

**WALTZING WITH AN ELEPHANT : FIRST NATIONS WOMEN'S
EFFORTS TO CREATE A HOSTEL FOR YUKON WOMEN IN CRISIS**

by

Alexis MacKenzie Petersen

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APPROVAL

Name: Alexis Peterson
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Waltzing with an elephant: First Nations Womens' efforts to create a hostel for Yukon women in crisis
Examining Committee:

Chairperson: ~~Robert Menzies, Ph.D.~~

Ted S. Palys, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Senior Supervisor

Joan Brockman, LL.M.
Associate Professor

Dawn Currie, Ph.D.
Professor,
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of British Columbia

Date Approved: 8 DECEMBER 1994

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hostel for Yukon women in crisis

Author: _____

(signature)

Alexis Petersen

(name)

12-9-94

(date)

ABSTRACT

In 1975, various crucial issues faced Yukon women: wife-battering; lack of housing; migration from rural communities into Whitehorse; and conflict with the justice system. The First Nations women of the Yukon Indian Women's Association resolved to build a multi-purpose hostel for Yukon women in crisis as a partial response to these problems.

The Yukon territorial government had also identified these issues as areas of concern, such that various social welfare and justice system agencies responded to requests from the First Nations Women to assist in building a transition home. Well educated, professional workers (who were also feminists) from governmental and non-governmental agencies became actively involved in the development of a 1979 proposal to the federal Department of Health and Welfare for a demonstration grant.

A combination of archival and interview data reveals that this ostensibly collaborative involvement of state agencies and feminist bureaucrats had the consequence of merely imposing the historically unequal male/female power relations found within state agencies onto the grass-roots shelter. The result was that, by 1982, First Nations women had completely withdrawn from involvement in the transition home.

Feminist theory and a specific view of state theory are used to examine that transformation process. Particular attention is paid to how issues of class, race, and professionalism permeated the framing and resolution of crucial issues in the Whitehorse transition home. The concept of the "privilege of feminism" is used in explaining why women of colour and First Nations women have felt

marginalized and isolated, and been led to reject what they see as white-middle-class feminists imposing belief systems that are incongruent with other cultures' world views. The author joins these women in calling for a deconstruction of privilege, and the building of mutually respectful coalitions among women of different cultures and world views to address women's issues.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since being "rediscovered" by grass-roots feminists, the issue of wife battering has become part of most feminist discussions regarding women's oppression in Canadian society (Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1990; Errington, 1977; Faith, 1992; Kenny and Magnusson, 1992; Lewis, 1982; Walker, 1990).¹ Wife-battering has also become a state-identified social concern entrenched within the ideologies of social welfare systems and social service delivery agencies (Barnsley, 1980; Moscovitch and Drover, 1981; Walker, 1990). A network of various governmental agencies and social institutions (such as the social welfare and justice system) has addressed the wife-battering issue but, in the process, has also transformed it from its grass-roots feminist basis (Barnsley, 1980; Faith, 1992; Walker, 1990).

Feminist analyses critically examine many of the issues state institutions continue to ignore, such as the historically unequal power relations between men and women that exist in all spheres of activity (Barnsley et al, 1980; Gordon, 1988; Pleck, 1987; Smart, 1989). In addition, feminists have linked the patriarchal relations of ruling and resultant unequal male/female power relations to the privilege of white feminist theory. Issues of exclusion, marginalization and racism in the women's movement have surfaced as feminists deconstruct privilege to include women of colour and/or working class women (Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1990, Currie and Kline, 1991; Findlay, 1988; Walker, 1990).

This thesis examines this process of state absorption and transformation by scrutinizing the relationship that developed between Kaushee's Place Transition Home, the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) and the Federal Government. Specifically, an analysis will be presented of the interaction between state agencies, (such as the Health and Human Resources Department)

and grass-roots organizations, (such as the Yukon Indian Women's Association [YIWA]) from 1979 to 1984.

CONCEPTUALIZING THE STATE

A number of different theories exist as to what the "state" is, and how it can be conceptualized. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in detail all relevant theories of the state, a brief outline of the state as conceptualized by Foucault, Marx and MacKinnon will be offered.

Barry Smart (1985) examines Foucault's approach to the state in the context of his exploration of the origins of power. For Foucault, any discussion of the state (as an over-all governing body) necessarily involves an analysis of relations of power that are beyond its limits, as "the state is not able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations and ... can only operate on the basis of other already existing power relations" (Foucault, 1980:122). Although Foucault acknowledges an evident transformation of the centralization of political power in the form of the modern state, there is another transformation that is no less significant. This concerns the "development of power techniques oriented towards individuals and intended to rule them in a continuous and permanent way [under a rhetoric to] ensure, sustain, and improve the lives of each and every one" (Foucault, 1981:239). Foucault's examination of the state focusses attention on these two transformations and how the "state acts as a superstructure in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family and so forth" (Foucault, 1980:122).

Burstyn (1985) explores the state from a Marxist point of view. Within this analysis, the state is both a reflection of actual social relations and a central set of institutions that maintain and perpetuate the privileges of the ruling classes with their different factions, sectors and lobby groups in a complex hierarchal society. For Marx, the state is a class state by definition, even though it may grant concessions to the dominated classes through a number of its agencies and

institutions. These concessions are intended to appease and fracture the oppressed classes to prevent a consolidated class revolution.

Foucault and Marx soundly reject the liberal view of the state (Mill, 1989) as a neutral arbiter that mediates disinterestedly between different social groups and changes its laws and institutions according to a shifting societal consensus. Whereas liberal theory sees state power emanating from the collective consensus of all citizens, Marxist theory views the state as oppressing and suppressing power constituted elsewhere. For Foucault, the relationship between political power (exercised over legally constituted "subjects") and pastoral power (exercised over live individuals) has been problematic throughout Western history and crucial to any discussion of the state (Smart, 1985).

MacKinnon (1993) has explored a feminist theory of the state, and believes that much of the feminist posturing toward the state has been necessarily contradictory. For example, the reform and enforcement of rape laws affirm a model of rape as individual, deviant behaviour; the declaration of rape as a crime means that society is against it. Notwithstanding these legal declarations, men are trained, elevated, venerated and paid for expressing their personal and sexual dominance. While "macho" displays of dominance, especially in the world of sports, are not to be confused with rape and battering of women, issues of power and control could be applied in both instances.

Both MacKinnon (1993) and Burstyn (1985) are critical of a one-dimensional view of the state as a singular, monolithic object or abstract "thing". For them, "the state" sums up and schematizes a system of relations, structures, institutions and forces that, in industrialized society, are vast, complex, differentiated, and at times contradictory. Evidence of the contradictory nature of the state, and the futility of a one-dimensional view of the state can be illustrated in the issues addressed in this thesis: on the one hand local funding is given for Transition Houses to shelter women and provide services to rape victims and day care centres, while simultaneously, at another "higher" level of the state, funds for these local activities are cut off, or otherwise contained, dismantled, and/or absorbed into existing state institutions.

For the purposes of this thesis, the term "the state" will be used to describe a combination of governing departments, institutions, and agencies that co-exist within a complex web of inter-relationships whose function is to regulate and control behaviour. It is acknowledged that the state is not "all of a whole", and that various parts can, at times and in relation to other parts, appear inconsistent with each other. This is a result of its own internal contradictions, as well as individual modes of resistance to institutional hegemony over their lives.

For my purposes, I am less concerned with explaining the state per se, as in describing its formal historical interaction with a single grass-roots organization. In some sense, this description will bear its own analysis, based upon the notion that the state is best understood, not in terms of what it is, but in terms of what it does. Although a narrow definition of the state may be used at first, its manifestations cover much more.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE ACTION OF WIFE BATTERY

Much of the debate and conflict regarding appropriate responses to wife-battering is rooted in the differential subscription to one of two main approaches: (1) a medical model of individual pathology; versus (2) a general context for women's experience within the family and society at large (Barnsley et al, 1980; Martin, 1977; Walker, 1979). Feminists have examined wife-battering within a context that reflects the historical and existing oppression of women. This analysis concludes that "wife battery" is the most descriptive way to articulate the consistent observation that what is often called "family violence" typically involves men battering women. Underlying such differences in terminology are huge differences in perspective and "understandings" as to what "the problem" is, and how it is best addressed. Identifying the problem as "family violence" implies that abuse is randomly strewn among family members and family types, suggesting in turn that intervention need only be done on a case-by-case basis as the need arises. In contrast, feminist analyses focus on systematic aspects

of the phenomenon i.e., the abuse of women by men in the family and other contexts – which suggests a more structural source, and hence the need for a more structured intervention. When grass-roots feminists succeeded in bringing the issue of wife-battering into the public sphere, state reaction centred on treating the problem as if it were an aberrant disease curable by professionals. The network of institutions that constitute the state have resisted feminist calls for systemic change (Currie, 1990; Lewis, 1982). This resistance has been accomplished through "those institutional forms that actually organize, regulate and control society through state administration and legislative processes." (Walker, 1990:4).

A medicalized model that focusses on individual pathology to explain wife battering is not surprising, given the state's historical reluctance to control or regulate behaviours between those in familial relationships. As Ng (1985:Introduction) points out, the state and family affect women's lives directly, and can be examined historically to chart women's oppression. Vestigial patriarchal traditions, mostly benefitting dominant white middle/upper class males, support and inform accounts of wife-battering (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Errington, 1977; Schechter, 1982). By examining only certain individuals and particular families for psychological abnormalities to explain wife-battering, an exploration of the role of the state in women's oppression is ignored.

Nonetheless, feminists have rigorously pursued critical analyses of the historical links between wife abuse and the unequal division of power between men and women (Faith, 1992; MacLeod, 1980; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990). Historical analysis of archival material can be a useful method to describe power and knowledge at work in society, and to assess their role in the overall production and maintenance of existing power relations.

Support for the continuation of women's physical oppression by men could be inferred from a recent event involving the Yukon Territorial Government. During the week of March 4th, 1992 in the Yukon Territory, New Democratic Party Premier Tony Penikett refused to offer in-principle support for women's right to defend themselves physically against male violence (Whitehorse Star, March 7, 1992). This particular week had been designated by the Yukon

Territorial Government as Sexual Assault Awareness Week, and the Women's Directorate (a department within the NDP government that well-illustrates state contradictions) had contracted with a local group of women to provide various projects during the week. A pamphlet outlining physical self-defence options for women, including two strategies that could be physically debilitating, was produced and distributed in the community of Whitehorse. Many men cried "foul". Some Whitehorse feminists considered this argument against using violence when attacked to be spurious, and felt it deflected attention from the very real sexual and physical assaults committed on women. Then- Premier Penikett was called upon by the Victoria Faulkner Women's Centre to publicly support women's right to self-defense, particularly when assaulted. Penikett refused the request to give support.

This is particularly contradictory in light of the historic and present Criminal Code of Canada, in which men's right to self-defense and the defense of property is articulated. What is different in this case is that the self-defense being promoted has to do with violence by men against women, and that particular concept is offensive to many. Having to think about the reality of date rape, street rape etc., usually means examining the oppression that is behind the violence and the reality that it is usually men who offend. It is far easier to sidestep the issue and concentrate on the "women's violence" in the pamphlet.

Coincidentally, that same week, a well-known woman engineer/land claims negotiator who had assisted a friend entering Kaushee's Place, the Whitehorse home for battered women, was murdered. Allegedly, the pre-meditated murder was carried out execution style by the husband of the woman being sheltered. The state's top representatives (in this example the Yukon Government) were not able to connect the right to defend one's self, and the pre-mediated murder of a young professional feminist unable to defend herself. The Women's Centre, along with numerous other feminist activists, attempted to point out the link between the two events. The resistance feminists encountered was a painful illustration of the continuing deep opposition government leaders exhibit to those feminists who insisted, among other issues, on drawing

parallels between the Yukon government's resistance to the pamphlet of self-defence, and a defenceless woman being murdered.

State resistance to resolving systemic oppression of women can also be illustrated through an historical examination of the relationship of women's shelters with the myriad state agencies (Barnsley, 1985; Faith, 1992; Kenny and Magnusson, 1992; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990). These accounts reveal how, by imposing methods of bureaucracy, classification and professionalism on grass-roots agencies, the state undermined and institutionalized feminist activities. When grass-roots organizations depend on the state for funding, services and programs, it is often the state's agenda that sets the models of service delivery to battered women. Indeed, the state seems characteristically reluctant to fund any type of programs, projects etc. that do not promote its agenda to some degree. (Faith, 1992; Ng, 1988; Walker, 1990).

Burstyn and Smith (1985) contextualize women's oppression by locating it within unequal power relations between men and women. They and others (e.g., Thorne, 1982) affirm that these unequal power relations exist in two key institutions that arrange and form social life in contemporary societies: the family and the state. In state-sponsored discussions of wife-battering, the abusive family (which is conceptually comprised of individuals who are psychologically aberrant) is posed at the centre of the issue of "family violence" – a term that obscures the dynamics of abusive men and the damage for which they are responsible. Once the focus is on the family and not the state, questions raised and action called for are issued around phrases such as "preservation of family values" ² rather than safety, security and power for the individual members (Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1990).

The contextualization of unequal power relations between men and women has recently been extended to include the concept of "privilege" that critical feminists locate within feminist theory itself. Core concerns to women were articulated in feminist theory by white, middle-class women who, until the late 1970s and 1980s, did not include the analyses of marginalized women of colour and First Nations women and how they viewed their reality and experience (Adamson,

1988; Currie and Kline, 1991; Greschner, 1992; Wine and Ristock, 1991). The concept of the "universality of patriarchy across time and cultures" (Greschner, 1992:338) has resulted in alienation by many First Nations women from the feminist agenda. Their concerns, particularly in relation to cultural survival, extend beyond gender into the arena of racism and how Canadian society has been constituted on unequal race relations (Currie and Kline, 1991; Wine and Ristock, 1991).

Within the battered women's movement itself, few transition homes have incorporated a class or race analysis into the structure of the shelters. Little regard was shown to how marginalized women brought to the shelters their own cultural perspective, experiences and abstract, universal knowledge of human relations that constituted a world view considerably different than the universality of patriarchy articulated and promoted within the battered women's shelter movement (Currie and Kline, 1991; Morgan, 1981). A feminist gender-based theory of wife battering that excludes First Nations women by not listening to their concepts of community, family and wife-battering, risks further alienation and marginalization by the very women the theory was intended to liberate.

The current thesis studies the experience of a women's hostel in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, that was conceived within the First Nations women's community, supported and structured in a manner similar to other grass-roots feminist shelters in Canada. Although Yukon First Nations women originally planned a multi-purpose home for women with primarily a First Nations Board of Directors, Kaushee's Place was transformed into an all-white run battered women's shelter with a dearth of First Nation presence. Understanding the dynamics of that transformation is the focus of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

During the 1970s, community-based women's groups established a number of volunteer support services for women as part of the wider efforts towards women's liberation in Canada (Barnsley, 1985, Ridington, 1977-78). This type of community volunteer involvement by local citizens became associated with the term "grass-roots development". The term "grass-roots" will be used in this thesis to denote "bottom-up" community response to citizen-identified issues, as opposed to the "top-down" bureaucratic/institutional process where centralized authorities impose solutions in accordance with their perception of issues.

In Vancouver during the early 1970s, groups such as A Woman's Place, the Women's Health Collective, and Vancouver Status of Women were receiving an increasing number of calls from women beaten by their husbands (Barnsley, 1985:18). From this experience, which was also occurring elsewhere in Canada, a number of shelters opened, operated by feminists for battered women and their children (Barnsley, 1985; Faith, 1991; Ridington, 1977-78; Walker, 1990).³

These "transition homes" as they were called, provided more to battered women than mere refuge. They also provided an atmosphere that enabled individual women to make the transition from being helpless and beaten, to women capable of taking care of their problems, issues and families (Ridington, 1977-78). As Barnsley (1985:19) points out, these shelters were perceived as "a threat to the status quo", that is, to those professionals and government agencies who were reluctant to address the wife-battering that was occurring. Furthermore, as Ridington (1977:565) observes, the presence of these shelters across Canada "implied that the problem [was] widespread and a social problem not just an individual issue".

As shelters opened, feminist attention was devoted to putting the issue of wife-battering on the public and political agenda. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, many grass-roots feminist groups organized workshops and conventions, and prepared briefs (Barnsley et al, 1985; Errington, 1977; Lewis, 1982; MacCleod, 1980; Walker, 1979). In 1979, the first national study of wife-battering in Canada was conducted on behalf of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) (Currie, 1990).

Canadian feminists were breaking ground in the development of shelters and literature in the early 1970s. Because of the nature of grass-roots development, however, this response to battered women was emerging in isolation from developments in Britain and the United States. As grass-roots development is usually done with volunteers and little funding, networking and communication, can be difficult, especially internationally. It was not until the late 1970s and early 80s that information and resources from Britain and the United States became available. Feminists were then able to record how other activist groups had organized in similar ways, and were able to coordinate and share this information (Barnsley et al, 1980:20). Martin (1976), Pizzey (1974) and Schechter (1982) were among those who contributed to a feminist analysis of wife-battering that emphasized women's continued economic and social dependence on men, located wife-battering within a context of women's oppression, and drew links between wife-beating and women's broader subjugation.

The feminist literature concerning wife-battering is now both considerable and varied. Different perspectives emphasize women articulating the abuse in their own voice (eg., Barnsley et al, 1980; Dobash and Dobash, 1977-1978; MacCleod, 1980); locating wife-battering within a historical and cultural context (eg., Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Gordon, 1988; Schechter, 1982); and examining wife-battering within women's oppression (eg., Martin, 1976; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1984).⁴

At the same time that shelters were being developed and the battered-women's movement was gathering support and attention, state-sponsored institutions and agencies were formulating their own methods and resources to cope with and address the "family violence" issue. The term

"family violence" reflects the direction taken by professionals (social workers, psychologists, police etc.). As Barnsley (1980:8) and Walker (1990:96) have observed, a name has significant implications for the responses it engenders.

At a United Way symposium in Vancouver, 1977, Murray Straus, Ph.D. (professor of sociology at the University of New Hampshire) was one of the professionals invited to speak on the causes of and solutions to family violence. At that particular time, Straus was acknowledged by professionals to be "the" expert in articulating the problem of "family violence", identifying the causes (all psychological), and providing solutions. He was followed by Gene Errington, M.S.W., M.A., (then Co-ordinator of the Women's Research Centre in Vancouver) who drew attention to the understandings embedded in whether one called violence to women "wife-battering" or "family violence", and all the implications that flowed from that distinction. Errington's speech was a crucial point in the symposium for clarifying feminist anger at the diffusion of the wife-battering problem within the conference, and the question of where they were supposed to "fit" in the heavily professionalised agenda being presented – a model supported by state-sponsored institutionalized agencies.

Errington (1977) described a number of divisive issues that demarcated lines of divergence between the medicalized individual pathology model supported by state-sponsored institutionalized agencies, and a feminist grass-roots analysis. These issues include: (a) the typical lack of gender analysis in social science research, that results in the silencing and objectification of women; (b) the ways in which wife-battering has been translated into "marital combat", which obfuscates who is doing what to whom; and (c) the ways in which language can implicitly legitimate the use of violence against women (Errington, 1977:66).

