BUREAUCRACY AND RACISM: THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP

A CASE STUDY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE HOME FOR INDIAN WOMEN

by

DAPHNE SYLVIA KELGARD

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of

Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
July, 1974
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date July 5, 1974
ABSTRACT

Studies of bureaucracy are predominantly studies of structural frameworks. Bureaucratic structures are not seen to be vehicles of ideological expression. They are more commonly viewed as either neutralizing or as neutral instruments. The argument has been made that rational-legal bureaucracies can act as de-politicizing agents, actually preventing even the possibility of the expression of individual prejudice. Critics of this position argue the possibility of interference by functionaries but support the assumption that the structure should ideally be a neutral one. They turn their attention to ways of preventing functionaries from subverting this ideal. If one considers the ideological perspective to be primary rather than the ideal construct, it then becomes clear that all the structures are infused with the prevailing ideologies of the society. Further, the individual actors within the structures will, consciously or unconsciously, act on these ideological perspectives.

The phenomenon of racism is also not commonly treated as an ideology. The more usual treatment of racism is as aberrant behaviour by a limited number of individuals in the society. If one examines the structural bases of racist behaviour rather than its particularistic expressions, it becomes evident that racism is an ideology. The racist actions singled out as deviant behaviour are only the overt manifestations. The covert manifestations are institutionalized and usually unconscious, making them less obvious.

These two hypotheses, that bureaucratic organizations play an important role in the preservation and dissemination of the society's prevailing
ideologies, and that racism is a predominant ideology in all capitalist societies, are coupled with a third. This hypothesis is that the belief in the efficacy and neutrality of bureaucratic organization is sufficiently strong in the society and its members that it serves to mask the presence of other ideological practices.

These three hypotheses were developed in the process of analyzing a voluntary project, the Co-operative Home for Indian Women in which I was a participant. The material presented here is drawn from records and documents in my possession. As I possess virtually all the extant material from the project begun in 1965 and abruptly ended in 1967, I have given as full a history of the Home as possible, including extensive quotations from the unpublished documentation.

The failure of the Co-operative Home was attributed to differing perceptions of the utility of rational-legal bureaucratic practices by all the parties to the eventual dispute which caused the closure of the Home. The documentary evidence strongly indicates that the closure of the Home was due to the presence of racist ideology which was masked by disagreements over bureaucratic methods. From these conclusions, more tentative conclusions are drawn concerning the presence of racist ideology in most organizational structures, complex and simple, in any society which perpetuates the exploitation of a group of people identifiable as a "race".
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ................................................................. 1
Table of Contents ......................................................... iii
List of Tables ............................................................. v
Acknowledgments ......................................................... vi

Introduction .............................................................. 1
Notes ................................................................. 15

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Perspectives

Bureaucracy — A Re-examination ........................................... 17
Racism — A Definitional ·Problem ........................................... 44
Notes ................................................................. 59

CHAPTER TWO

The Co-operative Home for Indian Women — Development and

Original Structure

The Planning Committee ..................................................... 63
The Residents and the Community ......................................... 73
The Board and the Staff of the Home ...................................... 82
Notes ................................................................. 96

CHAPTER THREE

The Co-operative Home for Indian Women — Approaching the

End ............................................................... 100
Notes .............................................................. 134
CHAPTER FOUR

Understanding the Failure .................................. 139

Notes......................................................... 167

Appendices

Letter from the Director, Vancouver Indian Center .......... 169
Letters from the B.C. Arts & Welfare Society .................... 170
Article from the Vancouver Sun ................................. 173
Description of unpublished materials ............................ 174

Bibliography of Published References ............................ 175
LIST OF TABLES

