NEWS/NOUVELLES

Research Updates

University of Regina

Current research that has been undertaken by the Social Administration Research Unit (SARU) at the University of Regina includes a book entitled "Unemployment and Welfare: Social Policy and the Work of Social Work," edited by Graham Riches and Gordon Ternowetsky, and published by Garamond Press. During the recession of the early 1980s unemployment emerged as the dominant economic social policy issue. The recession put increased pressure on social workers and other human services. Social work caseloads increased and joblessness, marginal employment, and poverty drove families and single people to the doors of welfare departments, family service agencies, and food banks.

This increased polarization of rich and poor brought on by the re-structuring of capitalism meant that unemployment and underemployment remained high during the latter two-thirds of the 1980s in spite of the general upturn in the economy.

At a time, in the early 1990s, when yet another recession is forecast, the in-depth analysis of social policy issues and their implications for social work practice provided in this book will be a vital tool both for those involved in social work practice and those studying and implementing social policies to meet the new crisis.

Trends in Income Sources for Saskatchewan, 1981 to 1987, published by Fay Hodson and Gordon Ternowetsky is a series of publications that provides information that can be used as tools for community and regional assessment. There are five reports. Each contains a discussion on changes in the province as a whole and a section and appendix of time series information for particular regions of the province. The details included in these reports will benefit social planning bodies, town councils, social researchers, educators and interested individuals. The income, demographic and social details presented in these publications will assist those engaged in the task of understanding the changing nature of economic and community life in urban and rural Saskatchewan.

Gordon Ternowetsky, of SARU and Linda Standish, Small Area and Administrative Data Division of Statistics Canada have published *Small Area and Administrative Data Sets: Tools for Profiling the Social, Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Canadian Communities.* Each year the Data Division of Statistics Canada produces data sets that can be used to evaluate changes in selected social, economic and demographic characteristics of Canadian communities. The source of these data are administrative records such as personal income tax returns that Canadian residents complete annually. The aim of this document is to illustrate some of the different ways these Small Area data sets can be used as tools for community assessment and analysis.

Another paper authored by Gordon Ternowetsky along with Jill Thorn is entitled *Work and Economic Insecurity: Saskatchewan in the 1980s*. This is a Working Paper published by SARU. The purpose of this Working Paper is to evaluate the impact of structural and demographic factors on income polarization and the decline in middle income earners. This is done by looking at the connection between the composition of the workforce, employment, unemployment, job creation and income and economic security for Saskatchewan and Canadian workers during the 1980s.

It concludes by commenting on the implications of the above analyses on the type of problems social workers can expect to encounter in the field. What type of society is emerging from the jobs that are now being created? What will be the impact on the people that live and work in this country during the 1990s? How will this affect the context of social work practice and the type of problems social workers will face in the field practice aspects of their work.

Doctorates Completed

Dr. Joan Pennell, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba has received her Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr College, Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, in Pennsylvania.

Dissertation Abstract

Democratic Hierarchy in Feminist Organizations

Dominated by a bureaucratic ethos, modern organizations and their theorists typically attribute work efficiency to depersonalized hierarchy. Because the feminist movement seeks to empower women, its adherents are predisposed to creating egalitarian workplaces. The service mission of many feminist organizations, however, compels reliance on funding bodies which expect conformity to the standard agency configuration.

To assess whether or not feminist organizations can meet their democratic aspirations despite requirements to incorporate as hierarchies, participation was examined at two battered-women's programs. Because of the often overwhelming pressures to comply with bureaucratic norms, case

studies were conducted in two regions with some tradition of collectivism: Pennsylvania, United States settled by communal sects and Saskatchewan, Canada shaped by the agrarian cooperative movement. The 1987-1988 collaborative research process included structured interviews with sixty-one shelter workers, historically-focused interviews with forty-three program members and associates, participant-observation, document analysis, and participant feedback on initial reports of findings.

It was found that both programs developed participatory decision processes but through divergent means. Reflecting its radical feminist roots, the Pennsylvania program adopted a sisterhood model; and reflecting its province's worker orientation, the Saskatchewan program combined feminism and trade unionism. Although the programs' hierarchical ownership and democratic participation were incongruent, these systems were stabilized by their outward appearance of normality, their democratizing alliances, and their securement of feminist workers.

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Dr. Brad McKenzie, Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Work, University of Manitoba received his Ph.D. at the Arizona State University.

Dissertation Abstract

Decentralizing Child Welfare Services: Effects on Service Demand and on the Job Morale of Street-Level Bureaucrats

Research reported in this dissertation involved an examination of the policy impacts following the transition to a decentralized, community-based child welfare system in Winnipeg and an assessment of the responses of street-level implementors to their work environment following this change. Decentralization was associated with an increase in family support services, a rise in community outreach and prevention services, increased demand for child protection services and a higher number of children in care. Increased service demand and interest group pressure from community-based agencies also led to an increase in welfare state expenditures. However, the increase in new resources was substantially less than the increase in service demand, and this contributed to higher staff workloads. A cross-sectional survey of direct service staff was also conducted to assess job morale and burnout two years after decentralization. Although staff reported relatively high levels of job stress, they also expressed high levels of personal accomplishment and support for the new system. Bivariate relationships fail to provide support for the theory of street-level bureaucracy, which suggests that higher job stress is associated with reduced job discretion, and that this leads to increased alienation and the adoption of stereotypic behaviours toward clients. Instead, results demonstrate that job stressors and job motivators, such as discretion, have somewhat different effects on job morale. Whereas job stressors were more strongly associated with higher levels of burnout, job motivators were more strongly related to personal accomplishment and job satisfaction. These results suggest that strategies to enhance the job morale of street-level bureaucrats must focus on the need for both job enrichment and a reduction in unnecessary job stressors.

