The Cree philosophy is based in the concept that everything is connected: in the same way, in Cree orature, everything is linked – the present is an extension of the past.

Among others, the Cree language is the most spoken native language in Canada, with different regional variants. The Cree literary works are 'given' to the public-reader *viva voce*. As Wolfart (2002, p. 243) refers, "forms and figures of Cree Literature are as fragile as the medium in which they are expressed, the spoken word."

In the preface to the first edition of the anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English, published in 1992, Goldie explains the preference for the term 'orature', distinct from the term 'oral literature' and 'oral poetry', as it does not signify the oral expression as inferior to the written expression (Moses and Goldie, 2005a). In the first chapter of the third edition of this anthology, the editors define its essence:

the term 'orature' is used as a parallel to the term 'literature'. 'Orature' indicates the body of knowledge usually referred to as 'oral literature'. The latter term is problematic, including as it does the words 'literature', with its implications of reading and books, and 'oral', with implications of the spoken and heard. 'Oral literature' seems a debased version of a true written literature. The term 'orature' allows this body of knowledge its own validity. (Moses and Goldie, 2005b, p.1)

Canadian Native people tell and listen to their legends alluding them to a time of the mind, a mythic time in which the characters live the myth as reality in their lives.

It is important to mention that there is no gender in the Cree language, as it does not have a pronoun for gender, not distinguishing thus the male from the female. More than a relic, legends of native people move themselves in a circle between a mythic time and the time of lived experience, continuing in this manner to be real, as Highway (*cit. in* Ridington, 1994, p. 839) exemplifies in relation to the use of the Cree legend in his dramatic work:

This is the way the Cree look at life. A continuous cycle. A self-rejuvenating force. By comparison, Christian theology is a straight line. Birth, suffering, and then the apocalypse... Human existence isn't a strength for redemption to the trickster. It's fun, a joyous celebration.

The Cree playwright Highway made Nanabush the central figure in his two plays *The Rez Sisters* (1988) and *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* (1990). Nanabush is the cultural hero and the 'trickster' of the natives Cree and Ojibwa that look for Nanabush for amusement and inspiration. The figure of the trickster is a paradoxical character, half human, half spiritual, daring, that embodies contradictions and personifies human ambiguity. It is the perfect integration of all things.

The anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English includes other Cree writers besides Highway: Buffy Sainte-Marie, Harold Cardinal, Beth Cuthland, Joan Crate, Louise Halfe, Marvin Francis, Paul Seesequasis and Connie Fife. Moses (Moses and Goldie, 2005a, p. xi) tells us about the sociological value of Native Literature in a globalizing world:

I think we can assert that a lot of us who make up the body literate of First Nations societies are on the right path(s), are finding the ways our individual human voices can tell the old stories again as we see and hear and re-imagine and know them, the ways that include a braiding together of what forms and content we've retained of our traditions and of what we find of use (practical, us!) in the culture of the globalizers.

The suggestion presented by Goldie is to know the native traditions so that the body of knowledge that each word carries is understood and enjoyed. Rejected native texts, as for example the play *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* by Highway, shape that situation, i.e. the difficult way when the themes of the native literature and the white audience are

joined: "Perhaps that's the answer; rather than appropriating the voice, educate yourselves so you are ready to read, ready to watch. That's what the white audience should be doing." (Moses and Goldie, 2005, p. xxii)

Moses considers that the Cree authors write mainly because of and for themselves. The therapeutic role of the writing of the Canadian Natives, in English language, is thus relegated to a second level:

One of the words that always comes up in Native gatherings, and particularly among Native artists, is that it is part of our jobs as Native artists to help people heal. Whether we're talking about Native people taught by residential schools or whether we're talking about white people who've just been in a car accident, that's what we see as our job: we're looking for the meaning of life to explain the injustices of reality. (Moses and Goldie, 2005, p. xviii)

## 5. Kiss of the Fur Queen by Tomson Highway

Tomson Highway's novel *Kiss of the Fur Quee*n tells us the story of two Cree brothers and their journeys, both physical and spiritual. Born in the fictional village of Eemanapiteepitat, in the north of Manitoba, Champion and Ooneemeetoo are the eleventh and the twelfth sons of Mariesis and Abraham Okimasis. Although they live according to their traditional values, this native family was quite influenced by the world of the white man, resulting from the forced interaction of the natives with the white missionaries.