1  Projected Operating Statement for the Year Ending June 21, 1967 .... 107
2  Actual Income and Expenditures, April 15, 1966 to June 1, 1966...... 107
3  Actual Income and Expenditures, June 1, 1966 to November 20, 1967... 107
I would like to thank Dr. H.B. Hawthorn for his patience and perseverance in helping me to become what I am— a scholar in spite of myself. Without his encouragement and unfailing support this thesis would not have been written. Thanks are also due to my cognate and affinal kin for their aid and assistance in times of distress.
INTRODUCTION
The Co-operative Home for Indian Women was a student project begun by the UBC-AMS Committee of the Canadian Union of Students in 1965. The Home opened its doors in April of 1966 and had them forcibly shut in May of 1967. Unlike many projects which are volunteer originated and completely reliant on grants from non-governmental funding sources this project did not die from lack of funds. The balance of funds remaining at its closure, without any additional monies, would have allowed the Home to continue its function as a long term rehabilitative residence for at least one year or more. The project's stated intent was to provide a residence run on co-operative lines for native women who had no alternative housing except that available on Skid Road. The project began with little fanfare and muted approval was received from many sources, primarily from students and voluntary agencies such as the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center and the Salvation Army. In its brief history it incurred much wrath and was finally closed by forcible eviction.

The problem I have addressed myself to in this work is why the project was shut down in such a manner. The thesis I have developed over a long period of analysis is that the charges and counter-charges of bureaucratic bungling and red tape were not the real reasons but rather served to mask the presence of racist ideology as the motivating force behind the closure.

My first attempt to analyze why a project which had been seen initially as a good work should have ended in bitterness and some violence occurred, with the encouragement of Dr. H.B. Hawthorn, over one year after the project ended. The rationale provided by the AMS Treasurer in his report
to the Students' Council concerning the funds remaining from the project did not seem satisfactory. He suggested that the Home's failure was due to insufficient research prior to beginning the project and, more importantly, to "crude external direction" by a board whose bureaucratic abilities left much to be desired. A counter-charge issued some four months prior to the closure by a participant in the project suggested that most of the problems then experienced by the Home could be traced to "petty bureaucracy" on the part of the Alma Mater Society (the UBC student association).

In the eighteen month interregnum between the closure and the first attempts at analysis, my initial resistance to the notion that bureaucracy in some form was the root cause of the closure was reinforced by two experiences. During my tenure with the national secretariat of the Canadian Union of Students, I had direct experience with many other forms of bureaucratic organization. On my return to UBC, I found the same criticism of AMS bureaucratic inefficiency rife in private and public discussions that I had heard since I had entered the University in 1963. Both experiences caused me to seriously question the central role assigned to the bureaucratic. My experiences in Ottawa and elsewhere indicated to me that bureaucracy per se was only an outward manifestation of deeper causes of failure of organizations or their projects. In other words, failure might be due to structural or personal reasons but the way of organizing the structure and/or the people was not a major causal factor. Frenkenberg's study (1957) of the structure of voluntary committees in a Welsh village illustrates the point well. The villagers neglected to keep minutes of
meetings which could be used as records. This practice enabled them to pin blame for unpopular suggestions or decisions on "outsiders" who served as scapegoats to the village's need to maintain the appearance of outward cohesion. In this situation inefficient bureaucratic techniques allowed the villagers to maintain a facade of solidarity which efficient bureaucratic practices would have served to expose, to the detriment of the community.

Having determined what the cause was not, I then turned to the exploration of what it might be. One of my responsibilities at the CUS secretariat in Ottawa was human rights programming. My appointment overlapped the United Nations Human Rights Year in 1968 during which I attended many conferences convened around this topic. Not one of the conferences, federal, provincial, or local, dealt with the patent denial of human rights to Canadians of Indian ancestry despite the publication in 1967 of A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada, (Hawthorn) and the creation of the Canadian Indian Pavillion at Expo '67. I found considerable food for thought in these omissions and began reading on the phenomenon of racism. Through this process, I became convinced that there was some link between racism and the Co-operative Home for Indian Women.

Racism is conventionally regarded as a very emotion-laden charge. In common usage it either creates guilt feelings and a non-desirable self-perception or absolute denial of its existence on the part of those accused of practicing it. When the charge of racism is accepted, even tentatively, many assumptions about the individual and/or the organization are called
into question. The conventional view of racism also carries with it the notion that racists are a small minority of the society who are deviant in their behaviour patterns. My knowledge of the actors in the Co-operative Home for Indian Women forced me to discard the conventional notions and search for more reasoned explanations of the phenomenon. The search took me beyond definitions of racism to the structural underpinnings and the methods by which it is promulgated, that is to say, the function of ideology in a society. In the French philosopher Althusser I found a cogent explanation of how the ideological apparatuses of the society function to perpetuate those ideologies considered useful, including racism, throughout the society.