By the early 1980s, literature in the field of "family violence" (in which wife-battering was specifically addressed) was prolific, with the individual medical pathology model firmly entrenched. Non-feminist analysts tended to view the problem as gender-neutral, or at least a problem involving both sexes (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974; Strauss et al, 1980).

In addition, there was a division between those who approached the problem psychologically i.e., those who identified and examined factors such as "social stress", and those who relied on a systems theory explanation (Giles-Sims, 1983; Straus et al, 1980). Steinmetz widened the gap further between the individual medical model and a feminist theory of wife-battering when she proposed that "the percentage of wives having used physical violence often exceeds that of the husbands" (1977-1978:499). Although this denial of men's brutality of women within the confines of the family has since been refuted (Fields and Kirchner, 1978; Pleck, 1977-1978), the effect of this denial and minimalizing of the level of violence has had far reaching effects. ⁵

Among themselves, feminists also have differing perspectives on wife-battering, some of which include psychologically based theories. Hilberman and Munson (1977:99) discussed the impact of marital violence on women, for example, and drew parallels with rape victims. Walker (1979) analyzed what she refers to as "the battered woman syndrome" in her feminist-based research with battered women. Although these writers utilize a psychological methodological base for their research, feminist principles validating a woman's perspective are utilized to expand the area of psychological and psychoanalytical knowledge. It is the lack of any feminist orientation within many psychological wife-battering explanations that leads most feminists to object vociferously to much of that literature. While it may be that some psychological explanations are more acceptable than others, concentration on that level of analysis to the exclusion of systemic roots of wife-battering continues to be a major issue of controversy within the field.

Breines and Gordon (1983:508) expressed reservations regarding the way wife-battering was being absorbed into a "family violence" framework, and these concerns have been echoed by Barnsley (1980) and Walker (1990). An eventual consequence of this absorption has been the collapsing of responses to wife-battering into an institutionally set agenda. Although feminists view the problem (wife-battering) as a microcosm of social relations between the sexes and take, as one grounding assumption, the validity of women talking about violence done to

them, they are not a homogeneous group. Johnston (1984:32) notes that "feminist analysis provides for a broad view of the context of individual behaviour in the structural and institutional organization of a patriarchal and capitalist society".

Feminist views of the political struggles necessary to have women's needs addressed are varied, and roughly follow divisions and disagreements that are formalized within theory and political practice. Women who started battered women's programs are motivated by diverse ideological and personal experiences. This diversity translates into three different feminist perspectives: liberal, socialist and radical.

Within liberal feminist ideology, it is believed that ending women's oppression can best be achieved by working to achieve concrete changes in law and institutions. For liberal feminists, the 1970s were devoted to documenting and attempting to change the vast area of discriminatory law to render legal rules gender neutral (Currie, 1990:84). Although these "campaigns secured equality clauses in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a notable advance for women" (Currie, 1990:79), the type of relief expected from this landmark constitutional document was not forthcoming.

As many feminist activists discovered, Smart (1989:2) was correct when she characterized law as "deaf to core concerns of feminism" and advised that "feminists should be extremely cautious of how and whether they resort to law." Smart's (1984) sociological study of the impact of British divorce law as mediated through locally powerful solicitors, magistrates and others, showed that it is these legal players who interpret, implement and enforce the law – often upholding the status quo of unequal relations between men and women. Her study went on to demonstrate how economic dependence in marriage has been historically and currently enforced, with divorce exacerbating the poverty of women and their children.

Socialist feminists construct the relationship between women and the state from a different perspective. While liberal feminists see the possibility of reform through negotiation with state institutions, socialist feminists view the state as containing vestiges of patriarchal values. The struggles to overcome women's oppression thus need to be centred around the social

relationships that the law reflects and reproduces within the two major institutions that affect women: the family and the state (Barrett, 1982; Currie, 1990; Eisenstein, 1981, 1984). Socialist feminists ground "women's oppression within material reality: the unequal division of labour between the sexes inside and outside the home, female responsibility for child rearing, and women's work maintaining the home and family" (Schechter, 1982:46).

It is their view of the state that differentiates socialist from radical feminists, with the "patriarchy/gender" versus "capitalism/class" debate illustrating the "radical" versus "socialist" positions (Burstyn and Smith, 1985). As Ng (1985:Introduction) points out, these are reflected in Burstyn and Smith's essays in Women, Class, Family and the State (1985), which express different views of the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy.

Smith (1985:1) insists that gender relations are an "integral constituent of the social organization of class" and locates patriarchy in state institutional processes that organize class domination under capitalism. In contrast, Burstyn follows Hartmann (1981), in preferring the term "masculine dominance" to "patriarchy", as it "names the relation (dominance) and the agent (masculine)" (1985:56). She suggests that men's appropriation of women's labour, especially reproductive labour, predates capitalism. What is unique to Western capitalist society is that the state, as represented through its institutions and agencies, continues to express and enforce masculine domination (Burstyn and Smith, 1985:Introduction).

Theoretically, socialist feminism was informed by a Marxist investigation of women's subordination. But the marriage of feminism and Marxism, both as a body of knowledge and as a political practice, has been one of ambivalence, since the task feminists set was to use gender specifically as a focal construct (Wilson, 1986). MacKinnon (1989) maintains that the growing ambivalence within socialist feminism towards the state on issues central to women's status, is a product of neither liberalism nor Marxism granting women, as such, a specific relation to the state.

ISSUES OF RACE AND CLASS

In an analysis of state responses to wife-battering, it is necessary to consider issues of institutionalism and professionalism (Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1990; Faith, 1992; Schechter, 1982, Walker, 1990), class (Morgan, 1981, Ng et al, 1990; Phillips, 1987), and race (Adamson et al, 1988; Currie and Klein, 1991; Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Fiske, 1990; Little Bear et al, 1984).

To achieve an understanding of the failure of some grass-roots organizations because of the co-optation of their original goals, the identified issues of privilege in feminist theory (such as professionalism, bureaucratization, classism) are examined in relation to the ability of grass-roots groups to exist when forced to use those same bureaucratic and professional practices of working. Responses to wife-battering are necessarily affected by race, as the class character of the state is reproduced (Adamson et al, 1988; Currie and Klein, 1991; de Laurentis, 1990; Greschner, 1992; Mohanty, 1984; Smart, 1990; Wine and Ristock, 1991).

Institutionalization, or the process of the feminist grass-roots response to wife-battering being absorbed into state agencies, can be analyzed by examining the way systems of classification, professionalism, and bureaucracy have been state-imposed on grass-roots transition houses. These procedures of classification, professionalism, and bureaucracy were identified by Morgan (1981) when she distinguished two analytic positions on the nature of the state and social intervention at the grass-roots level. The first would examine the process and consequences of grass-roots organizations' demand for state services (Morgan, 1981 in Walker, 1990:6). The second would examine state intervention in terms of the effect these struggles have had on the nature of the intervention itself. Nonetheless, this still leaves an analytic gap that "prevents us from understanding the nature of grass-roots movement failures or co-optation" (Morgan, 1981:18).

Walker (1990) affirms, with Ng (1984), the necessity of studying the ways in which "the class character of the state is reproduced when a grass-roots agency is forced to use bureaucratic and professional methods of working" (Walker, 1990:7). Faith did just that in her study of the Vancouver Transition House, which focussed on "how women's issues become the property of the state through the processes of professionalization" (Faith, 1993:3). She traces the transformation of the Vancouver Transition House from a collective decision-making structure to a hierarchal system.

The transformation occurred when the state greeted demands for funding by imposing certain reciprocal responsibilities of accountability. Although accountability can be accomplished by a collective decision-making group, this practice is unrecognized and dismissed by the state. Accordingly a hierarchal structure was imposed by the Ministry of Human Resources, which brought with it all the trappings of classification, professionalism, and bureaucracy. This imposition effectively undermined collective decision-making systems initiated by the volunteer women, who now lacked the "appropriate" qualifications.

The new hierarchical power structures were often headed by white feminists well-versed in state bureaucracy (Ahrens, 1980; Currie and Klein, 1991; Morgan, 1981; Ng et al, 1990; Walker, 1990). Wife-battering was soon absorbed under a rhetoric of "family violence" under the guise of providing funding, services, and programming to battered women and children (Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990). In that way, wife-battery, became a "family" problem, thereby moving the discussion away from feminist patriarchal analysis.

Morgan (1981:17) was also one of the first to suggest that there has been a failure to analyze the state both as a set of social relations, and as a vehicle for the reproduction of these relations. Ng (1982:1) took up the challenge and posed a number of questions. One of these concerned the ways in which the class character of the state is reproduced when grass-roots agencies, such as feminist shelters, are forced to use bureaucratic and professional methods of working.

Another question involved the connections between race and class during the development and operation of shelters. Little systematic attention has been paid to the underlying class and (especially) race divisions between the generally white, middle-class feminist workers and the battered women, who tended to be from other ethnic and class backgrounds. ⁶ As Morgan has noted, understanding and analyzing the state's role in maintaining class and race domination is essential to preventing the co-optation and failure of grass-roots shelters.

Moving from a process of equal collective decision-making to a hierarchalized unequal power relationship, ensured the co-optation and transformation of consensus-seeking transition homes into hierarchalized shelters where the struggle for power between women resulted in oppression for First Nations women and women of colour. These racist implications are evident in literature examining the dynamics of racism in organizations and the women's movement (Adamson, 1988; Currie and Klein, 1991; Greschner, 1992); racial oppression through the feminist theoretical search for a "meta-narrative" or "grand theory" of women's oppression (Currie and Klein, 1991; de Laurentis, 1990; Smart, 1990); and the transformation of unequal male/female power relations within feminist shelters that left First Nations women and women of colour marginalized and silenced (Adamson, 1988; Currie and Klein, 1991; de Laurentis, 1990; Greschner, 1992; Wine and Ristock, 1991).

Schechter (1982:271) has discussed how poor women and women of colour hold a different world view than white middle-class women, which often leaves them (in this thesis, First Nations women) feeling misunderstood or tokenized. For minorities, cultural differences and accompanying unique experiences can contribute to a view of the criminal justice system as an enemy of their community. Often, women from ethnic minorities have had to struggle over loyalty to their families and community, and reject a white Western (including European, Canadian, and United States) feminist analysis that places men and the family within an oppressive context.

In the First Nations context, Greschner (1992:339) refers to the loyalty struggle as being artificially created by a "bias of aboriginal patriarchy". This bias has found expression in the Canadian government's attitude to aboriginal justice systems and in the Canadian feminist movement. The prevalent belief among feminists in the "universality of patriarchy" across time and cultures has resulted in cultural arrogance by white feminists to First Nations women because of the presupposition that the problems of one culture are replicated in another. Currie and Klein (1991:17) and Smart (1990:194) echo others in rejecting a grand theory of oppression that can be applied to all women irrespective of culture and community, and question the appropriateness of using "we" in an inclusive form when talking of First Nations women and feminist theory (Adamson,1988:19).

First Nations women and women of colour have challenged the "axis of gender" analysis that Mohanty (1984:336) criticizes in Western feminist literature that examines minority women. Mohanty states that by using women as a category of analysis, there is an assumption that women are homogeneous across race and culture, and share a "sameness" in their oppression. In addition, de Laurentis demonstrates how this "axis of gender" – which she calls the "first epistemological ground of feminism, (defining) a form of consciousness based on the opposition of woman to man, and the oppression of women by men" (1990:135) leads to a one-way power relation in which women are seen as victims of this oppression only. By considering axes of difference that may exist for minority and First Nations women, women are seen to be less homogeneous than first thought. Other power relations such as racism, pull at these women, both internally in their communities, and externally in the wider Canadian society. The oppression of societal racism and the internal colonial racism that Nahanee (1993) speaks of, are often of far more importance to First Nations women in particular. The "axis of gender" argument is also rejected by Smart (1990: 194), who suggests we abandon the search for meta-narratives that will give an all-encompassing explanation of race, gender and class. The result has been what Adamson (1988:108) characterizes as racism inside the women's movement itself.

The acceptance by the women's movement of gender as the mainstay in feminist theory has been challenged by First Nations women and women of colour as racist; constructions of feminism do not speak to their world view and experience (Wine and Ristock, 1991). Native women see their experience of racism as more oppressing than sexism and, in that view, they often join their Native brothers in rejecting the feminist women's movement (Graveline et al, 1991).

In Little Bear et al, (1984), First Nations contributors demonstrate the wide philosophical gap between First Nations cultures and Indo-European societies. Fiske (1990) documents the role First Nations women have played in their community's political struggle for self-government and their challenges of established political practices on reserves. In a case study of a Carrier Indian reserve in British Columbia, Fiske attributes the political success of First Nations women to their ability to adapt to changing community demands. These women transformed the traditional feminine responsibilities of nurturing and providing for families, into a focus on political issues. Consequently, they developed networks and alliances to challenge the status quo and gain control over political resources. This process of taking control of social problems is not unlike that done by white middle-class feminists in the battered women's movement.

One essential difference is the apparent acceptance by many First Nations women of their traditional roles as nurturers and providers, as opposed to feminists' location of this role within the larger context of women's oppression. ⁷ As Greschner (1992:340) says, the refusal to accept First Nation women's understandings and truths on their own terms has led to alienation from, and conflict with, the women's movement.

Kate Shanley (1988) explores some of the issues that she believes separate the Indian women's movement from the mainstream women's movement. As well as confirming that the issues of equal pay, child health and welfare, personal choice etc. affect Indian women, Shanley states that,

"equality per se may have a different meaning for

Indian women and Indian people. The difference begins with personal and tribal sovereignty – the right to be legally recognized as peoples empowered to determine our own destinies" (1988:214).

She cites two examples of how Indian feminists view issues of equality that do not concern mainstream women: (1) the individual Indian woman struggles to "promote the survival of a social structure" (p.214) whose familial organization is different from the mainstream; and (2) the societal struggle to achieve sovereignty and protect connections to the land to survive as a people.

Teresa Nahanee (1993) accepts some aspects of white patriarchal feminist theory in her denunciations of the existing legal system operating in many First Nations villages. In particular, violent crimes against women are mentioned as examples to show that elders circles have not been effective because,

"elders also abuse women and children, the community leaders do nothing to stem the violence and males don't understand the violation of a female body and can't determine appropriate forms of punishment".
(p.362)

Nanee also cites the oppression of Aboriginal women as being situated within patriarchy and colonialism. The traditional roles of men and women were displaced when Christianity and all the gendered values that accompanied missionaries came into contact with Aboriginal people. These misplaced values are to blame for Aboriginal women not leaving violent situations: "the more Christianized an aboriginal woman is the more likely she is to remain" (Nanee, 1993:363).

Although Nahanee supports the concept of Aboriginal sovereignty, she also recognizes the clash between Indian collective rights to self-government and feminist ideals of individual rights. She quite rightly points out that it was the notion of the unacceptability of sexual discrimination that encouraged Aboriginal activists to continue to fight for equality and that

"legal theoreticians (and Chiefs and Bands in Council) who say the Canadian Charter does not belong in Aboriginal communities ... should take the time to remember the history of sexual oppression of Aboriginal women". (p.370)

The word "feminism" has a different meaning to many First Nations women but, as Shanley (1988) points out, they are united with mainstream feminists in outrage at violence against women. At the same time, far more care and attention must be paid to the cultural differences that exist within diverse groups; solutions that could be mutually supported and based on genuine understanding must be sought. Otherwise, these cultural differences can contribute to tension, misunderstanding and alienation among shelter Boards, residents and staff, and can undermine the ability to connect with the larger community to resolve issues around wife-battering.

By offering an analysis of a Northern shelter's relationship with the Federal government, local state agencies and their bureaucratic representatives, this thesis will contribute to the literature on how state patriarchal traditions influence, shape and transform grass-roots organizations. For feminist activists to be able to transform the state, even conceptually, it is helpful to understand historically the dynamics of the relationship between women's grass-roots responses to wife-battering and the state's responses. It is also imperative for feminist activists to address inherent contradictions within feminist theory and the transformation of patriarchal power relations at the grass-roots level of organizing, so inclusiveness becomes a reality rather than rhetoric.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method selected for this thesis research was that of a qualitative historical case study. Data were collected by examining newspapers, board minutes, correspondence, director and staff reports, and interviews. Data analysis was based on corroboration of secondary source information with primary source interviews. The primary research question addressed was "What was the historical relationship that emerged and evolved between the original grass-roots Kaushee's Place organization and the primary funding source, the Federal Government?" The term "relationship" is used to describe the interaction that occurred between the state and specific grass-roots agencies while negotiating and creating the Yukon Transition Home between 1977 and 1984.

The analysis thus involved examining: (1) the grass-roots origins of Kaushee's Place; (2) how the First Nations' grassroots Women's organizations perceived the need for a women's shelter in Yukon; (3) how the nature of wife-battering was defined in relation to the Yukon community; (4) the elements of transformation that occur when grass-roots organizations conform to state bureaucratic funding demands; and (5) how issues of class and race affected the organization of Kaushee's Place. Other factors examined include (6) the state's resistance to the shelter and how that was manifest; (7) where support for the shelter came from and why; and (8) the nature of overt and covert conflict within the shelter among the women involved in day to day operation of Kaushee's Place.

In In Womens Interest, Lisa Price (1988) quotes Hannah Arendt admonishing feminists to "think what we are doing" (Arendt, 1955) within the context of examining state and institutional change "in light of our experience, our efforts and our successes" (Price, 1988:8). Price goes on to state the necessity for feminists to continue to recount and document

experiences with institutions, refine the analysis and continue the discussions and evaluations arising henceforth. Issues of race and class can sometimes only be studied in an historical perspective by examining past events. For feminists, the critical documenting of our past, identifying crucial points of change and addressing conflict are imperative to preparing for the future.

Historical analysis was chosen for this thesis as it allowed for the systematic collection and analysis of a wide array of archival and historical information relevant to the research question (Yegidis and Weinbach, 1991). It also allowed the tracing of social developments and processes over time, which is of particular interest in the battered women's movement. Examining social processes historically "reminds us that things were not always as they are now, and suggests, therefore, that is also not how they always must be" (Palys, 1992:213)

Primary sources of data included Kaushee's Place files and documents, which include correspondence, grant proposals, board meeting minutes, reports from staff and board, evaluatory reports and other information (e.g., internal house memos, sporadic accounting copied of per diems, and other similar bits of information scattered in the files that had been copies and saved for unknown reasons), from 1977 to 1984. This period begins with the First Nations women identifying the need for a shelter for Yukon women, and ends with the final evaluatory report done to satisfy the Federal Demonstration Grant. These archival data were supplemented by personal interviews with key original players.

Other types of primary source documents were also examined. Written permission was obtained from the Board in 1992 to access boxes of old, unsorted material pertaining to the Board of Directors. In the Staff Meeting Minutes, issues identified were followed through Board Minutes, Staff Reports, Log Reports, Letters from Kaushee's and to Kaushee's by staff, Directors and the Board, Directors Reports and private letters from the Federal government evaluator (private contractor) to the Board. The nature of conflicts during the development stage in Kaushee's history was revealed through these documents, as much by what they did not say, as by what they did.