Abraham's fascination with the world of the white men and the influence that the catholic dogma acted upon him made him believe that he should give these two sons the opportunity of being inserted in the dominant culture, deciding thus to send them to a residential school, *Birch Lake Indian Residential School*. This inclusion in the learning system was unavoidable, as if not for their father's belief, the children would not have another possibility due to the directives of the *Bureau of Indian Affairs* that determined that the native children should leave their families to be integrated in the catholic and protestant residential schools placed outside the reserves, as Abraham explains to his wife: "*Sooni-eye-gimow*'s orders, Father Bouchard says. It is the law." (Highway, 2005, p. 40)<sup>3</sup>

In the catholic residential school, Champion and Ooneemeetoo loose literally their identity as their names change to Jeremiah and Gabriel; they have their hair cut and they are forbidden to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Sooni-eye-gimow" means, and according to the glossary of Cree terms presented in the end of the novel, Indian agent, i.e. Department of Indian Affairs.

speak in their mother tongue, the Cree. Jeremiah, as if transforming his pain, lets himself go by the power of music. The fascination for a language as he silences, at the same time, his native language, clear expression of the politics of assimilation:

His Cree must not be heard or he would fail to win the prize: the boy who acquired the greatest number of tokens from other boys by catching them speaking Cree was awarded a toy at the month's end. Last month, the prize had been an Indian war bonnet; this month it was to be a pair of cowboy guns. (Highway, 2005, p. 63)

They are severely whipped, punished and victims of sexual abuse. Gabriel's innocence when he is victim of the first abuse is associated to the belief that such behaviours were duties of the men of the church and for that he should give them his consent:

When Gabriel opened his eyes, ever so slightly, the face of the principal loomed inches from his own. The man was wheezing, his breath emitting, at regular intervals, spouts of hot hair that made Gabriel think of raw meat hung to age but forgotten. The priest's left arm held him gently by his right, his right arm buried under Gabriel's bedspread, under his blanket, under his sheet, under the pyjama bottoms. And the hand was jumping up, reaching for him, pulling him back down, jumping up, reaching for him, pulling him back down. He didn't dare open his eyes fully to fear the priest would get angry; he simply assumed, after a few seconds of confusion, that this was what happened at schools, merely another reason why he had been brought here, that this was the right of the holy men. (Highway, 2005, p. 77-78)

The fragmentation of human identity is shaped, for example, in the moment when Jeremiah looses his hair, that is, his identity: "Clip, clip, clip. Champion could feel his hair falling, like snowflakes, but flakes of human skin. He was being skinned alive, in public; [...] the whole world staring, pointing, laughing." (Highway, 2005, p. 53) The extreme discipline imposed in the residential school is confirmed by the narrator when he refers to the compulsory use of the uniforms by the children, preventing them from showing their individuality and thus hiding their identity.

Later they change to an urban area in Winnipeg and it is there that, already adolescents, they find themselves between two realities, expressed as if in a 'double identity', by feeling themselves both Cree and white, because they were familiar with both cultures. Jeremiah is attracted by certain aspects of the culture of the white, almost denying his origins. This acculturation attempt is clear when he is confronted with a native girl who attends Herr Schwarzkopf lectures:

Hearing – and feeling – the new arrival sliding into the seat not far from him, Jeremiah was put on his guard: was it because this young – and undeniably Indian – girl confronted him with his own Indianness, which his weekly bus sightings of the drunks on North Main Street had driven him to deny so utterly that he went for weeks believing his own skin to be as white as parchment? He had worked so hard at transforming himself into a perfect little "transplanted European" – anything to survive. (Highway, 2005, p. 123-24)

Awareness was then acquired of some of the risks, for a native, of living in that society. He embraced his native condition becoming a pianist and a writer, just like the writer Highway. Gabriel, completely urbanized, wished to look like and live like the white. Also dedicated to the arts, he faces his own physical destruction, resulting from the life that he had in the city, when he finds out he has got aids. Gabriel is transformed in the city: in exchange of sexual acts, he received money he used in the name of art. Dancer and choreographer, indifferent, he "had no time for tortured moralizing, not even for a *mea culpa*." (Highway, 2005, p. 282)