After establishing an analytical framework which fit the objective reality of the project's history I was again faced with a question. How did the concentration on bureaucratic extremes and weaknesses fit. The most reasonable response was multi-faceted. First, the racist ideology, for the majority, was an unthinking response, maintained at that level by the frequency with which the non-Indian participants were confronted by contact with potential victims of that ideology. In addition, in 1965 to 1967, the society at large was actively maintaining the myth that Canadians were not prejudiced - that was a problem specific to our neighbours to the south. Secondly, the charge of racism, if it had been recognized as a causal factor, was a very strong one to level and in so doing the accuser would also have had to accept responsibility as the project's initial approval was based on unanimity of ideological perspective. It was only as the perspectives began to diverge that the conflict developed. Thirdly,
as Peter Blau was forced to recognize in his study of a state hiring agency in the USA (1963), bureaucratic structures by their very nature, serve as perpetuators of the state's ideologies.

Much of the observations and records upon which the case study of the Co-operative Home is based were collected while I was an active participant in the project. The Co-operative Home project originated from the Indian Affairs sub-committee of the local CUS Committee. Although I was active in the CUS Committee during the planning stage and was aware of the decisions and activities around the project, I did not become directly involved until my appointment, just prior to the Home's opening, as CUS Chairperson for the succeeding twelve months. My responsibilities included maintaining established programs, creating new programs, acting as advisor to the President of the AMS and overseeing the progress of the Co-operative Home. Shortly after my term of office ended in April of 1967, I left for Ottawa to take the position with the national secretariat of CUS.

In my possession were the set of files on the Home containing correspondence, memoranda, printed materials, copies of reports, minutes, and extensive notes, as well as financial statements and newspaper clippings. I had brought them to my parents' home in order that the new Chairperson of the Home's Board could collect them conveniently. Because of the turmoil in the project during that time he did not collect them before the Home's closure. Thus by accident they remained in my possession available for subsequent analysis. Almost all materials stored in the AMS offices was destroyed in 1968 during my absence from the city when the
AMS moved from their old offices into the new Student Union Building. Apart from some AMS minutes, the adequacy of which are discussed in Chapter Three, all known written materials are in my possession. Due to circumstances, no other active participant in the project was available for interviews or verification of data during the compiling of the case study. Most of the major participants have left the city. One has died. Those few who remain available do not feel sufficiently confident of their recollections to submit to interviews after seven years. As a result, I was forced to rely on the extant records and my memory.

This situation poses the obvious questions concerning the degree of objectivity possible and the veracity of the study. The question of participant observation as a valid methodological approach has been argued almost as extensively as the question of the degree of objectivity possibly attainable by an individual study. Both discussions are directly related through the question of how considerably the subjective element is thought to be present. It is my contention that any single endeavour contains within it elements of subjectivity in terms of ethnocentricity, class bias, or specifically personal bias. This is not to say that scientificity at its most objective level is unattainable but rather to recognize the limitations of the individual work. The active advocacy of the "fly on the wall" position on observation having finally be laid to rest, the relevant discussion is the degree to which the observer participates in the activity being studied. In this sense the active participant cum researcher is often in a better position to analyze the effect she or he has had on the situation being studied than the passive participant for whom the change
in phenomena is less distinct. The active participant observer is also frequently able to gain access to information which is hidden from the outside observer.

Seven years distance together with a substantially complete corpus of written material have served to lessen the problem of subjective intervention. In many instances the written records served to keep me honest in my personal recollections. The decision to respect the anonymity of all directly involved served the secondary purpose of removing any potential desire to distort the facts to create villains and heroes. Therefore the study is as correct as my interpretative capabilities and the materials will allow.