Secondary sources of print media micro-fiche from the Whitehorse Star were analyzed in detail for any related news articles, stories or press releases on developments at Kaushee's Place. Additional data came from Government archival material included in subject files under "Women in the Yukon" and "Kaushee's Place", and perusal of the evaluation of Kaushee's Place done to satisfy the Federal Government Demonstration Grant proposal.

Personal interviews were conducted with six of the eleven original Board Members whose names appear on the original Funding Proposal to National Health and Welfare (NHW) Demonstration Grants Division. The specific women chosen for the interviews were selected using the selection criteria for special respondents from Gordon (1980). The women all had relevant information, were physically accessible, were willing to give information and, as they had all been so intimately involved, were able to give an accurate accounting (and, following feminist research theory, in their own voices).

The method¹ of interviewing used was systematic but open-ended (Monette, 1990:168; Palys, 1992:173). This allowed flexibility in focussing the interview and appeared to be the best method for obtaining the necessary data. An outline of the Opening Statement to the Interviewees and the questions that were used are outlined in Appendix A and Appendix B. A number of the key players were First Nations women; open-ended questions were particularly appropriate as a way to facilitate discussions about issues where prospective reactions and responses were unknown (Palys, 1992:153).

I knew from personal experience that interaction between the white feminist community and the First Nations womens' community had been strained or, at times, non-existent. There appeared to be some type of historical basis for this difficult situation, and I suspected that the history of the origins of Kaushee's Places might reveal some of the roots of that antipathy. ⁸ In order to address historical aspects of the relations between feminists and First Nations women and to assess whether there was relevant information to answer the research question, open-ended questions again appeared to be the most appropriate.

As Palys (1992:153) points out, open-ended questions require more time, privacy, and a good rapport between the interviewer and respondent. Although the researcher is a white feminist with ties to feminist organizations that had conflict with the First Nations respondents, a sense of relief was felt by both the interviewer and respondent at being able to bring out and openly discuss perceptions, situations and the history of negative feelings between the two groups. Open-ended questions easily lend themselves to the type of rapport necessary to bridge, articulate and resolve conflict.

An underlying assumption taken by this researcher in the analysis of the historical data follows Yegidis and Weinbach's statement that "when conducting historical research, the researcher generally believes that current problems and questions often have their origins in earlier times." (1991:107) By examining the relationship that was created between a grass-roots organization and state-sponsored bureaucracy to build the Whitehorse Transition House, it is possible to chart from the beginning the processes that led to the current uncertain relationship that now exists between the Home and the Whitehorse community. When I conducted interviews of participants in the Vancouver Transition Home's demise for Seeking Shelter (Currie and Faith, 1993), the connections between the past history of the Homes and the end result were fascinating. Since the Whitehorse Transition Home was still operating and had recently endured a multi-level series of crises both inside and outside the Home with the Whitehorse community, Kaushee's Place was chosen for study to gauge whether there were historical reasons for current difficulties.

As is typically the case with qualitative research (Palys, 1992), ideas also took shape as the research progressed. Certain trends became apparent and led to other questions requiring answers. The interviews were done after all the archival material had been examined. This allowed for other lines of questioning to be developed relating to trends that had been identified within the documents. At this particular point, the original research question had been answered and ceased to be the most dominant theme. A lesser theme of the white professional feminists' relationship with the original First Nation's women of Kaushee's Place and the direction it took

became a focus. Further literature was studied regarding theoretical background within feminist theory of the issues of race and exclusivity. This has been referred to as "the privilege of feminist theory" (Currie and Kline, 1991) and certainly had resonance for those First Nation's women interviewed. The analysis of the historical data and interviews were thus done within a framework of answering the primary research question, as well as addressing the emergent issue of "feminist privilege".

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will identify threads of importance and significance in the development of Kaushee's Place. This involves tracing the events and connections that reveal the transformation of a grass-roots First Nations women's initiative of a multi-purpose women's hostel to a battered-women's shelter administered in a hierarchial social service delivery model, and analyzing that process.

Every effort will be made in the following analysis to outline the events in chronological order. However, as Gillian Walker (1991) has noted when accounting, describing and attempting to understand and interpret events that have occurred, circumstances and players invariably overlap, interplay and connect in different manners and at different times.

Important aspects of a feminist analysis involve both (a) understanding the grass-roots emergence of attempts to deal with problems affecting women, and (b) giving women a voice (e.g., see Reinharz, 1992). Accordingly, this research analysis will focus on the First Nations women whose vision inspired Kaushee's Place, in the belief that listening to them is prerequisite to understanding them, and how events transpired.

The following is an analysis of relationships between different groups of (primarily) women, all of whom had one particular motive in common, i.e., assisting and supporting Yukon women in need. The nature of those relations and the transformations that occurred were explored within the context of the Yukon Indian Women's Association's (YIWA) attempts to locate government funding, expand their support network to include other governmental and non-governmental social service agencies, and eventually successfully open Kaushee's Place.

The Yukon Territory has a current population of 33,487 spread out over an area roughly the size of British Columbia.⁹ There are twelve communities, eleven of which have sizeable First Nations populations and who inhabit historic Aboriginal land. First Nations people number

approximate 1/3 of the total population (approximately 11,000) and are currently in the final stages of signing a Yukon First Nations Land Claim. Whitehorse is the capital city (population 23,000) in the Yukon and has the Territorial Government buildings, as well as a number of large Federal Government structures (Yukon Territorial Government, 1994).

As a capital city, Whitehorse has all the amenities of a small city in southern Canada, and two large First Nations groups reside within the boundaries. Parcels of land in Whitehorse are under dispute in the Yukon Land Claim, resulting in First Nations having a voice in how city lands are to be developed. The future in the Yukon under the Yukon Land Claim will result in a very different type of relationship than has existed between the First Nations people of the Yukon and the non-Aboriginal residents.

THE GRASS ROOTS CONNECTION

In the Yukon in 1974, rapid social change had an impact on all levels of governmental and non-governmental social services. The population had multiplied approximately fivefold in thirty years, and sudden and additional growth was expected with the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline that was to have joined the North West Territories with British Columbia through the Yukon. Reasons for the increases in population included the building of the Al-Can Highway (Alaska-Canadian) during World War II, the opening of the Yukon as a mining centre for gold, silver, lead, zinc and copper, and the beginnings of a bureaucracy. Most of the population growth was from southern Canada, with the largest migrations involving single, white, transient male workers. With the insertion of new white patterns of thought, expectations and behaviour, social problems associated with resource frontiers became more and more a subject for debate.

Some First Nations communities along the Yukon River (which was used as the main Yukon transportation link for hundreds, [maybe thousands], of years before white men arrived) were abandoned or relocated along the highway with the resulting social upheaval of families, indigenous methods of survival, and all the problems that contact with white societies has

historically brought. This abandonment of traditional villages was to have negative consequences on the Yukon First Nations in the long term as traditional areas were lost to expropriation by government for development (Coates, 1987). Although official decision/coercion was brought to bear on leaving the villages, First Nations found the traditional activities of hunting and fishing were not possible due to the over-encroachment of the land by white men, forcing them to move to the new settlements where wage work and/or relief was available (Coates and Morrison, 1988).

With the influx of the southern whites also came the various levels of government deemed necessary by the federal government to provide the types of services found elsewhere (Dyck, 1991). In the Yukon, the growth of the Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs gave rise to First Nations organizations such as the Council of Yukon Indians (which is comprised of Chiefs from each Yukon village plus elected and staff people) demanding a voice in such matters as determining land claims, being involved in land use planning, and assessing economic and social development proposals.

In 1974, a number of Yukon First Nations women who were living in Whitehorse and working for various governmental and non-governmental agencies, began to talk together about a number of social issues that particularly concerned them. At this time, there were a number of Yukon First Nations men's organizations that had developed, and the First Nations women wanted a say both in those groups and at the Band level ("Indian Leaders Meet", 12 May 1977, Whitehorse Star, page 3).

Although these First Nations women were from different communities in the Yukon, and northern and southern British Columbia, they had a number of important characteristics in common: all had survived residential schools; all were a part of the first generation to participate in the white work force; all had achieved levels of education and training that gave them skills necessary to address community concerns; and all possessed a strong sense of responsibility to First Nations women in need.

They were nurses, secretaries, program directors, clerks and all had a sense that the Whitehorse community was slipping into major social chaos – a state of affairs they were determined to do something about. Five women started the Yukon Indian Women's Association (YIWA) in 1974 as a direct result of wanting a voice in solving the communities' social problems. Judy (Interviewee #2) ¹⁰ indicated that "this was an exciting time for us. We were very close, had great imagination in what we could do and we had a lot of fun".

Some of the issues the YIWA addressed were the dumping of raw sewage from a pipe directly into the Kwanlin Dunn Indian Village, the exploitation by tourist operators and governments of grave sites, and the poor quality of imitation native crafts coming from Hong Kong and Korea (Ye Sa To Publications, 1974 – a Yukon First Nations newspaper).

Kaushee Harris, a Yukon Tlingit woman, (née Emma Williams, sister to Jenny Jack ") was one of the five founding members of the YIWA. She had moved to Whitehorse in 1967 with her six children after separating from a violent, alcoholic husband. Kaushee's struggles for housing, an education and training, and the frustrations of life for a First Nations woman with many children, had led her to join with other women in the founding of the YIWA. Recognizing that her own problems as a single parent were experienced by others, Kaushee drafted and introduced a resolution at the First Annual General Meeting of the YIWA (in 1975) calling for a hostel for women. As the YIWA's first President, Kaushee led the struggle to research the need, and locate the funds. for a home for unwed mothers. It is significant, however, that Kaushee did not want to limit access to only First Nations women. Instead, the motion specified that the house should welcome women without regard to race or nationality. The motion passed unanimously (Muff, 1989).

In 1976, the YIWA on its own initiative, began to submit what would soon become a succession of proposals for the home to the Federal National Health and Welfare Demonstration Grants Division for funding. One by one, the proposals were turned down with a variety of reasons given – "incomplete information" or "failure to meet funding requirements". At various times it was regarded as have "too inclusive" and "narrow" a purpose. Although YIWA had solicited and received support (statistics and letters) from federal and territorial government agencies, their proposals continued to be rejected.

Although the YIWA had called specifically for a home for unwed mothers, Martha (Interviewee #1) was well aware of the wife-battering that was occurring. But, according to her, "the number of issues to be addressed for Indian women at this time [1976] were so varied and diverse, no one problem stood out from the others". When asked about the reason for picking unwed mothers as an identity for the home, Martha indicated that it was through the issue of single motherhood that all the other problems seemed to flow – poverty, abuse, alcoholism and disease – both personal and for the women's children.

As Judy, Martha, and Janet (Interviewee #3) all recounted, 1974 to 1978 were extremely busy years for the First Nations women involved in the YIWA. In addition to the pressing social and cultural issues of imitation crafts, raw sewage and Indian women's difficult urban experience in Whitehorse, there were larger concerns as well. As Janet explained,

"we were all very, very busy – if we weren't fighting for recognition and respect within our own First Nations community, we were struggling with reclaiming status lost when many of us married white men. As well, we were wives, mothers, and workers which made the continual refusal of the [Federal] government to fund our hostel all the more exhausting and deflating."

Both Judy and Martha were very specific of the awareness in their YIWA group that in order to represent, speak, and be involved in the decision making process of government and Indian men's groups on behalf of Indian women, new skills were imperative. They took the initiative and time to learn those skills in a "warm close and fun" environment (Judy).

Martha stated that obtaining funding from National Health and Welfare (NHW) for the home was "an uphill battle all the way". She discussed how the YIWA had received some funding from Indian Affairs for their Annual General Meeting for room rental, paper distribution, and so forth, but noted that there were no funds for anything else. When asked for the specifics of what their "uphill battle" entailed, respondents offered reasons that fell into two main categories: (1) women trying to balance active lives as volunteers, mothers, and full-time workers; and (2) the perception of racism both from the wider First Nations community and the white community.

The YIWA women who initiated the resolution calling for a home for women were all volunteers. All the women had families (Kaushee had six children) and were otherwise involved in part or full-time work; this limited the time available to devote to proposals. Although there was no funding allowed for projects, training, and support services, small grants were received from various levels of the federal and territorial governments to do some specific self-help education. Judy stated that this was a very exciting time, with lots of group support, learning, and imagination that was entirely self-taught. Much of the learning was done on Saturdays around a table, taking one subject or another (e.g., public speaking, proposal writing!) and assisting each other in practical ways to familiarize themselves with the new skill.

Between 1976 and 1979, the YIWA worked at soliciting statistics and support from federal and territorial governmental agencies such as Adult Probation and Crossroads Alcoholic Treatment Centre, in preparation for the succession of proposals sent to NHW.¹² The first proposal was submitted in 1976, and then redrafted and resubmitted three additional times, with the final refusal occurring in 1979. By 1979, there was a growing realization that, without a different approach, their vision of a women's hostel was not going to be realized.

In the Final Report written by Audrey McLaughlin in 1983, the issue of the continued refusal of YIWA proposals for a Yukon transition home takes the NHW reasons for refusal at face value, and summarizes them in one brief sentence: "they either contained incomplete information, or did not meet the requirements of potential funders" (p.4). None of the archival documents available expand on the reasons for the three years of constant submissions and refusals. It is somewhat understandable that in McLaughlin's Final Report for the Federal Government, such critical issues might not be addressed, as a badly needed final instalment of monies was pending receipt and approval of the document. Perhaps it was believed that a critical analysis of the failure of the many proposals [and any other critical analysis of the structural transformation that was occurring (and had occurred)] might jeopardize the final monies. In her June, 1982 (untitled) quarterly report, McLaughlin certainly attempted to bring a number of critical issues to the attention of the Board of Directors. She stated that "the administration of the home is at a crisis stage" and urged the Board to address the serious issues outlined. I asked the YIWA women who were involved for their perspective on the matter.

Judy noted that some Indian men refused to support the home for women with the reason that if "Indian women didn't sin, we wouldn't need places like this". One of the Indian men who adamantly held this view, she continued, "Is now a respected Elder in Yukon"; the issue clearly still disturbs her. Fortunately, his attitude was not widely held and was overcome by support from the women Elders who saw first hand the difficulties their daughters and grand-daughters were having.

Two of the women interviewed identified at least part of the resistance as due to racism only, although historical opposition to all women's shelters has been well documented (Barnsley, 1985; Riddington, 1977; Schechter, 1982). Indeed, it was remarkable that the breadth of support

for a women's shelter was as widespread as it was, including (at the time) the spectrum of non-profit and government agencies in Whitehorse.

Martha discussed her perceptions of how racism in the wider white community directly or indirectly affected the unsuccessful proposals. She stated that it was "Indian women who were the most visible" when in distress, not white women. This visibility of non-white women in distress, especially when beaten is well documented in the literature (Del Martin, 1976; Errington, 1977; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982).

The YIWA had realized in 1977 that, for whatever stated and unstated reasons, their organization would not be successful in receiving funding on its own. The amount of time, energy, and effort that had been invested in unsuccessful proposals from 1974 to 1977 had been frustrating for the women. Since many of the local First Nations and other governmental social service and health professionals were also becoming increasingly aware of the identified issues of Yukon women in distress, a steering committee was formed by the YIWA, which they co-chaired with representatives from many non-governmental organizations and governmental agencies. Such was the support for the transition home among the local agencies, that the representatives from several organizations were sent on work time with decision-making ability to form a Steering Committee. Table 1 shows the groups and agencies that were in attendance.

It can be observed from Table 1 that although the over-all decision-making base was expanded into the larger Yukon community, the number of First Nations groups was equal to the number of non-profit groups and government agencies which, at that time, were comprised primarily of Anglo-Europeans. The makeup of this Steering Committee suggests that early resistance to the home from Indian men and the wider community appears to have been overcome. Martha thought one contributing factor to this was the lobbying YIWA had been

Table 1**Women's Transition Home Steering Committee, 1977**

First Nations Groups	Non-Profit Agencies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Yukon Indian Women's Association ● Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians ● Yukon Native Brotherhood ● Yukon Indians and Law Committee ● Skookum Jim Friendship Center. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Y.W.C.A. ● Victoria Faulkner Women's Center ● Yukon Status of Women ● Mary House (Catholic Hostel)
Government Agencies	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Department of Indian/Inuit Affairs (Federal) ● Department of Human Resources (Territorial) 	

doing with the Council of Yukon Indians and other Native organizations. Many of the First Nations groups represented were comprised of men, and the volunteer sector was also present. The committee was chaired by the YIWA, who gave primary direction and focus, thereby setting the tone for the development of the project.

After the inclusion of the local government and non-profit agencies in the Steering Committee for a women's home (that was now being called a transition home rather than a hostel), data gathering was formalized. Although the YIWA's initial resolution was focussed on unwed mothers, the group recognized that the need for a women's hostel was far more extensive. In 1976 and 1977, various federal and territorial government agencies produced some statistics and estimates of need for the YIWA's first proposal to the National Health and Welfare Demonstration Grants for funding of a women's hostel. Table 2 gives the 1977 calculations of need from the Yukon Territorial Corrections, Probation and Human Resources, Whitehorse Hospital (Federal), and non-profit agencies of Crossroads (alcohol treatment), Rehabilitation Services for Disabilities, and the Victoria Fäulkner Women's Centre.

These statistics supplied the needs assessment necessary to justify a proposal for a multi-purpose short term accommodation house for women. It is interesting to note that abuse is subsumed within the Whitehorse Hospital statistics and does not stand on its own or is only mentioned specifically by the Women's Centre in its anecdotal summary of need. This is reflective in the YIWA's resolution for a multi-purpose hostel for women; the focus on battering came later.

The YIWA's perception that regardless of how many times the proposal was redone, it would not be accepted unless other agencies were involved, is further supported by examining the two proposals. Martha noted that "there was an awful lot of unnecessary red tape for a

Table 2
Referrals Per Year By Agency
For Women Needing Shelter/Support

Community Agency	Total Number Of Women	Number Of Native Women	Number Of Non-Native Women
Crossroads (Treatment Centre)	2	not known	not known
Hospital (disease; abuse; mental health)	52	not known	not known
Probation (only 20 on probation)	25	not known	not known
Rehabilitation	20	not known	not known
Women's Centre (women in crisis)	4	not known	not known
Human Resources (unwed mothers)	24	13	11
Corrections	94	65	29
Estimate of Women Offenders needing support/shelter (per year)	50	not known	not known

simple proposal that was essentially shifted around and shortened but did not change". A comparison of the two proposals reveals only minor differences in the Introduction, Perception of Need, Administrative Structure and the Approach to be Demonstrated. On the face of it, these differences appear non-substantial. For Martha and Judy, the continued refusals from the Federal Government, the absence of compelling reasons for the rejections, and then the instant success of the 1979 Proposal once the "mainstream" white government and non-government agencies were brought in, all contributed to perceptions of racism.