Masters of Social Work Completed

Betty Joyce Carter, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1990.

Dissertation Abstract

But You Should Have Known: Child Sexual Abuse and the Non-Offending Mother

When a child is sexually abused, that child's mother is held responsible within our legal, social and judicial systems, whether she participated in the abuse or not. Because mothers are the usual caregivers of children in this country, they are expected to know what is happening to their children at all times.

Twenty-four women took part in in-depth interviews to explore their experiences with the institutions mandated to intervene in cases of child sexual abuse. Fifteen key informants were interviewed as well. The seven females and eight males are recognized experts in the areas of child welfare, child sexual abuse and on women's issues. An examination was also made of child welfare agency records and files in twenty-two of the twenty-four cases in the study.

Data gathered indicates that the overwhelming majority of mothers did not know, and could not have known about the victimization of their children. Mother's accounts of their children's disclosures and of there subsequent events suggest that the ideology of the family, which promotes the notion that women are solely responsible for the care and protection of their children, informs current policy and practice in cases of child sexual abuse, with negative consequences for women.

Proposed recommendations for changing these practices, as suggested by key informants and the mothers who took part, are included in this study.

Alvin Irwin Lander, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1990.

Dissertation Abstract

Towards a Theory of Social Spending Support Amongst Canadian Jews: An Empirically Grounded and Phenomenological Approach

This study examined the manner in which Canadian Jews account for their supportive attitudes toward government social spending. The primary purpose of such an exploration was to be able to generate from research data some elements which could contribute to a theory of social spending support amongst Canadian Jews.

Thirty-four Toronto and area Jews possessive of supportive attitudes toward government social spending and twelve knowledgeable informants in the Toronto and area Jewish community participated in the study. A multi-stage methodology was utilized.

Participants with supportive attitudes toward government social spending were interviewed in order to ascertain the factors they perceived as accounting for personal social spending support. A master list of factors potentially accounting for social spending support amongst Canadian Jews was developed. Each of these factors was subsequently rated by the supporters in terms of perceived importance in accounting for personal social spending support. The most highly rated of these factors were grouped by the knowledgeable informants on the basis of how they were perceived to be inter-related in accounting for Canadian Jews who hold such attitudes. A Dual Scaling Analysis was performed which generated the most prominent clusters of inter-related factors.

The internal structure of data collected was systematically analyzed. This revealed a number of key factors in participants' accounts of social spending support amongst Canadian Jews. These included: pre-adult socialization within the contexts of the family and the Jewish community of the importance of assisting those in need; sensitivity to the poor acquired pre-adulthood within the contexts of the family and direct personal experience with the poor; concern for Jewish communal security; perception of personal economic security; and rational commitment within the context of the adult post-secondary educational experience to a major government role in assisting those in need.

Elements which could comprise a theory of social spending support amongst Canadian Jews indicated by these factors were generated. The potential contribution of the emergent theoretical elements to a theory of social spending support amongst Canadian at large was considered. In addition, the emergent theoretical elements were compared to elements comprising existing theories of social spending support. Finally, implications of the study were presented.

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Marguerite Lorraine Jones, Faculty of Social Work, University of Regina, 1989. Lorraine's dissertation has been published by the Social Administration Research Unit at the University of Regina.

Dissertation Abstract

Family Care of the Multiply Handicapped Child: Its Impact on Saskatchewan Parents Particularly the Major Care-Giver, 1989

The motivation for this study evolved from the author's extensive practice as a social worker with multiply handicapped children and their families.

Families have been taking primary responsibility for the care of their handicapped children since the deinstitutionalization movement of the late 1960s. This study explores the impact of this heavy long-term care upon parents. The historical and economic context of child care, social values, and current social policy are factors impinging upon these parents' burden of care and quality of life.

This exploratory study was carried out with a population of thirty families obtained through Wascana Rehabilitation Centre's 1987 pediatric caseload. A valued opportunity for a rural-urban comparison emerged.

Findings indicate that areas of impact most significant for mothers, as the major care-givers, were their health, employment, career aspirations, sibling management, coping methods and marriage. An important question arising from the findings was whether the rural, agricultural philosophy of accepting what life offers, makes it more difficult for rural mothers to acknowledge the personal impact upon themselves of care provision for their multiply handicapped child. For fathers employment was a major area of impact, although possible health implications require future study. The rural-urban comparison provided fuller insight into the families' resource needs.

Recommendations stress the importance of early assessment with a family system focus, and the need for a continuum of resources that reflect the developmental and life cycle needs of both the child and parent. The appropriateness of this heavy care for a short phase, probably fifteen to eighteen years at most, needs recognition through the operationaliza-

tion of the principle of normalization. Parents' anticipation of appropriate future care resources for their multiply handicapped children, can serve to motivate and support their continued day to day management of the heavy care.