In citing the unpublished material, I have used reference footnotes. Citations of published materials are according to the Chicago Method.

My role as participant was intense and not always pleasant. As in every field experience, there were bitter and virtually untenable times as well as productive and pleasant ones. I was attracted to the project originally because of its emphasis on social action within the community rather than separated by physical and cultural distances as were the projects espoused by organizations such as the World University Service with whom I served as treasurer in 1965-66. My involvement was structurally reinforced with my appointment as CUS Chairperson. My activity with the project increased significantly and I prepared to succeed the out-going CUS Chairperson in his role as Chairperson of the Board. When I assumed this latter position, it became obvious to me that the house mother was more responsive to the non-student members of the Board and I found a suitable replacement
for the position among the professionals sitting as Board members. I retained ultimate responsibility for the project however, and was forced more than once to resume the role of Chairperson. When the house mother left I found a replacement in the staff person and persuaded her to assume charge of the Home.

During the controversy aroused by the return of the house mother, I became the focus of the hostility and discontent expressed by some of the small donors and friends of the house mother at what they perceived to be a radical change in policy. This occurred in part because of my role which rendered me ultimately responsible and in part because the CUS office and telephone number were released as the appropriate contact for the Home. The latter was done to preserve the privacy of the residence.

The virulence of the complaints shocked me as did certain of the gestures of good will rendered by outside agencies, clubs, and individuals. (Discussion of some of these gestures is contained in Chapter Two, Section 2.) This experience, in conjunction with my growing familiarity of the life histories of most of the residents, caused me to begin to examine my own prejudices in a way I had not previously had to do. In my examination of the motivations of others and myself I did not, however, relate the experiences to any analysis of racism or systematic racial prejudice.

The experience was sufficiently strong to provide impetus to continue the search for a satisfactory analysis. The other, less personal motivation to continue analyzing the project, was the representative nature of the
venture. The only possibly unique aspects of the project were that the student initiators at UBC began it before most other campuses began their social action programs, and the staff person of the Co-operative Home was more politically sophisticated than most young native people at that time.

As my search for a suitable analytical framework progressed, other motivational factors developed. Some notable work has been done in areas tangential to the study of racism but the social sciences have, in the main, neglected to confront the question directly. The work done by Furnivall (1948) and others on colonialism and its effects provide useful reference material but do not address the question of how racism occurs and is indoctrinated within a society. Barth’s seminal work on ethnic boundaries and their maintenance (1969) chooses to ignore the question as well. The studies which have been done on the phenomenon of racism have been done primarily by psychologists on the one hand, who tend to ignore the structural elements, and by pamphleteers on the other, who frequently sacrifice veracity for political expediency. (The latter category subsumes the recent spate of pseudo-scientific studies of "race" and inequal racial characteristics as well as the specifically political writings.)

Given the paucity of theoretical materials on the phenomenon of racism it is not surprising that all but a very few of the discussions, anthropological and non-anthropological, on the nature of bureaucratic organization and its implications, have omitted any possibility of linkage between the two concepts. Peter Blau is one exception in the field of organization theory. In his study of state and federal bureaucracies in the USA (1963)
Blau was forced to confront the possibility of a relationship between bureaucracy and racism. (Cf. Chapter One, Section 1 for a full discussion of Blau's work.)

The thesis of my work is that there is a connection between the administrative mechanisms of the state and their subsidiaries, that is the bureaucratic organizations large and small, and the phenomenon of racism. The connection between the two is formed by the mechanism of ideology through which social values are maintained. Thus, in the case of racist ideology, systematic exploitation of a group of readily identifiable people, for example the Canadian native people, gives rise to an ideology of superiority and inferiority by way of explanation for and defense of the act of exploitation. This ideology is then perpetuated by what Althusser calls the State Ideological Apparatuses, (1971) including among others, the religious, educational, legal, political, cultural, and communications institutions within the society.