WORKING THROUGH THE SYSTEM

As part of defining their proposed service for women, the 1976 proposal listed four specific circumstances in which short-term accommodation for women was needed:

1. Unmarried pregnant or recently delivered women;
2. Women migrating from the communities to Whitehorse;
3. Women in conflict with the justice system, being released from jail and/or those who no longer have a support network;
4. Women in crisis – psychological and/or physical abuse, no accommodation and/or

support network.

Agencies had identified through case work and statistics that the need existed for a women's shelter covering migration, justice, and crisis issues. These same four appeared in the 1979 proposal, along with a fifth that was added:

5. Programming and support for self-help and independence.

These criteria for service are consistent with the multi-purpose facility that was envisioned in the original Y.I.W.A. 1974 resolution calling for a women's hostel.

More importantly for this analysis, is that something about the differences between the two documents had lasting effects on the ultimate structure of Kaushee's and subsequent involvement of the founding YIWA First Nations women. The significance of the fifth criterion lies in its interpretation and translation in the 1979 proposal. In the NHW Reference Manual Objectives, there are two stated expectations that could be referred to as the "self-help" section. The Objectives state, "to encourage participation of service users in the solution of their own problems" and "to assist disadvantaged and minority groups to develop resources which will enable them to cope more appropriately with their social environment".

In the 1979 proposal, the concept of self-help (helping yourself to overcome identified difficulties) coincides with the tone of the Introduction in which an individualistic approach is taken. Issues are framed within an individual context (i.e., identifying "young Native girls having died distraught" from car accidents, suicide, and freezing to death) with "the problem" being "single men" from the bush with money to spend. Narrowing the entire social context for the issues of Native women (and non-Native women) to "single men", led to specific solutions that were outlined in the 1979 proposal. The fifth criterion of self-help was articulated as "the home will provide advice, information, and direction" and this "will assist them to become self-reliant and independent women". It would be interesting to know how Native women in the Yukon "before contact" were conceptualized. Most likely not as individuals within a collective that survived the land for thousands of years before the "others" came. The concept of "self-help" is not to be blamed for the imposition of values contradictory to First Nations women. It was the white feminist bureaucrat interpretation that led to an imposition of culturally inappropriate rules and regulations on Kaushee's Place First Nations residents. A more detailed examination of the specific points of difference offer an explanation for some of the unintended consequences that emerged later in the transition home's development.

ELEMENTS OF TRANSFORMATION

According to the 1970 National Health and Welfare Reference Manual, the general objectives of these grants were to augment existing welfare services, and respond to emerging social problems and disparities in service resulting from regional and cultural differences. On the surface, the document appears to have requested creative and culturally sensitive approaches to existing and emerging social problems, which involved clients and linked non-profit and government agencies.

The YIWA submitted its first proposal for funding to the National Health and Welfare Demonstration Grants Division of the Federal Government in 1976. A close examination of the 1976 proposal reveals that an innovative, cross-cultural, grass-roots initiative was being proposed, that seems to have fit the NHW (1970) Reference Manual criteria in all aspects, especially in the area of linking non-profit and government agencies together to avoid duplicating resources, while at the same time attempting to resolve outstanding social problems.

Nonetheless, the 1976 proposal, along with three others submitted between 1976 and 1979, were rejected. As previously mentioned, archival documents state the reasons were that the women failed to address specific bureaucratic funding requirements, although the women involved gave a different account.

Walker (1990) draws attention to how documents can be organizers, performing special functions in the process that is to be analyzed (in this case, the relationship between white feminist bureaucrats and First Nations women), and determining the structures that result. In her analysis of the process of absorption and appropriation by the state of the feminist identified issue of wife-battering, Walker discusses how specific documents were integral to defining the

way certain work proceeded. She states that documents are "work processes, which are moments in a social relation, in order to see how they carried forward the practices and activities of the people who were the players in this process of absorption" (1990:58).

Examination of the 1976 and 1979 proposal documents reveals that the organization of the work to be accomplished was different, but not obviously so. In the introduction to the 1976 proposal, the background and theoretical justification of need is far longer than in the later document. It included a well-constructed argument (on both a community wide and individual level) of the impact of social change – specifically population growth and change, conflict between Native and non-Native people, migration from rural to urban centres, and issues of individual powerlessness and anomie.

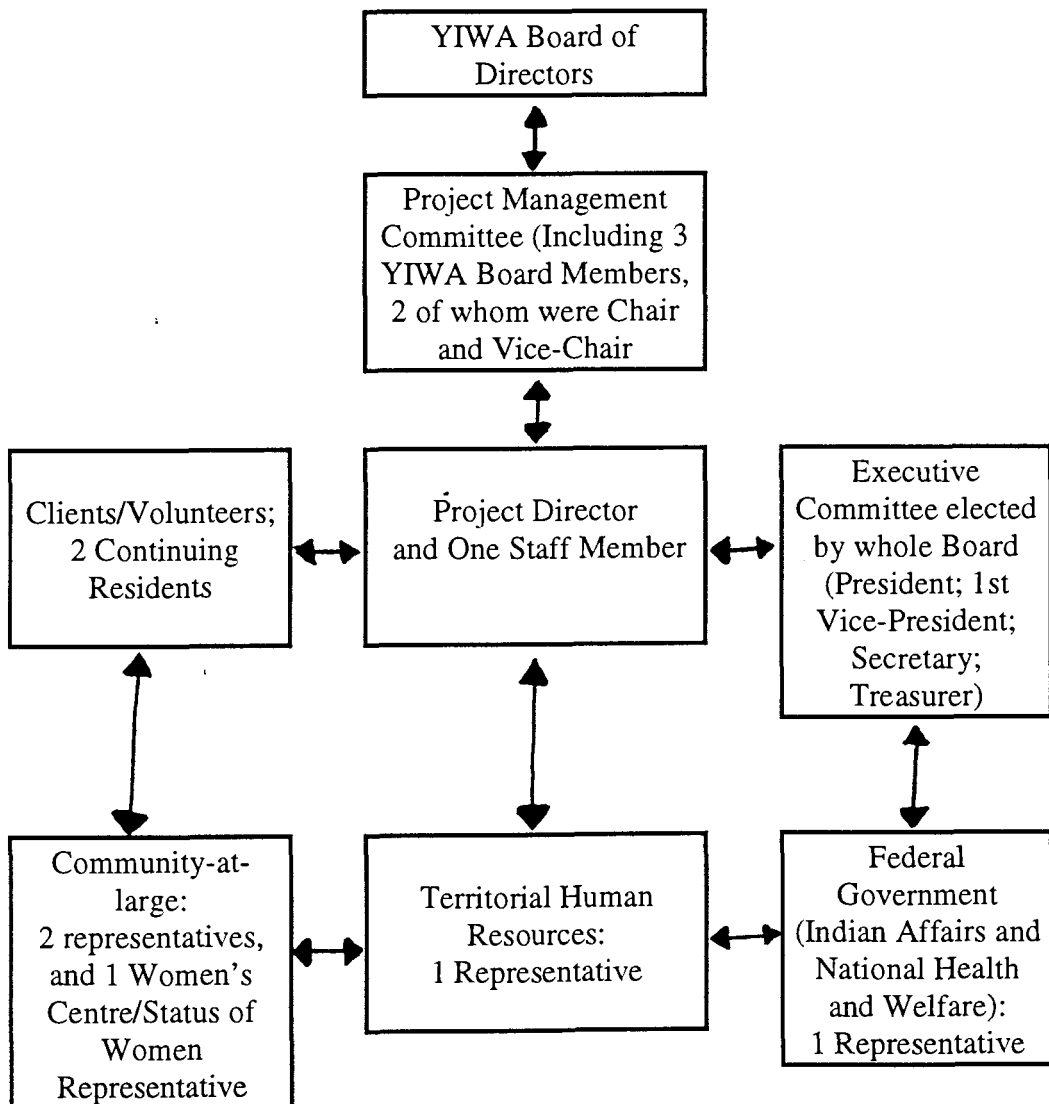
The 1979 proposal ignores these contextual issues and goes directly to the Native women as individuals experiencing upheaval on a personal level resulting from what we now call "the residential school syndrome". All of this is synthesized from 6 pages in 1976 to 1 1/2 pages in 1979. This individualizing of the women's issues of migration, pregnancy, health and abuse from a sociological context to a personal level of dysfunction occurs often with the various stereotypical labels attached to Native people (e.g., drunks, welfare bums, criminals).

The most substantial difference between the documents is in the area of administrative structure, which, in hindsight, also had the most significant unintended consequences. In the 1976 proposal, the administrative structure was proposed as shown in Figure 1: The Project Management Committee reported directly to the YIWA, with all the other groups interacting and reporting to the Management Committee. Clients and volunteers had direct access to those groups responsible for the over-all operations of the home.

Of particular interest in these 1976 Organizational Charts is the locus of decision-making

Figure 1

Administrative Structure Outlined In 1976 Proposal



power, as well as in who occupied those positions. In the 1976 Administrative Structure, the YIWA are clearly in charge of the women's home project with all other groups reporting to them. Input from clients and volunteers (I assumed that those volunteers were non-specific community volunteers, not those identified in the Management Committee structure) would be a two-way process, involving both the Director/Staff and the Management Committee. This two-way (and circular) process is noted on page 21 of the 1976 Proposal and shows arrows of communication going between the different groups and the Management Committee. Within the Management Committee, it is important to note that of the 12 members, only 2 were from governmental agencies and 1 from the non-profit sector. By 1979, the Board has gone from mostly grass-roots members to mostly governmental/agency members. This change had significance in the decision-making structure as grass-roots members promoted a more consensus-style, while the bureaucratically inclined governmental/agency feminists favoured the more hierarchial structured system which also fit well with the obligations of the Demonstration Grant.

The Administrative Structure in the 1979 proposal is shown in Figure 2. According to the 1979 proposal, the five sub-committees were responsible for Personnel Matters, Project Evaluation and Accountability, Programs, House Management, and Funding and Public Relations, with each person on the Board being a member of a sub-committee. Within these sub-committees, the administration and planning for Kaushee's Place took place, and as there were thirteen board members, each sub-committee was to have more than one member. As the majority of these members were connected with either governmental or non-profit agencies who supported Kaushee's Place (see Table 3), sub-committee work was done during the regular working day.

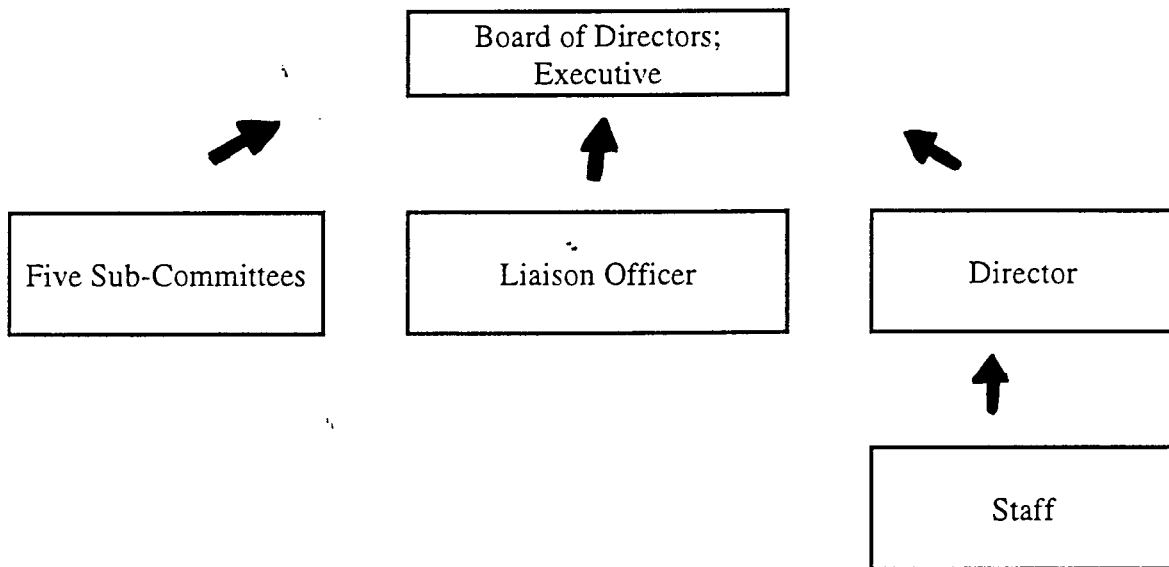
Figure 2**Administrative Structure Outlined
In 1979 Proposal**

Table 3

**Comparison Of Boards Of Directors
Outlined In 1976 And 1979 Proposals**

Number in 1976 Proposal	Number in 1979 Proposal	Source of Board Member	“Grassroots” or Government/Agency
3	3	• YIWA	Grassroots
2	1	• Staff Members	Grassroots
0	1	• Former Resident	Grassroots
2	0	• Current Residents	Grassroots
2	0	• Community at Large	Grassroots
0	1	• Federal Health and Welfare	Government/Agency
1	1	• Federal Indian Affairs	Government/Agency
1	1	• Yukon Territorial Human Resources (Social Worker)	Government/Agency
0	1	• Canada Manpower	Government/Agency
1	1	• Yukon Status of Women	Government/Agency
0	1	• Crossroads Treatment Centre (Formerly Yukon Outreach/Detox)	Government/Agency
0	1	• Family Counselling Services Association	Government/Agency
9	5	Total Number of “Grassroots” Board Members	
3	7	Total Number of Govt/Agency Board Members	

The reporting structure in the 1979 document is not at all explicit (in contrast to the 1976 document) except for the Director and Liaison Officer, who report to the Board. Although not articulated, it can be inferred from the proposal and job descriptions, and from personal knowledge this researcher has of the organization, that the Sub-Committees reported to the Board and the Staff reported to the Director.

Thus, in the 1979 document, the Board of Directors became the equivalent of the 1976 Project Management Committee. The location of positions in the community, and the locus of decision-making power, were transferred from the YIWA to the local non-profit and governmental agencies. An executive consisting of a President, 1st Vice-President, 2nd Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer was elected by the whole Board. As previously mentioned, the specific reporting structure and decision-making structure was less clear in the 1979 proposal. In the 1976 document, reporting functions and decision-making were almost circular the way the process moved between the Project Management Committee, Clients and Volunteers, Director, Staff and Executive Committee. I concluded from reading the documents and talking with the First Nation women, that there was an intended sense of mutual decision-making and shared responsibility for outcomes. By 1979, the Board structure had clearly changed to the more traditional hierarchal, top-down reporting mechanisms, rather than bottom-up or group-oriented.

The Management Committee (1976) was to meet monthly, taking responsibility for supervising and recommending changes to management, program policy and procedures to the YIWA Board of Directors. The Executive Committee (comprised of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman and Project Director) would meet weekly to address administrative matters. In effect, the YIWA-dominated Board had all the decision making functions and power, with the Sub-Committees, Liaison Officer and Director all reporting to them. The YIWA clearly lost their central status as the final and main decision-making body in the 1979 Proposal.

Although there was one staff and one former resident on the 1979 Board – in 1976 it was proposed that there be 2 current residents – all power now was to flow through the Project

Director. In addition, the 1979 Board specified that one staff member was to be on the Board, but does not designate a particular place for the Project Director. In reality, the staff position was the Director. The result of this was that all communication, both up and down, flowed through that position.

In her 1983 Final Report, McLaughlin discussed different ways transition homes administer themselves. She distinguished three models of management: collective, hierarchical and a combination of both, reflecting both the philosophy and the manner in which the home was originally founded. The main difference lies with the location of decision-making power.

The Collective model is by definition a consensus decision-making structure characterized by (1) no designated director; (2) policies/decisions made co-operatively; (3) salary differentials based on length of employment; and (4) a sharing of all tasks, even though the individual knowledge/skill bases may be different. There is a strong sense of being stakeholders in the enterprise in a very real way, with all the responsibility that accompanies ownership. In the Hierarchal model, there is a designated director who supervises and evaluates staff, determines policy, and is accountable to the Board of Directors.

In Seeking Shelter, Faith (1993) discusses how the collective model of management not only determined how the Vancouver Transition House operated, but also had wide ranging consequences for later political developments. Until the Ministry of Human Resources took the Transition House under its governmental auspices, the management model was a collective. Decision-making, policies, and shift-work schedules were all determined by consensus. Faith discusses the transformation of the transition home from a grass-roots feminist collective, to an imposed hierarchial structure, when provincial funding was lobbied for and accepted.

This process of transformation from collective to hierarchial management in the Vancouver Transition House is different from the experience of Kaushee's Place. The latter was originally conceived and organized by grass-roots First Nations women who envisioned a multi-purpose facility linked to all social service agencies (governmental and non-governmental). But

the home was transformed when the support base was widened to include governmental social services and non-profit agencies.

McLaughlin (1983) stated that in the case of Kaushee's, there was a tendency to operate on a hierarchal model from its inception, perhaps because of the discontinuities of having had three Directors and one Interim Director in three years, each with their own philosophy of service and management, and with each being heir to those of the previous Director. Staff and Board turnover was such that each Director was given and/or assumed the primary management role. As McLaughlin states, "It probably would have been impossible to attempt any other structure" (p.33). By the time the first three years of the Demonstration Project was finished, there was only one First Nations woman still active on the Board. Although the First Nations agency positions still existed, only one continued to be filled in 1983. It was because of the vacant seats on the Board that the Constitution was changed in 1985 from inter-agency appointments to an elected community board. By 1985, First Nations women were no longer active on the Board of Directors they helped found. Bureaucratic feminists (femocrats),¹³ brought with them an acceptance and knowledge of the hierarchial management structure, and a single focus on battered women. A minimal First Nations presence (except as clients) made the transformation complete.

THE DEMONSTRATION GRANT

With majority on the Board transferred from the "grass-roots" to governmental and agency representatives (recall Table 3), and a more hierarchial structure intact, the 1979 proposal was accepted by NHW as "a new and potentially effective approach in dealing with a specific need or problem" (see criteria in NHW, 1970). Other funding was to come from a system of per diems paid by the Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs and the Yukon Ministry of Human Resources.

Kaushee's House was a multi-service home for all women, organized and managed by a wide-ranging Native and non-native group of governmental and non-governmental representatives. It was new, and was thought to have the potential to address Yukon women's identified needs. McLaughlin's (1983) Final Report states that the proposal was specifically accepted as a demonstration model by the National Welfare Grants to test out the feasibility of offering a service whose objectives would be three-fold:

1. To be multi-purpose;
2. To serve both Whitehorse and rural communities; and
3. To serve both Native and Non-Native women.

To the YIWA, these three objectives were consistent with how they originally conceived the overall project. It was the implementation of these objectives that became divisive.

By the end of the three year grant, only the third service option was fully in effect. The transition home had been transformed into a single service to battered women; contact with the communities had all but disappeared; and the Board had been transformed from having a sizable representation from First Nations organizations, into a Board that was comprised primarily of government representatives (mostly non-Aboriginal feminists and men) who brought with them a particular view of how Yukon women in distress were to be served. This left a legacy of bitterness and discontent that continues to the present day, with the Whitehorse women's community divided primarily along racial lines.¹⁴

To understand fully how this transition came about, the three year period from 1980 to 1983 can be analyzed in terms of the following events/themes: (1) locating residence and furnishings; (2) the time-consuming administration of the house; and (3) issues pertaining to community contact, personnel, and changes in First Nations women's representation.