The issues facing families in the present era of community based services makes studies of this kind important in developing a sound informational base to the planning of services. The thesis is written in a style which makes it useful and interesting to families with handicapped children, as well as being of particular interest to professionals in the field and to social planners.

Research Notes

Researching the History of Indian Residential Schools: Difficulties and Benefits

J.R. Miller
University of Saskatchewan

Residential schools for native youths in Canada have of late had a bad press. "Where the Spirit Lives," a drama broadcast on CBC television on October 29, 1989, depicted a southern Alberta boarding school as a hellhole, complete with exploitation of child labour, sexual abuse of a girl by a female supervisor, and harsh corporal punishment. Numerous articles in the *Globe and Mail* and occasional comments in passing by natives appearing on the CTV network's "Canada AM" have referred to the residential schools as a major source of many of the problems that Inuit and Indian societies face today in Canada.

What were these institutions? Why are they worth studying? And what are the special difficulties and opportunities that occur in any research project dealing with residential schools as a major source of many of the problems that Inuit and Indian societies face today in Canada?

Residential Schools: History and Development

The term "residential schools" embraces a variety of institutions stretching from the Atlantic to the Arctic, and from the earliest years of French settlement in New France to the late 1960s. Among what we call residential schools the earliest were usually small, informal institutions that individual Christian missionaries or small missionary teams set up to teach the children of nomadic Indian bands. This was the nature of the first, abortive experiment by the Jesuits on the St. Lawrence in the 1630s, as well as the Methodist and Anglican efforts in Upper Canada in the early decades of the nineteenth century. What is less often recognized is that small and informal beginnings often marked residential schools in later periods, especially in the west and the north. It was a common pattern, such as was noted at Portage La Prairie or Carcross (Caribou Crossing), for a missionary body to initiate a school of its own volition and at its own expense, and later to seek funding and support for expansion from the federal government.

Though some residential schools were small and informal, at least in their origins, the kinds of schools to which we apply the term were generally different. The heyday, if one may call it that, of residential schooling occurred between 1883 and 1969. During that era the federal government and missionary bodies of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, the Methodist Church, and the Presbyterian Church combined to establish a vast network of these institutions. At its height the residential school system totalled eighty schools, scattered unevenly from coast to coast. In the Atlantic there was only one, at Shubenacadie in Nova Scotia. Quebec had only a few, all of them twentieth-century innovations in a province in which native peoples residing north of the lowlands previously had been ignored in the nineteenth century. In southern Ontario there were half a dozen residential schools (including Spanish and Sault Ste. Maria in that region), and rather a larger number in the north and northwest of the province. The greatest concentrations of institutions were found in the prairies, British Columbia and the north.

This pattern reflected the fact that Canadian control was not extended to these regions till the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the interventionist Canadian state, humanitarian and missionary impulses, and systematic racism were all well developed. For all of these schools had but one underlying purpose: the assimilation of the Inuit or Indian child to the model of the Christian middle-class Euro-Canadian. Though church missionary societies and the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs did not agree on every aspect of their handling of residential schools, they were able to cooperate in this area because, sometimes for differing reasons, they shared a devotion to the assimilative purpose of these schools.

The schools were operated by the churches under the lax supervision of government. In general, they operated on what was known as "the half-day system," in which children supposedly spent half the day in class and the other half in a sort of applied vocational education—working about the school and

its property. In theory the half-day system recognized both the uncongeniality of full-time study to students whose background had not prepared them for it and the necessity to minimize the cost of running the schools by utilizing free student labour. Too often the necessity to get the institution's work done took precedence over the student's vocational and academic instruction. Many students left residential schools, usually at age fifteen or sixteen, inadequately prepared in the Three R's and usually unable to take their place in the Euro-Canadian world of work.

Other problems, as is by now notorious, were poor diet, excessive corporal punishment, sexual abuse, and painfully protracted separation of the children from their families. Almost all the sources about food in the schools were unanimous in their endorsement of the old Woody Allen joke: the food was terrible, and there was not enough of it. Discipline was, at best, frightening to youngsters who came from societies in which the mechanisms of social control usually did not include physical punishment. At times, as at Shubenacadie in the 1930s, discipline assumed a nature and extent that was simply institutionalized sadism. (Residential schools demonstrated with startling clarity the truth of Lord Acton's dictum: power tends to corrupt; and absolute power corrupts absolutely.) The problem of sexual abuse was more complicated than our popular media would have us believe. In addition to instances of adults exploiting the children, there usually was also an enormous amount of sexual abuse of smaller children by older students.

Probably the most poignant of the features of residential school life was the problem of separation. The children were removed from their homes and kept away for long periods, in some cases up to eight years, principally because the break was thought essential to ensure both successful academic instruction and assimilation. Other reasons included the nomadism of some native groups and, especially in the twentieth century, family breakdown that left native children orphaned and/or at risk in their bands. There were some cases, particularly in southern Alberta and British Columbia, in which the schools were located close to the domiciles of the parents and in which children could visit their families often. In most, however, distance and official policy were almost impenetrable barriers to the normal currents of affiliation and affection between children and their families. Too often the result of protracted separation was adolescents who could not relate well to their families, who felt out of place back among their band, and who also could not fit in successfully in Euro-Canadian society. As more than one former student has noted, about the only sort of relationship the residential school prepared children for was that between inmates and their jailers and wardens. Residential schools were a perfect training ground for future inmates of jail and prison.