Blau illustrates how bureaucracy can perpetuate racist ideology while maintaining the facade of a value-free instrument (the Weberian notion of rational-legal bureaucracy). In his example the employers for whom the state operated the hiring agency were able to successfully cause the bureaucratic mechanism to operate in a manner distinctly prejudicial to Blacks. The study analysed herein, of the Co-operative Home for Indian Women, illustrates that the ideology of racism is sufficiently strong that it will manifest itself without the specific intervention of the powerful. Again, however, bureaucracy serves to provide a cover for this
process. In the case of the Co-operative Home, the perceptions concerning the validity, necessity, and propriety of bureaucratic operations of a modified legal-rational type were sufficiently strong to allow both sides in the eventual dispute to express their disagreements by means of bureaucratic processes alone.

The importance placed on varying aspects of bureaucracy by those involved in the Co-operative Home project necessitates a fairly thorough examination of organization theory. I have omitted reference to the Scientific Management and Human Relations schools of bureaucratic theory as they cannot be construed as pertinent to the discussion. I have included reference to most of the theoretical work arising from or stimulated by Weber's typology as it provides the necessary framework from which to understand the varying perceptions of organization expressed by the participants in the case study. This discussion is found in the first section of Chapter One. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the theory of racism.

Chapter Two begins with a brief historical sketch to provide background information on how the project originated, including some comment on the planning committee and their objective and subjective ideological perspectives.

Section 2 provides a discussion of the residents of the Home and the small donors from the community at large. It details the interactions of the residents with other groups involved in the project and provides some examples of the attitudes expressed by some of the small donors. These
two groups played the least active parts in the drama which ensued. Section 3 provides a discussion of the interrelationships between the Board of the Co-operative Home and the two staff members. Some analysis of the different reactions to racism expressed by the two staff members is given together with a discussion of the difficulties each encountered with the Board. Chapter Three is almost entirely concerned with the problems encountered by the Board and the CUS Committee in their dealings with the AMS Executive. Some mention is made of the large donors and their attitudes to the project as a contrast to those expressed by the AMS and by the small donors. It was within these two groups (the AMS and the Board) that the struggle over the Home and its autonomy was engaged. Chapter Three therefore includes discussion of the changing attitudes and ideological perceptions of the Board members as their contact with the staff person and residents increased. It also includes a detailed examination of organizational failings on both sides. In Chapter Four I draw together the implications of the case study to conclude that racist ideology did underlie the conflict. Further, that the conflict did not appear at the Home's inception because the unthinking ideological perceptions of all involved were similar. It was only through the process of involvement that members of the Board became sufficiently aware of their assumptions to begin to change them, thereby ensuring the difficulties. These changes were not expressed as a rejection of racist attitudes but rather as a returning to the original intentions of the project. The AMS Executive, in contrast, continued to express their opposition to the project in terms of organizational failures despite the professed belief among some that decentralization was a desirable goal in other ventures.
The major conclusion to be drawn from this study and Blau's is the need for purposive and rigorous research into the interconnections between bureaucracy and racism. The possible implications for all societal organizations organized according to modern organizational theory are far-reaching. If these tentative conclusions are verified, refusal to recognize the possibilities of maintaining racist structures by means of complex organizations will result in multiple studies for conflict theorists and tragedy for the humans exposed to the structures.
Footnotes - Introduction

1 At that time "chairman" was used indiscriminantly to designate both males and females. The term "chairperson" has been used in this work to more closely reflect non-sexist terminology.

2 One of the major difficulties in fieldwork is ascertaining the veracity of the information given. Ethnography is filled with reports of discoveries that information given by informants contains inaccuracies due to memory lapse, perceptual bias, or deliberate distortion. Chagnon graphically describes his difficulties with Yanomamo kin systems because of the somewhat malicious joy with which his informants purposely misled him for the first two months of his field experience. (1968:10-17.)