LOCATING THE RESIDENCE AND FURNISHINGS

The NHW Demonstration Grant was only to cover rent, salaries and basic operations of the transition home. Locating and buying a residence, totally furnishing the house with everything from pots and pans to sheets and beds, finding toys, and even providing a typewriter and supply of paper had to be accomplished by the 1979 Board of Directors by other means, and in a very short time, as the clock was ticking on the time-frame of the three year Grant. After having spent a considerable amount of time applying for the federal monies, community and Board resources had to again expend time and energy locating a residence and supplying contents. Recall that, by this time, the Board was comprised of representatives primarily from social agencies, all of whom had a personal commitment to the success of the transition home (a factor that was to change over the three year period), and all of whom were given work time to actually do fund raising a house, furnishings, and monies.

According to McLaughlin's (1983) Final Report, purchasing a house was the first initiative attempted. Once a potential site was identified, zoning changes had to be applied for to have a multi-purpose house located in a single residence area. Although the local residents supported the transition home by 90%, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Commission could or would not approve the purchase.

According to Martha, intensive lobbying to allow use of a federally owned house was done at then Member of Parliament Eric Nielson (Conservative) by all the agencies involved on the Board, and especially the YIWA. Martha suspects that, prompted by an imminent federal election, Neilson not only offered the federal housing (through the Federal Department of Public Works), but also authorized the renovations to a side-by-side duplex, making it suitable for the transition house facility. The women were surprised by this largesse. In Martha's words,

"We were absolutely shocked and dumbfounded at the offer and then we only had to pay a token

amount in rent. They not only painted it as we requested, but continued all the repairs to the house and yard over the next three years".

Although the Demonstration Grant, the per diems, and now a residence, were all in place, money dedicated to furnishing the facility (for beds, sheets etc.) was literally not allowed according to the funding arrangements. The Whitehorse Star, in a story advertising an upcoming fundraising Telethon for furnishings, explained that although the transition home (known as Kaushee's Place) opened March 1, 1980,

"residents are sleeping on the floor and one social worker, when told her client would have to be turned away, turned up later with the woman and a borrowed sofa bed." (Women turned away?, April 2 1980, p.2)

The 1979 Proposal budget submitted by the Management Committee had the following line items: salaries and benefits, utilities, food, car and house insurance, telephone, travel, and janitorial services. Household equipment and furnishings were "to be raised through the community" (p.24). This was accomplished to a certain extent, according to the Whitehorse Star, "Telethon raises money", April 8, 1980) in their article on the Kaushee's Place Telethon (which raised approximately \$3,600 well short of the \$5,000.00 projected for furnishings in the Proposal budget). Several months later, the Whitehorse Star, "Furnishings needed", July 4, 1980) reported that furnishings were still needed, and that "wooden boxes were being used as tables" (p.3).

The absence of furnishings in the budget is interesting in two ways: firstly, the line-item of salaries and benefits of \$78,000.00 per year for running and administering the home is in marked contrast to some shelters elsewhere in Canada that were started by grass-roots volunteers (for example the Vancouver Transition House). Second, without the type of consensus decision-making that collective management accomplishes, there was an acceptance and implementation

of a more bureaucratic administrative model in which salary, benefits and especially travel came ahead of furnishings.

In other grass-roots initiated homes, salaries and benefits were considered lower in priority than the primary objective of getting the home up and running. It is paradoxical to have the staff receiving salaries while clients and their children were on the floor. This separation of staff and clients is similar to what Walker (1990) describes with respect to her own rejection of traditional professional approaches of treating clients, which she observed while working on her Masters of Social Work degree. She prioritizes the need to "find a way to work with women as a woman".

Within the collective of the Vancouver Transition House, this approach appears to have, in part, overcome the dilemma of being perceived as a professional while attempting to act as a catalyst and activist for change. Although the staff at Kaushee's Place were not "professionals" in traditional terms – they were not cut out of the usual social service agency fabric with degrees – they were white, feminist and certainly did not see the potential problems awaiting them in a hierarchical administrative structure, especially with its distinction between the Director and "her" line-staff, salary and duties. Nor did they appreciate the philosophical and cultural issues that arose later, and contributed to staff turnover. The first Director and staff appear to have accepted the paradox of their clients having nothing to sleep or eat on, while at the same time collecting their own monies in salaries and travel.

The minutes of the Board of Directors meetings and Director Reports to the Board between 1978 and 1982 reveal one recurring theme: the amount of travel done by both Board and staff to British Columbia for conferences, meetings and visits to other transition homes. Numerous references to past, present, and future travel plans of Board and staff occur in the archival documents. Funds for this sort of travel prior to 1980 appear to have come from the Board of Director's governmental and non-profit agencies or small training grants given by other levels and departments of government and non-profit organizations. In the 1979 Proposal, travel was listed as a line-item of more than \$1,500.00, and by 1983, Training and Travel had risen to

\$6,000.00 as the Board and staff continued to make trips Outside.¹⁵ Kaushee's Place was in desperate need of furnishings while the staff and Board were travelling Outside. Even though the travel was to meetings of the B.C./Yukon Society of Transition Houses, the concepts of collectivity, respect for women and their culture, and the essential egalitarianism of many of the homes appears to have had no impact on the day-to-day operations of the Kaushee staff or at the Board.

As Helen (Interviewee # 4) observed,

"the personnel issues arising in Kaushee's Place were not addressed by the Board and staff, despite visits, meetings and conversations with others who either had experienced the problems of this sort [elitism, racism and professionalism], or were dealing with them."

What does seem to have been absorbed from those trips was a sense of the "rightness" of operating the Board and home with a concept of resisting patriarchal oppression, and ignoring cultural differences in wife-battering. This issue of "rightness" at both the Board and staff level was to have lasting consequences on Kaushee's Place in its transformation from a grass-roots First Nations women's initiative, to a hierarchial social service model of delivery. The power relations of patriarchal oppression appear to have been translated into power over First Nations women – both at the Board and client levels.

BOGGED DOWN IN ADMINISTRIVIA

The archival records reveal what appears to be an inordinate amount of time spent tabulating and calculating the two levels of governmental per diems. Reams of paper in the historic files are devoted to this bookkeeping task, dealing with the bureaucracies of two levels

of government, writing the necessary letters to collect the monies, and constantly clarifying and re-clarifying the terms of per diems, resulting in the delay of desperately needed monies.

Per diems had been negotiated with both the Yukon Human Resources and the Federal Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, for those Native and non-Native women eligible to receive social assistance. Projected revenues from these two departments were seriously underestimated, however, and according to the 1983 pamphlet that Kaushee's Place printed on their service, the per diem recoveries represented only 43% of the actual operating costs of the home. The reasons for this are varied, but one issue that appeared in the Board Minutes and Director Reports almost each month between 1980 and 1982 was that approximately 10 women per year wishing to come to Kaushee's Place either did not fit the social assistance criteria or did not wish to become a client of a social agency. Women who were not sponsored were personally responsible for per diem costs and, given the prohibitive cost for most women, they either did not come or their debt had to be written off. The concern of access was raised in Board Minutes and Director Reports and impacted directly on fulfilling the mandate of a service for all Yukon women. An example of the bureaucratic trivialization of details necessary to recover the per diems is located in a letter dated April 9, 1980 from the Government of Yukon, Department of Human Resources' Departmental Administrator to the director of Kaushee's Place, which states,

"In other words, if a person leaves prior to noon on the day out there will not be a per diem rate paid."

In order to collect the per diem, a women must have entered Kaushee's after 12 noon but if she left prior to 12 noon the next day, there would be no per diem paid for her. This put the staff in the unenviable position of either doubling occupancy in order not to refuse entry or fudging the paper work concerning departure times. It appears that a lot of time, effort and re-organizing was spent around the issue of per diems. The issue of "check-in/out time" most likely

posed a problem for the Board, especially if numbers were fudged, as there were representatives from those specific funding agencies dealing with the budget, numbers of clients and the billing of per diems.

EMERGING THEMES

Board Minutes from the 1980-83 time period also mention, albeit not critically, the time, energy and effort needed to address the NHW's regulations regarding evaluation. One of the criteria of the Demonstration Grant was to have a research component. It appears to have been difficult and time consuming to locate an evaluator, develop the research design and do the work-up necessary to fulfil the funder's criteria. No funds were allocated for a researcher in the initial 1979 proposed Budget, but one was eventually hired on a part-time basis for two years [the funding source is not identified].

The quarterly reports submitted to the Board do not appear to contain any critical analysis of the many issues raised in this thesis. There appears to be little excuse for this, given that there was ample literature available at that time (1980-1983) to develop a critical analysis of transition homes. There was also considerable contact with Outside agencies and transition homes who were addressing similar issues, and many problems were arising in the day-to-day running of the home. Board Minutes from 1981 show regular contact regarding research and evaluation design between the Director and Jan Barnsley at the Women's Research Centre in Vancouver.

The Women's Research Centre, and in particular Jan Barnsley, had published numerous articles and essays that addressed critical analysis of issues of professionalism and bureaucratic practices as they relate to responses to wife-battery. Since Barnsley was consulted, and designed one research evaluation that was not used [no documents around this were found; Barnsley was referred to only in Board Minutes] it might be inferred that critical analysis was discussed.

Some apparently cryptic comments were located in one or two of the Director's reports, Board meeting minutes and one specific letter (albeit at the end of the Demonstration Grant period) to McLaughlin.

In a letter from the Director of Social Development, Federal Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs to Audrey McLaughlin (in her role as Kaushee's Place Evaluator), dated October 14, 1982, mention is made of a meeting involving him and the Yukon Indian Band Chiefs regarding the funding relationship between his department and Kaushee's Place. He states that he "was most surprised to learn that a significant number of the Chiefs were totally unaware of the services provided by Kaushee's Place and, in some instances, of the existence of the agency". Since one of the cornerstones of the Demonstration Grant was that the home serve both Whitehorse and the surrounding communities, this community connection appears to have been on the wane by 1982 (or never existed) even though the Yukon population is centered primarily in the City of Whitehorse and twelve communities, of which only one (Faro) could be classified as not being intricately connected to a First Nation community.

One reoccurring theme in the Board Minutes from mid-1980 to mid-1981 was the insistent phrase "It is important for ALL Board members to attend meetings". Perusal of the attendance list reveals that representatives of the First Nations groups (there were five First Nations groups represented) were not present during that period, and that by 1981, according to the Constitution, only two of the Native groups remained (i.e., Council of Yukon Indians and the YIWA) although only on paper. As will be discussed later, this lack of knowledge by the Yukon Chiefs regarding Kaushee's Place could be related in part to the changes at the Board level regarding representation from First Nations women. Still, it is odd that some Chiefs had no knowledge of the existence of Kaushee's Place. McLaughlin does acknowledge that "rather than [Kaushee's] expanding its community base [it] is losing it" (1982, p.3). Originally, many non-profit organizations, including Native ones, were involved in Kaushee's place on the initial Steering Committee, on the Board, or by referring clients to Kaushee's. No other references to this issue were found in any archival documents.

In the April 14, 1980 Board Minutes there is a note regarding the necessity and responsibility of the Director to be the liaison between the staff and the Board. In April of 1981, issues on the agenda related to staff being compensated for donating books to the home; having three staff resign in the previous month plus one being terminated; and one grievance being handled by the Personnel Committee. By 1981, issues pertaining to staffing and funding problems began to surface at every Board Meeting.

While, on the surface, these issues may not be indicative of serious problems, collectively over the three years the problems of staff changes, issues of communication between Board and staff, a waning First Nations presence on the Board, and identified gaps in community links all contributed to increase the hierarchal structure to resolve them. All these concerns contributed to the transformation of Kaushee's Place from a grass-roots multi-purpose service with a strong First Nations presence and focus to a social service delivery system comprised solely of white feminist professionals.

By the end of the Demonstration Grant, the transformation was almost complete. The Board composition changed in 1979, 1980 and 1981, from having five representatives of First Nations groups to only the YIWA. Those First Nations women who were still on the Board were not attending Board meetings as early as three months after opening. In the May 23, 1980 Board Minutes, one of the remaining First Nations representatives is requested to "find out about representation from the Native agencies" from a First Nation woman who did not attend that meeting! Helen admitted the change from total involvement and commitment to almost total apathy was quite sudden. No reasons for the withdrawal of the First Nations women was found in any documents perused, including all Board Minutes, Director Reports, letters (other than the one previously mentioned), and McLaughlin's (1983) Final Report. I did, however, address these issues in my interview with the First Nations women.

ISSUES OF CLASS AND STATE

The women (and men) who were responsible for bringing Kaushee's Place from the proposal stage into an actual transition home advised, made decisions, performed their duties and, in general, contributed hundreds of volunteer hours to the project. They did so unmindful of the consequences that their advice, decisions and assistance would have on the overall project. "There was no critical analysis of the process", as Helen pointed out, "either during the Demonstration Project, or at the end". In many ways, what transpired is as simple as good intentions gone wrong (Cohen, 1985) – although, it depends on whom you talk to as to the definition of good and wrong.

What will be presented is an analysis of issues of class and race from the perspective of First Nations women themselves, how they saw the process and how they felt when marginalized. The analysis also benefits from documents produced throughout the period under study, for the origins of the threads of these two issues. In combination, the two sources generate a cohesive picture of a process that resulted in very different consequences from what was originally conceived. My intention is not to assign responsibility or blame to those involved – this is just another way of looking at the process – although this time, the view is from the First Nations women themselves. As Lisa Price (1988) so clearly articulated:

"We believe more thought, more discussion and more documentation are needed. ... We need more discussion of the issues involved in institutional change. We need to continue, as Arendt says, "to think what we are doing". (p.12)

MOVING AWAY FROM THE GRASS ROOTS

The process of institutionalization, classism, and professionalism of grass-roots organizations are often intertwined, and this was certainly the case with Kaushee's Place. However, there are specific threads of the analysis that can be seen as demarcation lines for the transformations that occurred. The first such point of reference would be the YIWA decision in 1977 to change the structure of the Project Management Committee and the Administrative Structure of Projects as outlined in the National Health Welfare Reference Manual – Demonstration Projects (1970).

The decision by the YIWA to expand the decision-making body of the Project Management Committee was made from necessity. As Judy explained,

"we had submitted proposal after proposal, only to have them rejected. We knew there were others in the community who cared about our project, and we needed their expertise to get the job done. What was eventually submitted in 1979 wasn't exactly what Kaushee Harris wanted, nor was it the initial plan, but in order to get something, we had to fit their (federal government) criteria."

In other jurisdictions in Canada, attempts to place women's needs on the government agenda and somehow get "something" has been a struggle in itself (Barnsley, 1985; Findlay, 1987; Walker, 1990; Wine and Ristock, 1991). In contrast, in the Yukon, the small size of the Whitehorse community, and the considerable amount of networking that occurred among the different government and non-profit social service agencies made this process easier. For many of the governmental and non-profit agencies, issues of the mid-80s that they had expected to have to resolve, could be addressed through the establishment of Kaushee's Place. Getting women's needs, specifically the transition home, on the government's agenda in the Yukon was greatly assisted by the small scale and context of the social service community.

The issues for the social service community differed according to level and jurisdiction of both government and non-profit groups. For instance, the Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians was instrumental in the development of Crossroads, a drug and alcohol treatment centre in Whitehorse; both the Association and the treatment centre were represented on the YIWA. Thus, the opportunities for discussing Kaushee's Place arose regularly. Mary House, a temporary hostel for women, run by the Whitehorse Roman Catholic Church, was initially represented on the Project Management Committee after it was expanded. The YTG Department of Human Resources work closely with all the foregoing groups and the Federal Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs. Furthermore, many of the key players in these organizations met outside work to pursue common interests. In the Whitehorse Star during 1977 and 1978, there were announcements calling for public input into the proposed transition home sponsored by the Status of Women and Women's Centre. The government agencies of Justice, Health and Welfare (federally and territorially) and Indian Affairs all willingly contributed to the needs assessment, but, most importantly, gave their workers time to sit on the Project Management Committee of the transition home. Perhaps this inter-connectedness both at the formal worksite and in informal work, assisted the process.¹

It is difficult to understand the acceptance of the home by the governments, although some speculation is possible. First, since neither the Yukon Territorial Government nor the Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs had to contribute hard dollars, they may have seen this as an opportunity to be "doing something" with little or no cost to themselves.

It was also the case that, during the 80s, social housing and unique one-time projects were popular. As Kaushee's fit the criteria for a unique housing demonstration project with a one-time expenditure, it may have been politically advantageous to support the home, especially during a Federal Election year. The per diems from both federal and territorial levels of government came from regular expenditures and required no "new" money. In addition, worker's time might have been seen as less costly over the long run than having to contract with other people to do the planning for the proposal, policies and hiring of staff, especially as the

workers did do a lot of the work as volunteers on un-paid time. Also, this researcher did perceive, during the interviews, a sense of comraderie among the people involved, and a sincere dedication to women in distress.

Expanding the Project Management Committee most likely appeared to be a good way to accomplish the goal of creating a transition home, with others whom the YIWA also knew were dedicated to the goal. Those people who came from the social service agencies were professionals – social workers, accountants, graduates of universities, teachers, nurses, economists – nearly all in the management or middle management levels of government and non-profit organizations.

In the beginning, this array of professionals was balanced by the First Nations representatives (Table 1). These professional and First Nations men and women were, for the most part, not professionals in the certified and/or degree sense, but committed community people with some education and training, primarily from the self-taught/help genre of grass-roots people who empowered themselves through their own support groups and communities to rise to positions within their organizations. Some did work for government and non-profit organizations but, as Judy said, being First Nations means that "your whole concept of community and who you are is different from white people".

This difference of heritage and community between the First Nations people has been extensively analyzed but little was written by or about First Nations women until the late 80s and early 90s. By examining some of the current literature by and about First Nations people, and in particular women, some understanding of the communication problems, misunderstandings, and the eventual break in partnership between First Nation and the feminists might be gained.

This will be done by briefly looking at some major tenets of First Nations and Euro-Canadians world views; a short examination of the Department of Indian Affairs' (DIA) policy along with the influence (on DIA and First Nations people) of the various representatives of the Christian church; and the consequent residential school debacle and its effects on First Nations life. It is difficult to assess the impact on First Nations women of these various issues

completely, but it is important to understand that the far-ranging influence on them, their families, and community is still being addressed today.

According to the Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba (1991), Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people hold fundamental life philosophies or world views that differ greatly from Euro-Canadians. These differences in world views are broad and general enough to make most Euro-Canadian institutions incompatible with the moral and ethical value systems of Aboriginal Canadians. Fundamental to the Aboriginal world view and consequent cultural imperatives, is the basic concept of the intrinsic worth of an individual in relation to others.

Ross (1992) discusses Brant's (1982) concept of "the doctrine of original sanctity" as a basic perception of the nature of humanity that is the foundation of "a cohesive philosophy that provides the force and rationale for all of the cultural imperatives of First Nations people" (Ross, 1992, p.6). Brant speculates that Euro-Canadians view people as being defined by weakness, even an outright malevolence as opposed to being delineated by an essential strength and goodness. He goes on to say that when listening to Native Elders, they appear to be saying and doing their best to convince their people that they are one step away from heaven instead of one step away from hell. In fact, states Brant, Elders define their role not within anything remotely akin to Euro-Canadians concept of original sin but within another diametrically opposite doctrine of original sanctity (1982).