Residential schools were phased out largely in the 1960s in response to a number of forces. First, since early in the twentieth century it had been clear to both Indian Affairs officials and most missionary bodies that the schools did not do what they were designed to accomplish. Second, the native population had been growing since the Depression, rendering a native educational policy that relied on boarding schools increasingly expensive. Third, revulsion against racist thought and practices as a consequence of World War II, the growth of the influence of the social sciences, and the North American civil rights movement of the 1960s combined to render the assumptions and purposes of residential schooling abhorrent to a growing number of Canadians. Finally, and in some ways most important, native peoples, since the 1940s increasingly well organized and articulate, had been demanding an end to these schools. (Ironically, many of the Inuit and Indian leaders who were spearheading the aboriginal peoples' political bodies by the 1960s had got their training in residential schools.[1]) By the onset of the Trudeau era residential schooling was largely just a bitter memory.

Why Study Residential Schools

Why study such a dismal subject? In part the answer is that residential schooling is simply an important and ill-understood phase of our past. As well, the study of these schools is part of a growing emphasis in Canadian historical research on groups, including children, who in the past have been historically inarticulate. In other words, the study of residential schooling is part of a historiographical trend toward examining and incorporating into our collective consciousness the hitherto ignored stories of women, immigrant groups, the working class, and children. Finally, residential schooling for native children in Canada is worth studying in the hope that we can learn some lessons from our mistakes of the past, lessons that might enable Canadian society to avoid repeating variations of them in the future. (When one watches Ottawa repeating every mistake it made in the prairies in its handling of such issues as Bear Island in Ontario, Lubicon Lake in Alberta, and the Stein Valley in British Columbia, it gets increasingly difficult to cling to the hope that bureaucrats and politicians ever learn anything worthwhile from history—assuming they pay any attention to it.)

Methods of Study

If one is demented enough to want to study residential schools, how does one go about it? And what are the problems associated with such an enterprise?

Any research strategy for investigating residential schools for native youths must combine traditional historical inquiry in archival collections and published primary sources on the one hand, and extensive use of more innovative techniques on the other. Examinations of visual materials, such as photographs (e.g., to document the living conditions in the schools), original works of art by Indians (e.g., George Littlechild), and film and television presentations (e.g., an Anglican film used to recruit staff in the 1950s) are necessary to get at the everyday life of the schools and their human populations. The number and heterogeneity of source materials is only one of several difficulties that arise as one carries out the research for a history of residential schools. Successful use of these sources requires the researcher to become familiar with at least basic principles of material history methods, not to mention spending a lot of time searching out and procuring copies of works of art, films, and videos.

A second, closely related, difficulty is the sheer volume of research that has to be done. Consider, for example, merely the archival records that are available. One is attempting to deal with the relations among hundreds of bands, a mammoth department of the federal government, and the missionary bodies and often other administrators of the four largest Christian denominations in Canada. (After the amalgamation in 1925 that formed the United Church of Canada they were only three until the Baptists became active in the Yukon.) The relevant records of the Department of Indian Affairs alone constitute some eight hundred reels of microfilm. The denominational records for most missionary groups are thoughtfully concentrated in one central repository (Ottawa for the Oblates, Toronto for the Anglicans and United Church), but there are also diocesan, ecclesiastical province, synod, and conference archival collections that take one from Whitehorse to Victoria to Vancouver to Calgary to Edmonton to Fort Smith to Saskatoon to Winnipeg to Sault Ste. Marie—and so on.

The only thing worse than too many records for some of the actors in this story is the absence of records for the principal player, the native peoples themselves. Until fairly recently the collection policies of our archival institutions, reflecting the biases and values of the majority society, emphasized the preservation of records from people who were almost the antithesis of the native children who are the core of the story of residential schools. The manuscript collections in our archives are principally those of Caucasian, middle-class, Christian males. If one wants to know what was going on with Indian and Inuit children in the schools, one must look beyond the major manuscript collections.

Fortunately, there are other places, some of them too often overlooked, to which an investigator can go. First, submerged in government and ecclesiastical records are thousands of native voices from the past. The papers of the Department of Indian Affairs or the Missionary Society of the Church [of England] in Canada contain numerous petitions, remonstrances, and declarations from native peoples, many of them concerning educational policy. Though these voices come filtered through missionary or government officials, they are intelligible. Moreover, there are also comments about native people and education made by non-native observers in those records. These must be handled even more carefully. They must be utilized by the methodology of the emerging discipline called Ethnohistory—a combination of Anthropology and History. This method applies to traditional records produced by Euro-Americans the understanding of native societies that Anthropology has developed in order to interpret the meaning of actions, words, and thoughts attributed to native people. For example, it is common to find a white female missionary volunteer fresh from the back concessions of southern Ontario writing from her post in the prairies that her Indian pupils are "dumb" and "stupid," that they cannot answer any questions that she puts to them in the classroom. The reader of such documents can apply the ethnographer's knowledge of plains Indian society and conclude that the Indian students did not trust her or did not like her, or were still sizing her up. Ethnohistory requires looking through the explicit words of European records for the implicit native experience embedded in them. Traditional records analyzed through the amplifier of Ethnohistorical method can turn up the volume on some of the historically inarticulate students of residential schools.