It is only in his bed in the hospital that Gabriel finds his *self*, facing and capturing his past and his native identity. Gabriel asks Jeremiah "When I die, I want Mom to be allowed her Catholic mumbo-jumbo. But I do not want priests anywhere near my bed. Do you hear me?" (Highway, 2005, p. 299)

Years after having their identities robbed, the Okimasis brothers verbalize their identity, alienated for a long time in a society that seemed after all not to accept them. The vision of the Fur Queen that precedes Gabriel's death seems thus to announce the victory of the native spiritual world granting him (them) peace and announcing that, to Gabriel, his search for his identity, had reached an end: "rising from his body, Gabriel Okimasis and the Fur Queen floated off into the swirling mist, as the little fox on the collar of the cape turned to Jeremiah. And winked." (Highway, 2005, p. 306).

#### **5.1.** The residential schools

The understanding of the residential school system will help us to understand the lives of Gabriel and Jeremiah in the novel and will register the hard times that some individuals of the *First Nations* had in those Canadian institutions. Other countries such as New Zealand and Australia adopted similar politics relating to the education of the natives. Dating back to the middle of the 19th century, the residential schools had as main objective to convert the natives to Christianity. In 1876 the Canadian Parliament approves the *Indian Act*, a federal document that grants power to the government to control the natives that lived in the reserves, including the control of their education.

Although there were other churches operating these schools, such as the Church of England, the United Church and the Presbyterian, the Catholic Church operated a considerable number. A high number of this type of schools in the first half of the 20th century resulted from the compulsory nature of education, along with the conviction of some of the parents that it would be the best for their children. Thomas Berger (1977, p. 91) refers to the mission of assimilation of the residential schools that forced the natives to lose their culture and identity: "the purpose of the education provided to northern native people was to erase their collective memory – their history, language, religion and philosophy – and replace it with that of the white man."

Richard Lane theorizes the issue of memory and how it imposes itself in relation to the 'trickster' writing of the *First Nations*, drawing on the novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* by Highway. In the end of this novel, Jeremiah's memory "opened the padlocked doors" (Highway, 2005, p. 285), recovering illusive and labyrinthic memory. The narrative moves itself between the present and the past, trickster, merging the different moments. The events succeed themselves as in a circle and not in a linear form: there is no chronological concept of time. We are forced to question: who closed Jeremiah's padlocked doors?

Physical and psychological practices of sexual abuse were often associated to assimilation, a contradiction identified in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, published in 1996 by the *Canada Communication Group Publishing*. In the first volume of this Report entitled *Looking Forward Looking Back*, in a chapter on residential schools, now available online in the site of the *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*, can be read:

At the heart of the vision of residential education – a vision of the school as home and sanctuary of motherly care – there was a dark contradiction, an inherent element of savagery in the mechanics of civilising the children [...] The basic premise of resocialization, of the great transformation from 'savage' to 'civilized', was violent. "To kill the Indian in the child" [...]. In the end, at the point of final assimilation, "all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Available in http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg31\_e.html#104 [Consulted on 9 April 2007]).

In an interview to *Books in Canada*, Highway comments on the governmental policy: "The *Department of Indian Affairs* had an iron grip on treaty Indians... we were wards of the Crown... It was an all-out policy of assimilation... it was a dark landscape." (Wigston, 1989, p.8)

#### 6. Conclusion

Kiss of the Fur Queen tells us about sexual abuse as a central act of the novel, a silence speech act that conducts to catastrophe. This condition is continually confirmed by the new identity of the two brothers. One of the main themes of the novel is the spiritual conflict between native religion and Christianity of Catholic missionaries. The writer describes the last as the religion that abolishes the first. The division between children and parents, or with the community, continues after the return: it is the acknowledgement of the double identity, as if in a collage, after the succession of episodes and adventures.