Evolving from the Aboriginal world view are a number of cultural imperatives. Both the Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, (1991), [referred to hereafter as the Report (1991)], and Ross (1992) outline a number of Aboriginal cultural imperatives and their pre-historic necessity to group survival. One cultural imperative, referred to as the "ethic of non-interference", essentially dictates that an Aboriginal person will never interfere in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person. Behind this is a larger expectation requiring that no one should ever feel bested by another. For instance, Ross says,

"every Native could tell you (but won't)
white men spend too much time talking" (p.27)

This ethic of non-interference was echoed by Martha when she described part of the dilemma of working with the women from the bureaucratic agencies. When asked what type of interventions were made by the First Nations women at those times when they felt marginalized and ignored, she replied,

"We are very loathe to confront people or give advice to anyone if the person is not specifically asking for advice. To interfere or even comment on their behaviour is considered rude".

Thus, the cultural imperative of non-interference was diametrically opposed to the types of communication feminist bureaucrats use. Being assertive, self-confident, vocal, and opinionated are attributes that gain favour when working with any level of government and, it could be argued, are necessary qualities for the survival and advancement of women within the civil service. The consequences of feeling marginalized, resulting from this cultural misunderstanding, led ultimately to the First Nations women departing Kaushee's Board. In sum, one reason the First Nations women left the Board in the way they did, slowly and quietly, was because withdrawal is more "Aboriginal" than conflict.

Another factor may also have been a sense of "déjà vu"; Aboriginal peoples have seen the same dynamics operating for the last 150 years. This dynamic is referred to by Dyck (1991) as "coercive tutelage". He characterizes relations between Indians and other Canadians as a form of arbitrary restraint or guardianship exercised by Euro-Canadians for hegemony over a foreign territory. This imposition of coercive tutelage by Euro-Canadians in their management of the DIA represents the most continuous and central element of the Indian Act and the "Indian problem".

According to Tobias (1990), relations between Indians and Euro-Canadians were made an Imperial responsibility in the 1700s due to problems the British were having when they

encroached onto Indian land, causing the Natives to ally with France. The British, wanting to gain an advantage in the war with France, entered into agreements with Natives to lure them away from similar treaties with the French. This led to a sense of protection of the Indians by the British, but only as far as it benefitted Britain. Whatever the motivation, this appears to have been one of the first policies to be entrenched in Imperial Indian policy. After 1851, the British adopted the policy of "civilizing" the Indian as an integral part of their policy development, pushed by propaganda in Britain about the "noble savage" and the Protestant churches (who were in the throes of evangelical and revivalist movements) stressing the need to Christianize all men (1990:40).

In the 1830s, the British had their first experiments in attempting to "civilize" the Indians when they moved many of them in the Eastern parts of Canada onto reserves, where they were to be taught farming, receive religious instruction and education. These and other strategies for the attainment of "civilizing" the Indians have varied from a commitment to assimilation by way of segregation, wardship and protection between 1867 and 1945 through to the era of integration and formal equality encompassing the post-war era to 1973. A preference for limited aboriginal autonomy has been in place since 1973 (Coates, 1987).

Over the 400 (or more) years of contact, First Nations people have refused to relinquish their identity and assimilate into what was, until recently, perceived by Euro-Canadians to be "higher levels of civilization". Over time, the British turned to an increasingly bureaucratic system of internal colonialism and forced acculturation (Coates, 1987). Closely associated with the government tutelage apparatus were the religious denominations that were subsidized from the public purse to provide educational services to Indians. While the churches formally declared their interest to revolve around saving Indians from "savagery" and leading them to Christianity and civilization, [in that order], the churches also pursued a variety of political interests within the administration of Indian Affairs. Church authorities urged the government to use its authority to further their work, and called for compulsory school attendance by Indians and mandatory Christian marriages for Indians. The resulting residential school system may have

been the most vicious of all the DIA initiatives (e.g., see Dyck, 1991). By fostering divisions between traditional and Christian Indians on reserves and between Indian children and their parents through the peculiar curriculum enforced in residential schools, cleavages occurred within the First Nations communities with lasting and tragic consequences. Verna J. Kirkness (1992) describes how residential schools,

"have had a lasting negative effect on First Nation people as a whole ... [as] entire generations of Indian children were denied a normal family childhood. They were denied the association with family, with their extended families' perceptions of spirituality, of acceptable behaviour, and of the means of survival ... loss of their Native language. The result was a tragic interruption of [First Nations] culture (1992:12).

This loss of culture through the residential experience led to a disastrous breakdown of the family. Ross (1991) explains how children hear of their duty to respect parents and Elders, but, too frequently, see nothing they consider worthy of respect. In turn, parents feel they are inadequate to the parenting task facing them, either because traditional practices no longer seem to secure their children from harm, or because growing up in residential schools left them with no family model.

In their presentations to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (AJI) in Manitoba (see Report of the AJI, 1991), First Nations women called for a healing of all the people in their communities. Recognizing the damage caused by abuse to generations of children, Aboriginal women want to rebuild their families in a way that complements the present with the past. The concept of family is an essential concept of First Nations culture and one that has been a source of conflict between Native women and, specifically white feminists.

Feminist theory has always proclaimed patriarchy as a fundamental block in the oppression of women and has, until recently, rejected the perspectives of Native women and

women-of-colour that, for their culture, other issues (especially racism) are more integral to their oppression.

This refusal to accept Aboriginal women's understandings and truths on their own terms has led to perceptions of cultural arrogance (Greschner, 1991). From the late 80s there has been an increasing acknowledgement of this lack of acceptance of difference of other cultural groups' perception of feminist theory (Currie, 1991; Kline, 1989; Nicholson, 1990). Although white feminists have questioned First Nation women's claims that their specific history does not include patriarchy, the issue is so sensitive that,

"To question this [Native historical patriarchy] is a refusal to accept Aboriginal women's understandings and truths on their own terms", (Greschner, p.200).

Much misunderstanding about the role of the Native family within a larger cultural context is behind the lack of understanding white feminists have of Native women, Native men's violence, and attempts Native women have made to address wife-battering within Native communities (Nahanee, 1993). Native women have responded and treated violence toward women by emphasizing non-confrontational, non-punitive, and non-coercive means to heal the family as a whole. This is directly opposed to the white feminist approach, which emphasizes removing the male (or the family) from the home, have the woman with or without children go to a shelter, and commence some type of court action.

On the Kahnawake Reserve, violence against women and children is sometimes effectively controlled by women, as a collective, and the offender receives his punishment at their hands. This type of intervention was far more comfortable for Janet to discuss:

"We're really reluctant to talk about splitting families up and anyway, it doesn't work as everyone is related to everybody and it would be impossible to separate them [the family] as the

communities and villages are small".

When the YIWA First Nations women sat down at the Board of Directors meetings with the feminist bureaucrats, they brought all their cultural imperatives, cultural concepts of family, and community to the table. Since there does not seem to have been any discussion of difference between white and native world views, each operated within their existing framework. The result was miscommunication and a feeling by the First Nations women of being marginalized. Consequently, the original YIWA quietly disappeared, leaving the feminist bureaucrats to wonder and question why the participation stopped. ⁱⁱ

Cultural differences of heritage and community between First Nations women and professional white women are also manifested in class differences. Adamson, Briskin and McPhail (1988) discuss how class can be a difficult concept to define and operationalize, but can be understood as referring to "differential amounts of social and economic power [and] differing degrees of access to choice, be it employment, education, location of residence etc." (p.103). All of the First Nations women interviewed had been subject to the "residential school" experience and, in the course of the interviews, gave a first-hand account of their experiences that left this researcher shaken. Certainly their class differences – growing up and leaving the reserve, losing their language, being forced into residential schools, not to mention the racism – gave those women a very different perspective on issues affecting them and the First Nations community than that held by the white professionals interviewed.

Recall that what prompted the decision to widen the decision-making base of Kaushee's beyond the YIWA was the "Administrative Structure of Projects" that was dictated by National Health and Welfare as clearly outlined in the Demonstration Grants Reference Manual (NHW, 1970). Among the eight specified criteria, seven not only imposed a hierarchial administrative structure, but also confined management, in this case the Director, to a purely administrative role:

"[The Director must] be employed for the

purpose of managing the project; [there must be] adequate financial and accounting procedures and record keeping for evaluation [purposes; the] operational plan ... defines and outlines the ... tasks and staff must have training" (Reference Manual, 1970:4).

With this type of top-down structure and emphasis on record keeping, accountability and planning, it was not entirely surprising the resulting consequences were so different from the Y.I.W.A. vision. This bureaucratic structure was consistent with what the Board of Directors was already familiar with and operating within, but was quite alien to the First Nations women. It was, in some ways, quite understandable that once this process was in place, and with the social service agencies representatives comfortably ensconced in it, the First Nations women absented themselves from the very process they were instrumental in creating.

Ng (1988:21) talks of how "class (is) a set of practices which organize relations among people". The language of the bureaucrats was one that the government and many of the non-government women understood, knew how to implement, and took on with great enthusiasm. As Price (1988) points out, it is important to understand that this comfort with bureaucratic institutions probably was not motivated by any type of conspiracy to undermine grass-roots organizations; nor was there any type of deliberate manipulation.

"Rather, they are part of the normal bureaucratic functioning of the state and its institutions, ... they do not deliberately set out to thwart .. they are just doing their jobs" (p.51).

What is particularly interesting about Kaushee's Place and the transformation that took place is that while Price was referring to the bureaucratic state's relationship with grass-roots feminists, this case study is concerned with grass-roots First Nations women and white bureaucratic feminists. All the women on the Board of Directors considered themselves to be feminist in the sense of supporting a philosophy based on empowerment for women and equality

for all. Judy, Janet, and Helen all were very clear that the representatives from the social service agencies (both governmental and non-governmental) considered themselves feminists, and, in the case of the non-profit agencies, represented explicitly feminist organizations like the Yukon Status of Women and the Victoria Faulkner Women's Centre. They were simply doing what and how they knew best.

Although the administrative structure dictated operational planning, the strategies for budgeting day-to-day expenses over the three year term [and beyond] came after receiving approval for the capital expenses of purchasing the building and hiring staff. Ng noted this same shortcoming when discussing the process of government funding of an immigrant women's group. In her situation, the funding arrived at the point when the services to women began, and the focus became "short term, rather than [having a] longer term outlook" (1991:193). This is similar to Kaushee's Place when the Demonstration Grant was approved, and, simultaneously, the house opened, and women and children arrived. Negotiations with two levels of government over per diems, that were essential to run the home, (and that turned out to be inadequate, suggesting insufficient long-term planning on the budget) began at the same time staff were leaving for training Outside. It is a paradox that while staff travelled, and the furnishings crisis was occurring, women were being turned away from the home, and negotiations for food money were starting.

Planning was also done with only the three year Demonstration Grant in mind, rather than considering what the longer term vision of the transition home might be. In this rather chaotic atmosphere, it is no wonder that those on the Board did what they knew best – bring structure, order and a sense of expertise about how to deal with governments. That two of the representatives worked within the Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs and Department of Human Resources ensured a bureaucratic process from the beginning, even without the imposition of the hierarchical model.

PERCEPTIONS OF RACISM

There are two sets of relationships connected with Kaushee's Place through which the issue of race can be examined: (1) the set of internal relations among the Director, the staff and the resident women; and (2) that of the YIWA, other First Nations women and the Board of Directors. It is important to consider these relations because it is where these groups connect that the threads of racism can be found. By observing the threads of racism, it is possible to address, at least in part, how all groups (Board, Director and Staff) working on the same issue of assisting and supporting women in need, came to a point in 1982 that McLaughlin referred to as an "administrative crisis" (1982).

Within current feminist literature, a critical perspective of feminist theory has emerged that challenges the privilege that many writers claim exists within the theory (Adamson et al, 1988; Boyd, 1991; Currie and Klein, 1991; Nicholson, 1990; Smart, 1990; Wine and Ristock, 1991) and, at the same time, confronts the transformation of unequal male/female power relations to unequal power relations between white feminists, First Nations women and women of colour (de Laurentis, 1990; Fiske, 1990; Little Bear et al, 1984; Mohanty, 1984; Phillips, 1987; Schechter, 1982).

Specific issues that will be addressed to trace the threads of racism and the unequal power relation among the two groups of women (Director/staff/residents and First Nations women/Board members) include the cultural bias of staff training, the residence policy, and a seemingly complete absence of communication on the internal workings of Kaushee's place with First Nations women and/or their communities.

With respect to staff training, it is necessary to locate the issue within the larger context of class and professionalism, and how the people involved on the Board took to the imposition of bureaucratic structure on the transition home with nary a murmur. The connections between who was involved, what position of power the Board members held in their professional lives and the natural inclination to "do their jobs" in the best way they knew, have already been noted.

Given that the majority of the Board were white feminist bureaucrats with degrees and specialized training, it was again only "natural" to see staff training as being relevant only if done by those considered knowledgeable in the field of women's needs. Importantly, that knowledge was believed to lay Outside the Yukon.

Training was to be done with the B.C./Yukon Transition Homes Society. During the years 1980 and 1982, staff attended workshops, conferences and meetings in British Columbia, usually in conjunction with the Society. On the positive side, this relationship between B.C. and Yukon transition home workers gave the Yukon workers a sense of some of the common issues facing transition homes, strategies, knowledge of women's needs, and ideas for addressing problems.

It has been noted previously that staff were being sent Outside the Yukon for training even though the house was opening and operating with little or no furnishings. The Reference Guide (NHW) dictated the training to be done, and with the home already open, there appears to have been a sense of urgency to complete it. Since funds for training and travel were a separate line item in the proposed budget, transferring that money may not have been an option. Nonetheless, one wonders why training was done exclusively in B.C. and why local resources – social workers, instructors, First Nations women – were seemingly not considered as an option. Having all come from Outside (with the exception of the First Nations representatives), perhaps Board members had some pre-existing bias about knowledge from "down south" being superior to that in the Yukon.

As Ng (1988) pointed out, class dictates social relations, both past and present. As professionals from outside the Territory, those Board members who worked for different levels of government did not consider First Nations women's knowledge and heritage, nor did they consider local resources when planning training, house philosophy and programming. Contrary to the 1976 Proposal that listed two staff on the Board (including the Director), the 1979 document had no staff listed other than the Director. The Director, in turn, was to pass along the Board information to the staff.

This top-down method of communication appears to have had problems, according to the Board Minutes of April 14, 1980, which indicates that the Director "is to be the liaison person between the Board and Staff" (p.2). Communication problems among line-staff, Director and Board continue to appear at various points in the 1980-83 time period. McLaughlin's quarterly report (untitled) of June, 1982 acknowledges a growing administrative crisis that was evident in and fuelled by high staff turnover, philosophical contradictions between operating a crisis service for women and turning women away when they did not qualify for a government per diem, and having a community wide referral base narrow to referrals only from the Departments of Indian Affairs and Human Resources. In many grass-roots transition homes, Directors are also staff, and do the work of staff such as shifts, intake and housework. It is clear from the Director's job description that this more egalitarian approach was not occurring at Kaushee's. The hierarchal model was dictated by the Demonstration Grant's Administrative Structure and the actual relations among the Director/staff and residents also became hierarchal, unequal and, from the tone of McLaughlin's quarterly report (1982) and the Final Report (1983), quite fractious and unpleasant.

In order to understand this transformation of power relations, it is helpful to consider issues of training and house regulations, and to hear what the First Nations women had to say about the situation.

During 1980-82, eight staff spent a total of 36 days travelling out of the territory. Given that there were a total of four directors in three years plus considerable other staff turnover, there were most likely inconsistencies in how the home was administrated in the daily routine, programming, and direction. The philosophy of the home was consistent with the Board's position, and the Director acted as a liaison between the Board and the staff. Accurate perceptions of issues at the Board level, administrative problems, and funding issues may not have been conveyed to the staff in a consistent way with the Director turnover. This conclusion is supported by the statement in McLaughlin's covering letter to her quarterly report dated June

15, 1982 which says "As I have attempted to indicate in the report, I feel that the administration of the home is at a crisis stage and staff turnover has contributed to this crisis".

When the Director and staff left the Yukon to attend B.C./Yukon Transition Homes Society functions as part of their training, they brought back a specific ideology to Kaushee's. Although there was no articulation of the Society's philosophy found within the archival documents held at Kaushee's Place, it is possible to draw inferences from two other sources. These include (1) the reports filed by the Director and staff on their activities at the training sessions; and (2) the overview of wife-battering given in Debra Lewis' (1990) pamphlet entitled Strategies for Change which offers a feminist patriarchally-based explanation of wife-battering.

In the reports filed with the Board by directors and staff on their training trips to B.C., certain activities give some idea of the philosophical orientation they received. In the Director's Report to the Board (February, 1981), the Agenda outlined the following training activities: viewed "Loved, Honored and Bruised"; meetings with the Battered Women's Support Services in Vancouver which included the topics of "educating the public on the battering issue", and "gaining more support". Although the Battered Women's Support Services have been "professionalized and institutionalized, ... they have retained a feminist structural point of view" (Faith, 1993:6). Following meetings in B.C. with the British Columbia/Yukon Transition Homes Society, programming specific to the issue of women's oppression from a feminist perspective (rape counselling, sexuality, and battered women) occurred. While this type of programming was entirely consistent with the needs of some of the women in the shelter, other women, especially First Nations women, were in the original multi-use category of need (eg., wanting housing information; waiting for their babies to be born; and trying to deal with extended family problems) and feminist workshops were culturally irrelevant to their needs.

In Strategies for Change, (Lewis, 1990) there is a section, divided into two parts, relating to women's community groups addressing the issue of wife-battering. The first part gives an overview of the issue of wife-battering, while the second gives a case study of how one women's group addressed the issue in their community. What is interesting about these two sections is the

contradiction between the overview and the brief case study. In the overview, a brief summary of "wife assault" is given as resulting from historically based white European patriarchy, while the case study is of the India Mahila Association (IMA), which is comprised of women from the East Indian community in Vancouver. In the overview, there is no mention of the cultural relevance of the meta-theory of patriarchy to white only communities, nor is there any recognition that leaving the batterer and the family home might not be a culturally appropriate solution. That non-white women with culturally different historical views of wife-battering may have a differing context from feminism is contained within the one sentence "We have to become more responsive to the needs of visible minority women and immigrant women, and to recognize the work already being done by women in these communities" (Lewis, 1990:29). Within the case study, the IMA women themselves point out the necessity of cultural sensitivity to battered women "by transition house workers and the need by them and other support services to understand and respect Indo-Canadian women's sense of family, community and honour" (1990:36).