But after the native petitions penned by missionaries have been examined and all the buried messages extracted by Ethnohistorical technique, there still remains a great silence on many aspects of the lives of native children in residential schools. Here the only solution is the recollections of the former students (and staff members, too) themselves. In fact, there are a number of such recollections published or residing in archives in written form or on tape. Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society*, for example, has a great deal on the author's experience at school.[2] The

late Senator James Gladstone recorded his recollections for the Glenbow Museum, and an edited version of the transcription was published in *Alberta History*. Research into Indian claims of various kinds has generated a great deal of material on the early lives of Indians now deceased. The Stoney at Morley, Alberta, for example, have approximately two linear metres of transcribed (and, in some cases, translated) interviews. The interviews were carried out with a view to supporting the Stoney claim to compensation for land taken for a dam. The transcripts reside in the Stoney archives in the Nakoda Institute in Morley.

But the most exciting aspect of this area of native records is oral history that is being collected now. There are a number of institutions and agencies that have or still are conducting ambitious programs of interviewing native people. One of the first, and probably still the most extensive, is the Sound and Moving Image Division of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, which has many interviews relevant to missions and residential schools. The Oral History Program of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba also has among its interviews with some individual Métis some material that bears on residential schooling, even though these schools were supposed to be only for Inuit and status Indians.[3] A non-government, Indian-controlled initiative that also piled up an impressive number of interviews is the Indian History Film Project, whose transcripts are to be found in at least two places—the Archives of the University of Regina and the Spadina Road Public Library in Toronto.

Finally, and most important, there is the collecting of former students' memories that is going on at the present time as part of my own project on residential schooling. This effort is potentially of the most direct value to the inquiry into residential schools, of course, because the questions that are being put to informants are composed with this project in mind. To this point my oral history investigation has taken two forms. They are questionnaires and audio tape collection by mail, and interviews.

Questionnaires and related tapes have turned out to be more useful than originally expected. Last autumn through the kindness of an instructor in Native Studies at Trent University, I obtained a list of people who attended a residential school reunion. My benefactor generously agreed that I could inform the people on that list that she had provided it to me. I wrote one hundred people explaining who I was and what the project was about, and asking them if they would be willing to do one or more of three things. Are you, the letter asked by means of an enclosed respose form, willing to answer a questionnaire about your school experiences? Are you willing to respond to a questionnaire on audio tape cassette that will be provided? Are you willing to talk with me informally if I get to your area? To date, I have had thirty-one positive responses, and several more asked for additional information. Of the thirty to whom I have sent a questionnaire and/or a kit of questionnaire and audio tape cassettes, fifteen have sent back the material. Still others have indicated that they are willing to be interviewed by me.

The other, more ambitious aspect of the oral history investigation that is part of my project is direct interviewing. Here, too, there are two options being used. I am doing some interviewing myself, particularly in the prairie region, but also in southern Ontario, to which I usually travel two or three times a year. (A trip to Ottawa in March, 1990, provided an opportunity to interview former residential school students in Kahnawake, Châteauguay, and Akwesasne.) More important, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Strategic Grant that is financing my research provides funds to hire interviewers for the north, Manitoba, and northwest Ontario. These interviewers are to be natives.

Why is some of the interviewing being done by hired interviewers? A minor part of the answer is that the scope of the inquiry is too great for one person to do all the work of locating and interviewing native informants. The more important part of the reason is that it is generally recognized that native informants are more likely to find it inhibiting to discuss school day memories, which are usually emotional and sometimes painful, with a non-native person than with someone whose background is more like their own. The delicate nature of the inquiry leads to further complications.

Because the oral history investigation holds the potential for embarrassment and invasion of privacy, elaborate precautions have been taken to guard against missteps. A required part of an application to SSHRC is submission of a protocol outlining the research to the Ethics Review Committee of the applicant's own university. My submission contained an extensive protocol that outlined a number of steps to ensure that people would be interviewed only after informed consent was secured, that they would have control over the process of the interview so that they could avoid responding to embarrassing or unwelcome questions, and that they would have control over the use and final disposition of the tapes or written records of the interview. That protocol contained a lengthy questionnaire that was introduced by a section that instructed the interviewer on how to explain the project, gain informed consent, respect the wishes of the interview subject during the

questioning, and ensure that the person who was interviewed indicated how the product was to be used and disposed of eventually. A briefer version of that questionnaire and most of the safeguards that appeared in that Protocol of Oral History Research are also employed in my inquiries by mail.

If oral history has its difficulties and pitfalls, it also has its rewards. It is only through the collection and analysis of the memories of those who were directly involved that the story can be told with the immediacy, intensity, and completeness that it warrants. Though the experience of interviewing former students can be very moving, even upsetting on occasion, it also conveys an impression of direct experience that influences the investigator and, one hopes, gets transmitted to the final product in a somewhat diminished form. In short, oral history is essential to the telling of the story of residential schooling for native children in Canada in a rounded, comprehensive, and reasonably accurate manner.