Time-space compression is mirrored in the novel, for example, when Jeremiah answers Gabriel about the reasons why Weesageechak killed Weetigo: by the time the two brothers behave themselves as tricksters, in the mall, talking about the Weetigo, they eat pizza. The food is here a representative of the global market, of capitalism, of the society of the white men. The Cree legends lay down on verbal culture, pass from generation to generation. The legend of Moose Lake tells us about the origin of the Weetigo:

Once there was a woman who used to trap way up in the north. She was a good trapper, and nearly always managed to get a lot of fur. One day, for reasons not know, the dogs got into her furs and destroyed them. Her furs had come from a lot of work, and she needed them badly, and as she thought of the destruction done by the dogs, she became more and more upset and depressed. Eventually she became quite mad. At this point, she turned into Wetigo. She flew down from the North, and she landed in what we now call Moose Lake. She saw a light as she was flying and followed it to this place. The road was narrow, with lots of trees and underbrush so she was quite hidden. One day, a medicine man was looking in a mirror and he saw the reflection of the Wetigo staring at him. He was not afraid of her, knowing he was well protected, so he asked her what she was doing there. She told him about the pelts she had needed to make clothes for herself and to buy some food. He listened but told her she had to leave or he would have to kill her.

I will leave, because I see where another light is and I can follow that, she said. She was looking at Cedar Lake. The place where she sat is on the reserve side near the Lake. It has been seen by many of the residents of Moose Lake. To this day the ground is bare. Nothing ever grows there. (OurNorth.ca, Available in http://www.ournorth.ca/creelegends.htm, [Consulted on 10 April 2007])

The postmodern approach to this novel contributes to the understanding of Mariesis' fragmented identity when she asks Jeremiah for a priest to Gabriel: "Jeremiah, you've got to get a priest, [...] If your brother doesn't get his last rites... [...] His soul will go to hell,  $tapwee^{[4]}$ " (Highway, 2005, p. 301) Later this need is repeated as if emphasizing her scepticism in her own native culture and strengthening Catholic faith: "*Nibeebeem machee* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to the glossary of Cree terms of the novel, *tapwee* means "really".

*skooteek taytootew*<sup>[5]</sup>, (Highway, 2005, p. 304), and later she states threatening Jeremiah: "Let this priest in or I'll kill you!" (Highway, 2005, p. 305)

Several episodes in the lives of the two brothers mirror their social relations in the light of a postmodern approach: in the relation of subalternity with the other students in the residential school, in the solitude and isolation present in their lives in the city. Their self-image is mingled with the atmosphere and the reality they live in, creating a distorted image of themselves and their origins. The identity, fragmented, during the period in the residential school, and later in the city, merges the understanding they have of history and their own Cree origins, in a globalizing universe of the white men.

The cultural productions are to the two brothers of utmost importance in the everyday life, at the service of inclusion strategies, promoted by themselves in the life in the city. Ironically music and dance, two activities that couldn't after all be closer to their cultural origins.

Jeremiah and Gabriel live adolescence and youth with intensity, in a progressively fragmented reality, fed by ephemeral moments that they experience in a dimension of time-space compression. But if Gabriel's physical destruction culminates with his early death with aids, his survival and spiritual salvation are represented in the meeting with the Fur Queen at the final moment of his earthly life: the representation of survival is thus an hybrid image of two fragments, the physical and the spiritual, united by collage, of two worlds, to which Gabriel does not survive. <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> According to the same glossary, it means "my baby will go down to hell!".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> By the time this paper was to be published, the Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper acknowledges publicly the consequences and the negative impact of the politics of residential schools on the aborigenal culture, patrimony and language. See, for example: Hanson, T. (2008). P.M. cites 'sad chapter' in apology for residential schools. CBCnews.ca—Canadian Press, June 11, 2008. [online]. Available in http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2008/06/11/aboriginal-apology.html. [Consulted on 12 June 2008]; Dembeck, M. (2008). Native Canadians get apology on forced schools. Associated Press, June 11, 2008. [online]. Available in http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/25102122/ [Consulted on 12 June 2008]; Brown, D. L. (2008). Canadian Government Apologizes for Abuse of Indigenous People. Washington Post, June 12, 2008, Page AO1. [online]. Available in http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/11/AR2008061100419.html [Consulted on 12 June 2008].

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