This contradiction between the need to respect women in terms of their own culture, and white patriarchal explanations for wife-battering, are similar to those contradictions faced by workers and clients in Kaushee's Place. The training for the Director and staff was located Outside, and the First Nations and their communities were not consulted. The resulting Residence Policy and estrangement from the communities all contributed to difficulties between staff and clients and was probably one of the reasons for staff turnover. The type of training received Outside appears to have given a perspective of women's needs from the central point of wife-battering, based on a patriarchal, culturally biased theory of women's oppression, which, in turn, offered culturally insensitive solutions.

One of the Director's reports and the Residence Policy (1980), give a sense of the struggle that must have been occurring in Kaushee's House for the First Nations women staying there. In the Director's Report, program plans for the upcoming months include assertiveness training; Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (a parenting skills program using a

behaviour modification approach within a nuclear family setting, primarily suitable for white families); and vocational and academic courses. For those clients from a white cultural background, this may have been appropriate, desired and welcome. From a First Nations perspective, however, it offers activities that are quite foreign to a culture based around the concept of the community as an extended family, where standing up for yourself (at least assertively) is considered to be the height of ignorance, and parenting skills are passed along from grandmother to mother to granddaughter through example, stories and practice. The depth of this cultural ignorance of First Nations differences in perceptions of the family extended to the Board as illustrated in the discussion at the Board meeting in October of 1980 concerning "whether or not to make attendance mandatory". In the end, it was decided to "encourage" attendance rather than force the issue, but, nevertheless, the concept of "forcing" programming on First Nations women, especially in parenting practices is a concept foreign to their experience. Marie (Interviewee #5) talks about how her grandmother,

"never told us what to do. We sat (as children) and listened to her talk of the situation until she made a decision of what the best way would be and then she left, leaving us to decide for ourselves which way to go".

The Residence Policy is another manifestation of lack of cultural awareness and how such regulations might affect First Nations women staying at Kaushee's Place. The Policy begins by stating that "the guidelines will outline a criteria (sic) to be examined for each resident, account for attitudes [!], acquiring alternate residence, demonstration of in-depth job search and financial stability". It almost sounds as if a section of the criteria for getting Social Assistance was copied right from the Manual on Rules and Regulations Relating to Giving People Welfare or some such bureaucratic dictate.

What these documents illustrate is a shifting of power relations from the outside societal unequal male/female oppression to female/female oppression and unequal power relations within the transition house itself. The women had come from difficult living situations to Kaushee's Place for shelter, support and assistance, bringing with them all their First Nations heritage and ideology regarding family and community. Upon arrival, they were told that,

"should (they) display a form of attitude inconsistent with the Home [as defined as abusing House rules], not cooperating with staff, not communicating concerning efforts to remedy their situation, or manifest a desire to remain at Kaushee's Place indefinitely ... [then] ... a conversation concerning the woman's negative attitude and influence while residing at the Home will be conducted. Decisions regarding time between these discussions is dependent upon the severity of the negative attitude".

One can only imagine what the First Nations women thought about those rules, dictates and punishments, given that so many of them came from abusive situations and, when younger, from residential schools. The only thing missing were bells regulating when they arose, ate, played etc.

It is difficult for white feminists to listen to First Nations women, and women of colour accuse them of being racist, but when assessing the impact that these kinds of rules must have had on women from the communities who were First Nations, it is hard not to feel that racism is the only name for the process.

Within the critical feminist literature, the notion of feminist theory being a meta-theory for all women, regardless of race and culture, not only has been summarily rejected but also referred to as having "monolithic, uni-dimensional, ethnocentric and universalistic tendencies in taking the experience of white women as the norm" (Boyd, 1991:115). In Women and Male

Violence, Schechter (1982) brings this discussion of women oppressing women into her description of issues that had to be resolved in one transition home. One founder explains,

"When we opened in St. Paul, there were no rules and then on the first day we declared that there were no pets; on the second no drugs; and on the third, no furniture storage" (1982:64).

Schechter describes how rules were made "on the basis of experience, often negative ones, and sometimes we had to remind ourselves or be reminded by the residents that it had created too many restrictions" (1982:64). By imposing power over others, regulating their time, behaviour and actions, empowerment and the freedom to make decisions, even wrong ones (from the worker's perspective) are removed. What remains is simply power of one woman over another. Within a transition house, staff do have power over the women who reside there in many different ways. There is the power to refuse admittance in the future, to request the woman to leave, to not give referral advice. Probably most important, however, is denying the women the power over their own lives to make the decisions they choose.

Schechter (1982) also talks of one of the essential strengths of the grass-roots battered-women's shelter being that of the issue of self-help. Relationships between staff and residents were to be based on "personal caring, honesty and mutual growth. They saw the battered woman's growth process like their own, slow and halting" (1982:109). In particular, the staff identified with the resident and did not see themselves as separate, superior, or powerful. This implies respect for the woman, a concept that First Nations women have articulated as being essential to their culture.

Bringing the issue of race back to the Board level, it is when the unequal power relations between men and women became translated into oppression of women by women, that the First Nations women made their exit from the Board of Directors. The themes that underscore the specifics of this exodus include the First Nations women's perception of respect, cultural

differences in communication and cultural issues around conflict. The themes of respect, communication and conflict and how they affected the relations between the First Nations women and white feminists on the Board, were often referred to in my interviews. In each interview with a First Nations woman, their version of the exodus and how they were affected was contextualized within these themes. My interview notes show that all the First Nations women and one white feminist, gave variations on the same theme: the lack of respect for First Nations values of family and community. The types of communication that occurred during Board and Committee meetings was seen as all too similar to how they (First Nations women) felt when working with white men, and how the resulting conflict was addressed.

First Nations women put a great deal of emphasis on the need to honour other's opinions and "to live in harmony and not impose our ideas on others" (Janet). This respondent went on to say,

"I felt those feminists had to find their own truth and we had to find ours. The whole idea of separateness, of leaving the family and community was a feminist solution [to problems] at a time when we were all attempting to come together as a community. I think they [feminists] sold their souls to the white male dominated society by imitating [a type of] communication by power over us".

This idea of being dominated by white feminists was echoed by Judy,

"They (white feminists) cut off people when they were talking just like white men do. They would take silence as a signal to jump in and use phrases like 'you should do this and you should do that'."

The effect this had on the First Nations women is expressed by Marie when she explained that the domination she experienced at the meetings,

"indicated to us that our views were not valued. I would never call myself a

feminist from my experiences with them [white feminists] but I do believe in egalitarianism. It's just that you have to live it, not just mimic the words."

The two white women on the Board who were interviewed supported the other First Nations women's experience. One woman, who considers herself to be a feminist and was also in a management position in the government, said,

"When the feminists came on the Board, it was obvious they were louder, more assertive than the First Nations women and simply overpowered them." (Helen)

This over-powerment by white feminists was also the experience of a white non-professional Board member who, in her own words,

"was not a professional, did not have a degree and my job was that of a homemaker. When I came on the Board, I knew little of the problems the residents were experiencing but I recognized the need and had time to help. I always felt like I didn't know anything about anything, they [white feminists] did not respect my opinions or even try to help me understand why they didn't. The First Nations women were also treated this way, as if they were second-rate citizens and didn't quite get it it being that all men were the enemy, we should just all leave and somehow everything would be OK. (Donna, Interviewee # 6)

In trying to address these issues of feeling dominated and not having their voices heard, the First Nations women did attempt to broach the issue with the other Board members. Judy talks about what occurred when they did start to notice the changes occurring at the Board and staff level.

"All of a sudden we were sending Directors Outside for training and one by one, they came back wanting to change the emphasis of Kaushee's from addressing many needs that the residents had, to only dealing with women who were battered and talking about "those men". They [the Board and Directors] did not try to understand our culture and how "those men" referred to were our fathers, brothers, uncles and cousins. We could not separate ourselves like that from our families and communities. That is not how we will resolve the issue of violence to women. Those women thought we were stupid as we didn't have degrees and when we tried to explain how we felt about the changes, we were ignored".

According to the Board of Director's Membership list for 1980, there were five First Nations women representing different agencies listed. But when the Board Minutes for 1980 are checked, attendance by this group had ended almost immediately. Judy explains,

" By the summer, we withdrew and let them [white feminists] do it their way. We didn't scream or yell but did attempt to say what we felt. Some women seemed to understand but others who were louder and strident, wouldn't listen."

The First Nations women also talked of how they dealt with the discomfort they felt with the lack of respect and changes they saw occurring. Janet stated:

"Avoidance is easier as it's not our way to fight. We laugh rather than get mad and felt we couldn't impose our ideas over others as we've all been taught that that is the height of disrespect."

The white government worker, Helen, confirms that there was an atmosphere of tension at the meetings, and, whenever the issue of the tension was brought into conversations so it could be addressed, the following occurred,

"Their (First Nations women) voices were never heard and when the issue was pursued, the others would say that everything is done by consensus, so what's the problem? It was not consensus but domination by a few. The First Nations women finally left as the experience was no longer fun, satisfying or productive".

It is interesting to note that when I interviewed the five First Nations women, all were very clear that they felt badly treated, dominated and disrespected, but there was no anger that I could detect in their voices. When asked about this absence of anger, Judy explained that,

"We were dismayed over the lost opportunities to work together. The reason why the Demonstration Grant was approved was that it was a unique concept of cross-cultural groups working on the same project for a cross-cultural group of women. We now think that if we had been allowed to have our voice influence training and programming, maybe some of the problems that arose and that are mentioned in the Final Report would not have occurred. I mean, how can you run a transition home for only battered-women when the need for a multi-purpose home still exists? The issues identified in 1975 for women – housing, coming into Whitehorse to have children, drug and alcohol problems, poverty and lack of education as well as violence all still exist and are not being addressed."

By the end of 1983, the transformation of Kaushee's Place, from a grass-roots First Nations women's initiative to provide a multi-purpose home for women in need to a single-purpose

residence managed in a manner similar to government social services, was complete. The influences of class, professionalism and race had ensured that such issues as whether the Director should have business cards to give to referral agencies, and whether to pay Directors to attend Board meetings, were the contentious discussions in the Board Minutes of 1982. No wonder McLaughlin (1982) concluded that the home was undergoing an administrative crisis. Business cards and overtime are issues that reside a long way from the types of transition homes envisioned by grass-roots feminists in the 1970s. As McLaughlin acknowledges in her (1983)

Final Report:

"Kaushee's Place had tended to operate on the hierarchical model, influenced by ... having in three years, three directors and one interim director. Each brought their own philosophy of service and management and each was heir to that of their predecessor." (p.33)

The hierarchical management style, Outside training for staff and directors and loss of First Nations women's presence resulted in a transition home transformed from its original vision. Furthermore, the type of over-powering by white feminists of the First Nations women at the Board level also seems to have influenced staff relations within the home. McLaughlin's Final Report was useful to this analysis more for what was not said than what was with a few understated paragraphs. Examples of this are the above quote (1983:33) and the following:

"In terms of the "halo effect" of the in-house management philosophy on attitudes to residents, it seems essential that the management model reflect the same respect for staff, including the assumption of ability and acknowledgement of work that it is anticipated that staff will show towards residents. (1983:34).

This may suggest that the issue of respect was still a source of conflict for Kaushee's Place. There are no examples of what is being referred to, nor any articulation of the issues around which respect became a focus. However, as the First Nations women's so clearly articulated in the interviews, the issue of respect was and did remain a source of problems for all levels of management at Kaushee's Place.

When women are not respected or included and are marginalized by women who call themselves feminists, what is occurring is what Susan Boyd refers to as the "monolithic, uni-dimensional, ethnocentric and universalistic tendencies in taking the experience of white women as the norm" (1991:115). Further to this, Currie and Klein (1991) state that

"The categories in which experience is currently presented ... are simultaneously capitalist, racist and masculine. (p.19).

There was an opportunity in 1980 to build the kind of coalition Currie and Kline (1991) refer to in their article Challenging Privilege: Women, Knowledge and Feminist Struggles when they discuss how cooperation "between privileged and marginalized women is necessary if the liberation of all women is to be achieved" (1991:18). Unfortunately, that kind of coalition was possible in the development of Kaushee's Place but, as one of the First Nations women said, "It was an opportunity lost". (Judy)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have examined how the process of seeking and acquiring state funding for a First Nations women's grass-roots community initiative for Yukon women had the unintended consequence of transforming relations among women involved with the development of Kaushee's Place Transition Home.

I began by locating the state within a framework of governing departments, institutions and agencies whose function is regulation and control, and then proceeded to look at its formal interaction with a single grass-roots organization. The crucial focus of analysis lay in the transformation of social relationships among different groups of women, all of whom had women's interests as a priority. The transformation of the women's social relations was analyzed by examining internal contradictions that resulted from an imposed state bureaucratic structure, white educated professional bureaucratic women's commitment to women's needs, and how the issues of class, professionalism and race permeated the framing and resolution of crucial issues in the development of Kaushee's Place. These processes, which Morgan (1981) identifies as bureaucratization, individualism and professionalism, along with the compounding influence of race, referred to by Currie and Kline (1991) as the "challenge of privilege", were all seen in the relations studied here. They are processes that Morgan claims "fragment class and structural issues into single issues" creating false divisions between women that did not previously exist, turning grass-roots organizations into mini-bureaucracies (i.e., smaller replications of the state) and fragmenting potentially cohesive groups of like-minded women (Morgan, 1981:19).

In the case examined here, the unintended consequences that resulted from this imposition of state bureaucracy and issues of class and race had both short and long term repercussions.

REVIEWING THE RELATIONS OF RULING

In Chapter 1, a limited view of the state was offered. I examined Foucault's approach to the state as articulated by Barry Smart (1985), a Marxist view expounded by Burstyn (1985) and MacKinnon's (1983) feminist interpretation. Both Burstyn and MacKinnon reject a one-dimensional view of the state, and affirm the futility of such application when examining seeming contradictions at the praxis level of such feminist activities such as funding shelters for battered women. The term "the state" was chosen and applied in this case study in such a way as to allow specific examination of sites where relations of the state came into direct contact with grass-roots organizers, in this case First Nations women.

Using a state-centered theory to explain the complexities found in the relations of ruling among the feminist bureaucrats and First Nations women was one option in studying the social relations among the first Boards of Directors. Burstyn (1985) offers a good analysis of the state as both a reflection of actual social relations and relations of privilege found in governmental institutions. The Boards of Directors of Kaushee's Place did mirror relations among Yukon First Nations people and non-Aboriginals, and duplicated many of these tensions at meetings.

The cultural traditions that lead First Nations women to communicate and act in certain ways towards their white sisters have also had an effect on First Nations relations with non-Aboriginal people in the Yukon community. It took many years before land claims were settled in the Yukon, and conflicts on the local level, resulting from shared resource management threaten to get worse before getting better. Charges of racism are heard on both sides.

It is Foucault's theories (Smart, 1985) that really capture the nature of the transformation of state relations to grass-roots organizations. Foucault (1981) puts it very succinctly:

"the development of power techniques oriented towards individuals and intended to rule them in a continuous and permanent way [under a rhetoric to] ensure, sustain, and improve the lives of each and every one". (p.239)

Taking the relations of ruling past the Board level to the running of Kaushee's Place, the sense of "improving the lives of each and every one" was found in the residential rules and regulations that attempted to control such abstract concepts as attitude. This study has shown how the state both reproduces itself and reaffirms its power, by complicating the proposal process to such an extent that success is impossible without talking to the state in its own language and on its terms.

The problem for Kaushee's Place's Board, and specifically the YIWA, was that talking to the state on its terms meant changing who they were and what they originally had planned in a multi-purpose building for women. Thus, the state could be seen as "winning" and neutralizing the YIWA to a non-entity group (e.g., the 1976 proposal that went nowhere) or folding them in (e.g., the 1979 proposal).

Foucault (Smart, 1985) sees the state as "being everywhere" but unable to occupy the whole field. In this case, it is the feminist bureaucrats who have talked of radical structural change (i.e., ridding patriarchy) but, ironically, they do the same job that any chauvinist male bureaucrat would have done. They achieved power through the same sets of oppressive power tactics used by those men before them to marginalize and isolate those who are "different" in colour, world-view, cultural heritage, and history.

Concurrent with a discussion of the state and its ability to transform social relations between and within groups of women who have a grass-roots approach to organizing, is the debate and (still) on-going struggle regarding appropriate responses to wife-battering.

In Chapter 2 the historical context for the battered-women's movement is considered including issues of class, professionalism and race and their relation to grass-roots organizations.

Central to the debate on wife-battering responses is the rhetorical question, "Whose issue is this anyway?" and the two conflicting approaches encapsulate a number of extremely important theoretical differences. What is nicely referred to as the medicalized individual pathology model versus the down-in-the-dirt approach of historical male oppression have at their core the difference of ownership of the responsibility for wife-battering.

The differences can be deceptively thin – does it really matter if "wife-battering" is referred to as "domestic violence"? And so what if social workers, psychologists and other professionals gather the issue under their bureaucracies? Isn't it just important to have it stop? On the surface, and certainly from the vantage point of media accounts of wife-battering, it would not seem important. It is only when the layers of complexity are peeled back one-by-one to reveal the consequences of referencing "wife-battering" as "family violence", placing responsibility in the state's agencies of health and social service professionals for addressing the violence, and then realizing it did not, has not, and will not stop, that the debate on "Who owns this problem?" becomes crucial for some women's survival.

Bringing the debate home to the development of Kaushee's Place, the struggle became located within the social relations of the participants at all levels. The Federal and Territorial professionals within the social service and justice agencies were concerned about the growing numbers of women in crisis in the Yukon. It is ironic that these professionals understood and acted on the knowledge that the women in crisis were oppressed in a number of ways beyond just being beaten. This reality forms the base of much of the feminist literature that locates wife-battering as another layer of systemic oppression by a white, middle-class, patriarchal system. (e.g., see Barnsley, 1985; Faith, 1992; and Walker, 1990). This theory of wife-battering as one moment of women's larger oppression forms one of the major differences between medicalized and feminist based theories on wife-battering. (e.g., see Chapter 2, as well as Errington, 1977; and Lewis, 1982).

Thus, even while the professionals were acknowledging the need for a multi-purpose home for Yukon women, they were also busily going about the business of appropriating control

away from the very people in this case First Nations women who could have addressed concerns in relation to their own larger cultural context. If there is not a recognition that "who owns the problem", from a feminist point of view, entails the empowerment of women speaking in their own voices and making their own decisions (regardless of how "wrong" we, from our own social viewpoint, consider them to be), then the relations between the groups who are addressing solutions break down. Conversations around cultural differences in dealing with women in crisis were swept away in the pressing need to develop a hierarchical administrative structure for Kaushee's Place that would satisfy federal grant criteria. Defining culturally relevant training and policies for staff became subsumed, or not even acknowledged, in the rush to send Directors and staff Outside for feminist-centred training. It is at these sites of social relations between grass-roots women and professionals where critical discussions and decisions are made. "Having a theory" is crucial in determining outcomes including unintended consequences.

Even more paradoxical is how the issue of race became the thread that, when pulled by the professionals, undid all the good work and good intentions of the group who initiated, and were ultimately marginalized, in the development of Kaushee's Place. The paradox is heightened when we recall that the majority of literature on the shelter movement recounts the struggle of grass-roots feminists to preserve their shelters from bureaucratic encroachment, and maintain the type of collective, sharing, egalitarian structure that characterized so many of the early experiences. In the Yukon example, it is feminist bureaucrats who usurp the grass-roots First Nations through an agenda that, in its effects, appears to have with racist overtones. It was these women professionals with a feminist agenda who "cut us out, left us behind and overpowered us" (Judy).