Conclusion

And what do investigations thus far suggest about the history of residential schools? First, and most depressing, that the non-native agents in the process rarely learned from previous mistakes. The errors perpetrated in central Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century were repeated in the prairies and British Columbia at the end of the Victorian era, and then replicated again in parts of the north in this century. Second, research thus far suggests that the story of the effects of residential schooling should be much more balanced, or perhaps mixed is the better word, than the popular depictions have suggested. Almost all native respondents, even after listing all the negative aspects of their experience, have gone on to note that they gained something positive from it, or to acknowledge that the missionaries meant well even if they did not do well. Finally, the investigation is showing convincingly what Celia Haig-Brown pointed out so well in her history of the Kamloops school (which was based largely on oral history):[4] native children and native communities were not passive victims of the residential schooling experience. Young people and adults in an astonishingly varied number of ways resisted features of residential schooling that they found repugnant, often with great success.[5]

Researching the history of residential schooling for native children in Canada is a difficult, challenging, and sometimes dispiriting task. However, doing so holds the potential of giving voice to individuals and groups who hitherto were either inarticulate or ignored. There is every reason to expect that the rewards will be worth the hardships.

Endnotes

1 J.R. Miller, "The Irony of Residential Schooling," *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 14(2), 1987:10.
2 Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969. See also Jane Willis, *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood*, Toronto: New Press, 1973.
3 Another bit of evidence that the schools did not always exclude non-Indians is Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*, Seal Books edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart-Bantam, 1973:46-47.
4 Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Residential School*. Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988.
5 J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur and Canadian Indian Policy," *Ethnohistory*, 37(4), Fall, 1990, in press.

SocioNet Interaction

Submitted by Harry McKay
Canadian Council on Social Development
Ottawa, Ontario

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SocioNet Interaction is sponsored and facilitated by the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD), a seventy-year-old non-profit social research advocacy organization. The host and distributor is Nirv Centre, a Toronto-based non-profit organization that also provides Web, a national network for social change activists involved in environmental, peace, and social justice issues. Through SocioNet Interaction, we at CCSD help our network members share information about social issues, build coalitions and work together to improve social policies and programs.

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sues/on-line dialogue; projects; news; publications; bibliographies/research; conferences/workshops; on-line (reference) databases; and off-line (reference) databases. And each listing leads you to more information. You might find directories, bibliographies, statistics or trends, debates. You can initiate your own topic or respond to those already existing.

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Public Attitudes to Social Spending in Newfoundland

By Morris Saldov
School of Social Work
Memorial University of Newfoundland

This study would not have been possible without considerable effort by the Newfoundland and Labrador Coalition to Prevent Human Services Cutbacks. Assistance with statistical analysis from Dr. Ross Klein of the School of Social Work, M.U.N. is acknowledged and appreciated. Responsibility for the analysis and interpretation of the data rests with the author.

In anticipation of the possible uses of data which might impact on government social welfare policies in Newfoundland members of the Newfoundland and Labrador Coalition to Prevent Human Services Cutbacks undertook an action research to identify public attitudes towards social welfare spending. At the 1990 Provincial Social Welfare Conference in Toronto findings of this research were presented. We discovered that:

- there is strong support in Newfoundland for maintaining or expanding social programs while resistance to cutbacks in these programs was also clearly demonstrated;

- the public, many of whom know people on welfare, were very generous in their views feeling for the most part that social assistance rates were too low;
- a majority of those asked felt there was too much government spending on politicians and officials;
- most wanted to see taxes raised on corporate and higher income earners and were generally opposed to more sales taxes, property taxes and user fees.

Cuts to Federal Transfers

Newfoundlanders have been accustomed to living in depressed economic conditions for some time. Now they are also being expected to endure cutbacks to the social programs that have sustained them through these hard times and were seen as guarantees as part of the social contract in joining Confederation with Canada in 1949.

Newfoundland and Labrador, historically the poorest province in the country, has been faced with cuts to social spending (Economic Council of Canada, 1980). Changes to the federal-provincial Established Program Financing (EPF) formula from 1982 to 1987 have already resulted in a total estimated loss to Newfoundland of $144 million.

Furthermore, EPF cuts in transfer payments over the five-year period from 1986-1991 will result in additional losses of $128 million.[1]

The federal government's planned reduction in transfers to all the provinces by an additional $2 billion will also have been carried out in Newfoundland and in the rest of Canada by the end of 1990. Newfoundland's share of losses has not yet been calculated, but it is safe to assume that reduction will have a disproportionate effect on levels of service provision given the already depressed economic and social conditions relative to the rest of Canada.

Fiscal and Social Policies

With the election of the Federal Conservatives in 1984, national fiscal policies have moved from what Mishra (1987) termed 'restraining' as exemplified by the changes to the EPF formula to policies of 'retrenchment' contained in the 1989 spring budget. With the abandonment of subsidy for UIC, the federal government has shown a new willingness to let the private sector take greater responsibility not only for the economy but also for social programs which it has been previously involved in supporting. Changes to the tax structure with the introduction of 'clawback' provisions for Old Age Security and Family Allowance represent an increasing selectivity in the distribution of social spending. It has been argued that some of these new and unprecedented attacks on the welfare state are in keeping with measures towards harmonizing Canadian with U.S. economic and social policies aimed at a policy if eliminating 'unfair subsidies' associated with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (Kelly, 1989). In the health care field, the federal government has forbidden provinces from allowing extra billing while cutting back on their financial support, "thereby maintaining universality and a pretension of accessibility while undermining the service ... Instead of the pursuit of excellence and the achievement of quality service, we have universally available inadequate service" (Saldov, *et.al.*, 1986).

In the field of Social Services in Newfoundland, social work caseloads have commonly been over 150 clients often resulting in difficult conditions in which to provide quality service. In the midst of this already critical shortage of staffing, overburdened workers were being asked to cut back on discretionary spending which would allow for needed benefits such as higher housing allowances to improve living conditions or subsidies for special dietary supplements for infant formulas and post-operative patient community after care (Coalition to Prevent Human Services cutbacks, 1988). Clients who required additional transportation assistance to get to doctor's appointments were told to use doctors closer to their homes. Obsessive implementation of restraint policies were paradoxically leading to spending excesses, inefficiencies, contradictions and poor service. Some social workers were having to take taxis to visit clients. In cases where taxis were difficult to obtain they asked the driver to keep the meter running while visiting a client. Long delays in receiving benefits were frequent as a consequence of having to seek spending approvals from higher authorities in the bureaucracy. One family, already approved for housing assistance, had to live in a hotel while they awaited approval for basic needs items such as beds. These are just some of the examples of how policies of restraint have filtered down to the level of service provision in Newfoundland.

Views Sought

This study was conducted by telephone interview in the Spring of 1988 to examine the perceptions of a sample of Newfoundlanders in response to government cuts in social spending. Questions addressed included: how the government should react to cutbacks; were welfare rates adequate; how did respondents feel about government spending on itself? This was a time of apparent contradictions as the

provincial government was reported to be spending lavishly on cabinet ministers' travel expenses while investing 'curiously' in questionable joint venture projects at the same time as they were cutting back on social programs (*Sunday Express*, 1988). Respondents were also asked who should pay more in taxes and how they should be generated if the decision were to maintain or extend social spending.

Attitudes to Social Spending

Views on Cutbacks

Over 90 percent of respondents felt that the Province should reject federal cutbacks to social spending. Only 9.2 percent thought services should be cut or taxes increased to maintain services. When the proposed cuts to EPF by the Federal Conservative Government were announced, the Provincial Conservatives were quietly acquiescent to the cutbacks. Unlike the Trudeau years when then Premier, Brian Peckford, was often vocal in opposition to Liberal restraint policies, the government was silent, preferring to save its 'bluster' for international fishery disputes, thereby avoiding 'the enemy within'. The Provincial Conservatives would appear to have been out of touch with a segment of the Newfoundland public's views on social spending restraints at least as reflected in the opinions expressed in this survey. As a government, Newfoundland and Labrador did not individually or collectively with other poorer provinces, act to challenge the federal government's decision to cut back on EPF and general transfer payments.

Adequacy of Welfare Spending

Respondents who knew someone on social assistance, were more likely to feel that welfare rates were too low, ($x^2 = 11$, $p < .005$, See Table 2, in Appendix A).

Spending on Politicians and Officials

A slight majority of the sample (54.2 percent) thought that there was too much spending on government politicians and officials. Table 10 also reveals that some thought that spending was 'about right' (20.6 percent). A large number had no opinion on the question of government spending on itself (19.1 percent). Few thought government spending on itself was too little (5.3 percent). The large number who thought that spending was too high may be reflective of the extensive media reporting on excessive spending by the Premier and his Cabinet (*Globe and Mail*, 1988).

Table 10
Spending on Government Politicians and Officials

Spending	Frequency	Per Cent
Too Little	7	5.3
About Right	27	20.6
Too Much	71	54.2
No Opinion	25	19.1
Missing	1	.8
Totals	131	100

Revenue Generating Policies

When asked how additional revenues could be generated to 'maintain or extend' social programs, 92.4 percent opposed increases to personal income taxes while 62 percent favored raising taxes to corporations. Ninety-seven percent felt sales and property taxes should not be increased. Few supported the imposition of fees for services (23.7 percent) and most opposed the introduction of health care premiums (91 percent). When asked which income groups should pay more if taxes were to be raised, 84 percent indicated that higher income earners should pay more.

In summary, it would appear that respondents in the St. John's and surrounding areas view welfare spending as inadequate and government spending on itself as excessive. Respondents were also prepared to see taxes increased on corporate incomes; however they were generally opposed to additional personal income taxes except to corporate and higher income earners. Sales or property tax increases were not acceptable. They were also clearly against user fees.

The Pattern of Welfare Attitudes

Several general conclusions could be drawn from the pattern of responses to questions in this survey. Firstly, there is strong support in Newfoundland for maintaining or expanding social programs and a clear opposition by the public to cutbacks in social spending. Secondly, the public as represented by this sample of Newfoundlanders is not 'blaming the victims' of cuts to government spending in social welfare. Thirdly, the sympathy expressed for people they knew on social assistance suggests that welfare spending increases would not only be tolerated but also welcomed in Newfoundland.