If this indictment seems too strong, consider the conversations between the First Nations women interviewed who informed me that "serious consideration of the removal of Kaushee's name from the transition home is being discussed because of the incredible embarrassment and scandal that the place has been associated with in the last 2 years" (Judy). This legacy of ill-will

between the two groups has had a lasting impact on the direction the transition home took after 1984 and a direct impact on the series of crises that have had both native and white women in the community question the continued existence of the shelter.

Using Walker's (1990) concept of "documents as organizers" of sets of social relations, Chapter 4 used archival material, newspapers and interviews to trace the themes of transformation. The main themes were state influence in shaping grass-roots organizations; white feminist bureaucrats' use of unequal power relations to exclude First Nations women; and, in this case, probably most important, how the thread of racism ran concurrently through the influence of the state and femocrats on the internal workings of Kaushee's Place.

The struggle with the state started with funding the hostel, and, as many of the First Nations founders of the shelter have said, getting the proposal accepted by the federal government was a four year uphill battle. Both the 1976 and 1979 documents are similar in form, rationale and proposed programming with the former being more complete in background information to Yukon women's needs. What is interesting about the two proposals is how the 1976 paper specifically espouses a multi-layered theory of social change and articulates how women, in particular First Nations, have and would continue to be adversely affected. This dovetails nicely with feminist theory of women's oppression emanating at all levels of our society. In contrast, the 1979 proposal rationale speaks specifically of First Nations women's experiencing upheaval on a personal level, while at the same time requesting funding for a multi-purpose shelter.

The significance of this transformation lies within the continuing debate on the contextualization of wife battering and the ever-present question "Whose problem is this anyway"? The phrasing of the rationale in the 1979 proposal fits the medicalized individual pathology model, looking at "the Indian woman" as if she existed outside a comprehensive network of family and community who were all experiencing the upheavals of colonialism. The 1976 proposal is far more akin to the feminist proclamation of examining wife-battering within the context of society as it is constituted by a primarily white patriarchal structure. In their

struggles with the state over proposal acceptance, an essentially feminist approach to wife-battering and women's oppression was transformed to the more bureaucratically accepted individual problem.

The state influence did more than change the focus from a wider social context to a more individualistic approach. The main theme of transformation lay in the administrative structure of the home and how that difference had lasting unintended consequences for the shelter. With the imposition of a hierarchial administration, from the Board to the staff, came attendant contradictions. Some of those contradictions include the complete absence of First Nations input and direction on the Board/Director level after they had played a vital role in the shelter's inception; the rhetoric of director and staff egalitarianism versus the reality of travelling and salaries while residents had nothing to sleep or eat on; and the issue of per diems dictating who was accepted and who was not.

Emerging contradictory themes that would have serious later consequences for the shelter included the loss of contact with and referrals from the rural communities, First Nation and other social service agencies; and the total non-involvement of the First Nations women who became the leaders in government and non-government agencies, engaged in politic, and acted as spokeswomen for their people.

The Board Minutes, letters and director reports, when juxtaposed with newspaper articles and contentious issues of funding and personnel, give credence to the transformational themes of class, professionalism and race. The institutionalized shelter that had emerged in Whitehorse by 1984 was considerably different from that conceived and planned by the Yukon Indian Women's Association in 1974.

Satisfying state bureaucratic demands for funding and program accountability led the white feminist bureaucrats who came on board to direct and manage Kaushee's Place in a manner that appeared to be an extension of their governmental workplaces. These femocrats did not seem to be aware of the contradiction of extending hierarchial structures to what was touted as a grass-roots organization. It is one thing to have to accept state imposed funding criteria that

dictates a top-down administration but it is something else entirely when none of these femocrats could observe or acknowledge the very direct and negative consequences that began almost as soon as the shelter was open.

The archival material alone, especially the somewhat critical reports of McLaughlin, demonstrated the constant contradictory themes of running a so-called multi-purpose shelter on egalitarian lines while at the same time imposing rules and regulations on residents, 50% of whom were First Nations, who were in crisis and desperately needing stability, consistency, assistance and support to enable them to make their next decisions. The irony of this seems not to have made an impact at the Board even after McLaughlin tactfully pointed out the "administrative crisis" that permeated the organization. It was as if the motto of "just doing my job" made them unaware of the glaring problems and issues facing the shelter on a daily basis as they un-self-consciously went about duplicating the same nonsensical decision-making processes of their every day work life.

It is the issue of race, with its correlate of class, that captivates the essence of transformation of unequal power relations between the sexes to that between groups of women. Coming from a position of privilege, almost to a one, the femocrats were college/university educated, white middle-class women occupying well-paid government positions.

From the interviews with the five First Nations women whose YIWA's initiative started the process of a Whitehorse shelter, these professional women appear to have been assertive, vocal and insensitive to the very different methods Aboriginal women have when dealing with group communication and conflict. When it became obvious (as documented in Board Minutes of 1981) that First Nations women were no longer attending decision-making meetings, an air of defensiveness appears in cryptic comments regarding women "doing their bit" and "it is important for all to attend meetings" and ultimately requesting the one lone First Nations woman left on the Board to "see about getting other representatives who can attend meetings" (Board Minutes, May 1980). Rather than look at possible issues stopping First Nations women from attending meetings, the "problem" becomes "them", which successfully and in turn, accuses and

victimizes the very women who put the time, energy and effort into the shelter project that was so willfully expropriated by the white feminists.

This undercurrent of anger directed at First Nations women was also experienced at many meetings I attended of a local group attempting to combat violence both in the community and at home. Many invitations, calls and attempts were made to encourage First Nation participation in the all-white, professional group, but to no avail. The committee response was to direct frustration and anger at the women themselves rather than look at our actions and consider and analyze what it might possibly be about us that lead the First Nations women to reject our overtures. This individualized negative reaction had the effect of alienating even further the very women we wished to include, and it certainly could be assumed that this alienation of First Nations women from the first Board of Kaushee's Place was instrumental in their absence and continued non-involvement. The Yukon, and Whitehorse in particular, is much too small for such conversations to remain private and secret, and my interviews with the First Nations women revealed they knew and understood what was being said, and how the defensiveness and anger was aimed at them for their non-participation.

At issue is the inability of well-meaning, educated women in the social services field that require good communication skills, sensitivity to others and empathy in conflict, to recognize that for First Nations people, and the women in particular, certain grounding assumptions of successful feminism such as assertiveness, holding one's ground and arguing are not only alien to their cultural heritage but considered to be the height of rudeness and disrespect. So, of course, how could the First Nations women cope with these "uppity white women" when they spoke louder, more strongly, and interrupted them as they attempted to put forth their points of view? As the First Nations women told me, they have been taught by their grandmothers not to tell others what to do, to laugh not yell when conflict arose and, above all, respect others points of view. Unfortunately, the process does not appear to have been reciprocal. Disregard for difference has led quite accurately to accusations by First Nations women and women of colour of "imperial feminism and racist feminism" (Amos and Parmar, 1984) and "colonial feminism"

(Mohanty, 1984). When describing those practices that marginalize and alienate the very women whose contribution to the shelter made it possible, it is difficult not to identify racism as the thread running through all the interactions between the two groups.

It is in the regulations of the house that the issue of racism is intrinsically woven and, which more than anything else, affected the residents. As previously mentioned, the quest for director/staff training took place Outside in a feminist-oriented milieu. Repeating the feminist axioms of egalitarianism and empowerment, staff returned with a seemingly well defined ideology of how to interpret and actualize that philosophy. It obviously did not include understanding difference, taking women at the point they were at in their crisis, nor accepting or even attempting to understand that their concept of white patriarchal oppression may not provide any type of informed discussion for First Nations women from rural communities.

Carol Wharton (1989) describes how "the hegemony of staff-imposed rules and ideology" informed conflict between staff and residents and amongst the residents themselves. Wharton also cited residents who "felt there was a contradiction between the goal to establish an egalitarian environment and the need, as perceived by the staff, to enforce basic rules that seemed undesirable to some residents". (p.67) One major issue mentioned in Wharton's ethnography of a shelter centred around continuing relationships with the man who was responsible for the violence. This is also the major departure for agreement between First Nations women and white feminists in the Yukon. Wharton describes how the women were concerned for the man's welfare (and all that entailed), wanting to return home and just have the violence stop, not being able to see and/or talk to family and the "state of siege" that existed within the shelter. This is very much at issue with Kaushee's and staff imposed regulations controlling how, when, where etc. contact, present and future, will be "allowed" with the batterer and/or family. For First Nations women, this imposes an isolation from family and community that is alienating for them and causes tremendous guilt and remorse while in the shelter. It is very difficult to address these vital issues for First Nations women when the transition home staff viewed the shelter as "people-changing" (empowering residents according

to the staff's own ideology of the term) rather than the residents perception of "people-processing" (identifying and assessing residents' needs within their own culture) (Higgins, 1985).

FINAL COMMENTS

This thesis began with a brief accounting of the transformational abilities of the state to reorganize, disrupt and impose anti-egalitarian administrative practices on feminist grass-root's organization. What I did, however, was to take that same premise of bureaucratic imposition and apply it to a different type of struggle – one that is not usually seen – the imposition of hierarchically informed ideologies by white professional feminists on a group of grass-roots First Nations women that centred around the building of the Yukon's first transition home. It is not merely the transformation of a grass-roots organization by state imposed funding criteria, but rather what occurred when the administrative structure was applied in praxis to the shelter and the transformation of social relations that resulted from the intrusion.

It did not have to turn out how it did – with the marginalization and alienation of the very First Nations women who understood the need for a multi-purpose women's shelter and who persevered with their vision for four long years before requesting the community at large to help. Even with the top heavy structure, awareness of cultural difference and sensitivity could have prevailed in the true grass-root's meaning of feminism as an egalitarian way of working with others, particularly women. But the threads became unravelled starting at the very top, with the Board and their inability to analyze their own predicament when the First Nations women voted with their feet and left, and from there everything else flowed.

It is not enough to talk and write about state interference and its ability to disorganize grass-root feminist groups. We must take the rhetoric and apply it to how we work with difference. We must be vigilant ourselves in how we interact, accept and most important, listen to First Nations women and women of colour when they inform us that our reality is not theirs,

that they have a different spin on family and community, that their solutions may be different from ours and their way of expressing all those issues may be different from how we do it.

The unfilled aspirations and goals of the YIWA, the consequent hierarchial structure of the home, and ultimately the potential for like-minded women to work together, all are what Arendt (1970) meant in her eloquent, "we really must think what we are doing".

APPENDIX A

OPENING STATEMENT TO INTERVIEWEES

I am currently researching the development of Kaushee's Place in Whitehorse and understand you were a part of the committee that assisted in that process.

As my Criminology thesis is specifically examining the process of Kaushee's development, and the relationship between all the agencies (government and non-profit) who were involved during the time period 1979 to 1984, I am particularly interested in your perspective.

I have a number of questions I wish to ask and would like your permission to record the answers. The results of the interviews will be used in my thesis and if you wish, anonymity can be used.

APPENDIX B**QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWEES**

1. What organization/agency, if any, did you represent?
2. What was the purpose of this organization/agency?
3. Did this organization/agency have a specific role in the development of Kaushee's?
4. Were you involved in the first organizing committee?
Do you recall who else was on the committee and who they represented?
5. What was the original purpose of the committee?
Did this change?
6. What were some of the issues and/or problems the committee faced?
7. How did the committee deal with these issues/problems?
8. What was the ethnic and gender makeup of the committee?
9. Do you recall how the need for a women's shelter was identified?
Do you recall the original purpose of a women's shelter?
10. To your knowledge, was a needs assessment done in the Territory?
If so, who did it and what were the results?
11. Did the results of the needs assessment change the focus of the committee?
How?
12. Were there any representatives from the legal system and/or the R.C.M.P.?
If so, were there any disagreements on issues between these particular representatives and the rest of the committee?
13. If there was no representation, do you know why?
What was the relationship between this committee and these systems?
14. What sources of support and resources were applied to for monies to build a home?
15. Are you familiar with the process that occurred around the application for the demonstration grant?

16. What specifically was the grant given to do?
Why was it a demonstration grant as opposed to outright funding?
17. Were you involved in the drafting and implementing of Kaushee's first constitution?
18. What types of issues were addressed within the constitution?
19. Were there any changes to the purpose of the home, how it was run etc. during the three years of the demonstration grant?
Any changes within the first or second year after the grant?
20. After the three years of funding expired, where did the resources for the home come from?
Were there any changes to the constitution, policies etc.?
21. Were there differences of opinion with the committee about what constitutes a family?
How was independence of women viewed?
What was the perception of violence to women – specifically physical?
Whose responsibility was violence to women and why?
22. Where are you from?
What is your educational and work background?
What originally motivated you to become involved in Kaushee's Place?
How long have you lived in Yukon?
23. In what capacity did you assist in the development of Kaushee's?

ENDNOTES

¹ As in Canada, the feminist battered women's movements in Britain and the United States also drew connections between women's oppression and wife-battering. Pizzey (1974) and Martin (1976) were the first to force the issue of wife-battering onto the public agenda. Dobash and Dobash (1977), Schechter (1982), and Walker (1984) were also major contributors to the growing literature examining wife-battering within the context of women's oppression.

² The degree to which this sentiment is still entrenched within political ideology, was demonstrated at the 1992 United States Republican Convention where a "family values" platform became an essential part of the Party's strategy.

"Family values" rhetoric involves conceptualizing the family (made up of one man, one woman, and their natural children) with defined roles for women (at home, not in the work place), men (the dominant member, wage earner), and children (dependent, mainly on the mother) living happily together. This romanticized version of "a family" acts as a buffer against the chaotic work place and provides the man with the necessary support system to go out and "do business". What happens within the dwelling (ideally a single family dwelling) is private and protected.

³ For other contributors to the history and knowledge of the early battered-women's in Canada, see Currie (1990), Kenny and Magnusson (1992), and Barnsley et al, (1980).

⁴ See also O'Brien (1981), Smart (1984), and Jensen (1986) for work that links women's sexuality and reproduction to women's oppression.

⁵ While a Tutoring Assistant for a Criminology Course at Simon Fraser University, I discovered that Steinmetz's theory of incidents of husband-battering being equal to, or more than, those of wife-battering, was being taught to impressionable (for the most part) first year students as if it were "the sole truth". Other aspects of the far-reaching effects for society and the brutality of wife-battering were rationalized and minimized using the Steinmetz theory. Any idea that it was located within a framework of women's oppression was denied.

⁶ The Whitehorse shelter is a case in point. Although the women residents at Kaushee's Place were and are primarily First Nations women, the staff and Board of Directors have not (and continue not to) reflected this ethnic and class structure.

⁷ In Whitehorse, conflict between First Nations women and white feminists centres around the role of the family in connection to wife-battery. I have attended many meetings and engaged in a number of arguments (verging on fights) in which the issue of the family for First Nations women has been discussed. Those discussions considered the First Nations women's assertions, that their world-view of their families was different but equal to Euro-Canadians, to be misguided and simply wrong and they would not be entertained under any circumstances!

⁸ While conducting interviews for Seeking Shelter, I was struck at how angry the women continued to be so many years after the closing of the Vancouver Transition Home. Although they had a good analysis of events around the closing and occupation of the home, the bulk of the anger was reserved for **each other** and the actions taken/not taken. This anger that I noticed was very similar to the anger the femocrats felt towards First Nations women for their non-participation in feminist responses to wife-battering and other activist activities. There were hysterical meetings with loud accusations, tears, and very negative feelings over reports written by First Nations women and castigated by feminists; another "administrative crisis" at Kaushee's Place following the 1992 murder made worse by feminists professionals and bureaucrats; and, the constant belittling that occurs when referring to First Nations women's view of the family and their responses to wife-battering.

⁹ Whether the Yukon Territory is called "the Yukon" or "Yukon", has been a matter of minor debate since then-Premier Penikett (NDP) announced that he was to be referred henceforth as "Premier" Penikett rather than Government Leader and that, in addition, we were to refer to the territory in question as "Yukon", not "the Yukon". Regardless of such pronouncements, the residents of the Yukon refer to this place as "the Yukon".

¹⁰ All the names used for the Respondents are pseudonyms. This was done to preserve confidentiality and necessary to encourage openness during the interviews. The women selected were: First Nation and non-First Nation; former elected territorial officials; program directors from both the Federal and Territorial governments and the Council for Yukon Indians; and middle-management from both governmental levels.

¹¹ Jenny Jack came to national attention during the Kanehsatake confrontation with the Canadian Army in Montreal. She was an articling law student from Atlin, British Columbia and went to prevent violence between Native and non-Natives. In a confrontation between a Mohawk and an Army man, Jenny Jack used her communication skills to "talk-down" a violent situation. This type of strong character was obviously present in Kaushee Harris.

¹² During the years 1976 to 1979, the YIWA continued to rework, rewrite, and resubmit two further proposals to National Health and Welfare Demonstration Grants.

¹³ The term "femocrat" was coined by an Australian feminist publication Refractory Girl (1984) when an entire issue was devoted to bureaucratic feminisms and the "femocrat" phenomenon.

¹⁴ From my perspective, there is no identifiable "women's community" in Whitehorse. Rather, there is a compartmentalization of activity spheres split along First Nations and all other women, and again split into segments of activity. For instance, First Nations women work through the Council of Yukon Indians and their own village Chief and Council. Euro-Canadian women (and all others) work through YTG Women's Directorate, the Victoria Faulkner Women's Centre, and the Yukon Status of Women. There is some networking between the Women's Centre and some First Nation Teen girls and women but the lines are very clear. Note that Kaushee's Place is not located in the list.

¹⁵ Yukoners refer to the rest of Canada as "Outside". This term has become common and acceptable in usage and used on the local CBC radio and in the two local newspapers. It also serves to further draw lines between "us in the North with our knowledge of how things are/should be" and those southerners who come and "tell us what a mess we're in and how to fix it", and then stay around long enough to draw large salaries and make a mess of everything and leave. And then the cycle repeats itself. We call it the tragedy of the North and the real reason issues and concerns are still not resolved.

¹⁶ During the interviews (and from my own personal knowledge), I had a sense that the relationships formed between the women interviewed and the women who represented the governmental and non-governmental agencies existed outside of the work place. Due to the smallness of the social service and justice system during the early 70s, there was quite a bit of socializing around activities such as sports by workers both inside and outside the system. When I inquired about the informal networking that occurred around the issue of the hostel, I was informed that it certainly had existed but none wished to discuss it further.

¹⁷ As previously mentioned, First Nation women prefer not to engage in accusations, arguments, and other conflictual approaches to problem-solving. It was entirely within character for them to "vote with their feet" and withdraw quietly leaving the femocrats to wonder what happened. This "withdrawal" has carried on into the 1980s and 90s with the same queries from feminists of why First Nation women are not involved with them and they are still without resolution.

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