The opposition to cuts in programs and the great degree of support for higher taxes to corporate and high income earners is a clear message to the government of Newfoundland and Labrador on ways to

Appendix A
Table 1
Income Distribution

Income Levels	Frequency	Per Cent
$15,000 or Less	42	32.1
$15,001-$24,999	36	27.5
$25,000	48	36.6
Missing	5	3.8
Totals	**131**	**100**

Table 2
Knowing Someone on Social Assistance by Adequacy of Welfare Rates

Welfare Spending	Knows Someone Yes	No	Row Totals
Too Little	40	6	46
About Right	16	13	29
Too Much	9	7	16
Column Totals	**65**	**26**	**91**

($x^2 = 11$, DF = 2, $p < .005$)

Table 3
Income Distribution

Income (Age 15 and Over with Income)	Frequency	Per cent
$0 - 14,999	215,410	65.2
15,000-24,999	59,715	18.1
5,000 +	55,470	16.7
Totals	**330,595**	**100**

Source: Stats Canada, Newfoundland Profile, Part 2, 1986 Census: 94-102, p.7.

Table 4
Age Distribution

Age	Frequency	Per Cent
≤30	40	30.5
31-45	56	42.7
46-64	28	21.4
65+	7	5.3
Totals	**131**	**100**

approach fiscal policies pertaining to social spending in Newfoundland. The recommendations that could be implied by these results are:

- vigorously oppose federal cutbacks to social spending;
- if necessary, increase revenues to maintain or extend services by raising taxes only to those who can afford to pay more, i.e., on high income earners and corporate revenues.

Appendix B
Methodology and limitations

Characteristics of the Sample

A systematic sample of 131 respondents from the St. John's area was obtained by calling every tenth person on randomly selected pages from the Eastern and Central Newfoundland telephone directory. Owing to the absence of funding for the research, telephone survey respondents were not included where long distance charges applied. However, in addition to urban St. John's, the sample included respondents from rural areas of Torbay, Flatrock, Portugal Cove, Pouch Cove, Shoe Cove, Long Pond, and Witless Bay.

Results are reported and analyzed using mainly descriptive (frequencies and percentages), and inferential statistics (chi-square), where numbers and significance levels warranted. The sample was made up of slightly more males (55.0 percent) than females (42.8 percent). This compares with the most recent figures for the general Newfoundland population of 49.7 percent males and 50.3 percent females aged 15 and over (Statscan, 1986). The distribution of incomes as reflected on Table 1, in Appendix A suggests that the sample represented a relatively even spread across the three reported income levels.

When compared with the distribution of incomes across Newfoundland as shown in Table 3, the study sample reflects a higher than average income.

The age group, 31-45 year olds, made up the largest single category of respondents (42.7 percent) with almost three-quarters of the sample (73.3 percent) between the ages of 18-45 (See Table 4, Appendix A).

Approximately one-quarter of the sample (26 percent) had completed university compared with only 5.7 percent of university graduates from the population across Newfoundland (Statscan, 1986). With more than a third having completed high school (36.6 percent) compared to only 8.6 percent in Newfoundland overall the sample respondents clearly had a higher than average education. Almost two-thirds of the sample had completed unversity or high school, compared with about one-seventh of the population in the province. Therefore, the educational level of the sample can be said to be quite high when compared to the educational attainment distribution throughout Newfoundland and Labrador.

Limitations of the Study

Public opinion surveys can in general be criticized for wording problems as differences in opinions have been shown to vary by as much as 18 percent when phraseology of questioning is changed Marsh (1979), as given in Taylor-Gooby).

A more substantial criticism of attitude surveys has been that "attitudes offer us no guide to behavior" (Taylor-Gooby, 1985:75). The fact that a significant majority of those polled here preferred to increase taxes to higher income earners and corporations may not coincide with voting patterns at election time that evidence choices of political parties which have progressive taxation policies as part of their platform. In Newfoundland there certainly has been a history of electing parties which reflect more conservative policies than the fiscal attitudes of respondents in this survey suggest (Graesser, 1987:2). Nevertheless, the pattern of attitudes expressed here may indicate a trend of support for welfare spending which should not be overlooked in the development of fiscal policies.

Endnotes

1 The EPF is a block funding arrangement providing federal support for provincial programs in health and post secondary education. The total EPF payment per capita is equal in every province. Included in the payments are the cash contributions, tax transfers and associated equalization adjustments under the Fiscal Equalization Program, (FEP). These arrangements were introduced in 1977 and were limited by a growth rate ceiling in 1983 to conform to the "6 and 5" federal program of restraint. Also dropped at this time was the revenue guarantee component which provided the cash equivalent of one personal income tax point representing a loss to Newfoundland of $26 million in 1986 alone (Greenpaper on our Health Care System, 1986). From 1990-1995 the Federal Government plans to reduce transfer payments to Atlantic Canada by $135 million. Health and post-secondary education tax transfers will be increased over the next five years to supply the Maritimes with a net increase of $165 million.
Newfoundland's cash transfer allocation will be decreased from its current $225 million a year to $185 million by 1995 (Newfoundland Evening Telegram, Sept 21, 1990).

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