3 Blau comments that "observation is not a reliable method for determining illegal practices...since they are concealed from the observer..." (1963:59fn.)
Chapter One

Theoretical Perspectives
This section presents a detailed examination of organizational theory. The purpose of this examination is not to provide a review of the literature. Rather, it is to re-examine the theoretical developments in the field using a somewhat different perspective. Weber's discussion of modern bureaucracy focused on the skeletal framework upon which was placed, incidentally, the tissue, blood and covering of the organization. Subsequent theorists criticized him for excluding the functions of the blood (the information flow) and the muscle which provides the power. Nevertheless, almost all the later theorists accept, with Weber, two assumptions about the "bones" of bureaucracy. The first assumption is that the skeletal structure determines the shape of the covering. The second is that if a distortion occurs in the outward shape it is due to a pathology in the tissue or blood which can neither be caused nor encouraged by the interior framework. This is considered to be the cause because of the very nature
of the rational-legal structure. Physiology indicates that blood, bone, and muscle are integrally linked. Each can significantly affect the others but no one element can determine the condition or shape of the organism. Physiological experience also indicates that no organism can exist in a vacuum.

It can be seen, without continuing the analogy to useless extremes, that an approach to organizational theory, which excludes any aspect of the whole, distorts reality to some degree. To fully comprehend the role of the complex organization it is necessary to view it in its totality. A major aspect of this totalizing process is the situating of the organizations, historically, politically, and economically. This larger process is necessary unless one subscribes to the Weberian notion that rational-legal bureaucracies do not permit of cultural or specifically political intervention. Seminal work in cross-cultural comparisons has been done by Crozier in his study of large complex organizations in France and the USA. (1963)

The one aspect of study of complex organizations which has been either completely ignored or only hinted at is the ideological function. This function is operative at two levels. Bureaucratic structure as part of government, church, formal educational institutions, media, systems of justice and trade unions, among others, are part of the ideological state apparatus. (Althusser, 1971) That is to say, the organizational structures of these systems are variously shaped to best reflect the functions
they perform as those functions are viewed by the society. The structures themselves thus serve as a part of the ideological function of the state.

Internally, each organizational structure also has an ideological framework more specific to it - the belief by the participants in its legitimacy. As Blau suggests, this ideological function allows the organization to operate with a minimum of coercive force. It provides the esprit de corps within. These two ideological functions can be viewed as synonymous as is the case in voluntary organizations particularly. They can also be split by the participants or by those serving as clients. The participants can view the internal ideological process, that is the belief in the legitimacy of the work style, as legitimate while disputing the larger ideological function of the organization in its role as a part of the state's apparatuses. The clients may support the ideological position of the institution while vociferously protesting against the solidarity of the participants. In any of these situations the ideological is paramount.

Therefore this section discusses the development of organization theory from Weber's typology through its critics to Thompson and Blau and their discussion of ideology. It is intended as a framework from which the reader may obtain a view of the total nature of complex organization including the ways in which ideologies may be incorporated, unconsciously, into the bureaucratic process by external force or by the participants themselves. It is also designed to give the reader an appreciation of the processes which lead members of organizations to develop a commitment to a form of organizational structure which may be inappropriate for the goal of the organization.
"The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs - these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic administration." (Weber, 1958:214.)

The analogy Weber makes between the bureaucratic mechanism and mechanized production techniques is not accidental. He saw the development of bureaucracy as culminating in the most advanced institutions of capitalist nation states (1958:196.) for rational-legal forms of bureaucratic organization are both necessary to and developed for the institutions of corporate capitalism.

There is almost universal agreement that bureaucratization of institutions has occurred at every level of modern society and that this bureaucratization has been of the "rational" type. Beyond this point of minimal agreement the controversy starts - with Weber's classic definition of bureaucracy. His conception of bureaucratic organization includes both the idea of a social mechanism for maximizing efficiency in administration and a description of a form of social organization with specific characteristics. (Blau, 1963:251.) He enunciates a typology of characteristics of the ideal-type bureaucracy and also a typology of authority. He argues that basic to nearly all systems of authority is a belief in the legitimacy of that authority. He then distinguishes among authority types the traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal forms, the latter being the type of authority upon which modern bureaucracy is based.

The five characteristics of Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy are: a clear-cut
division of integrated activities regarded as duties inherent in each office; a system of differentiated controls and sanctions stated in the regulations; assignment of roles on the basis of technical qualifications ascertained through formalized impersonal procedures; activities within the hierarchy governed by general, abstracted, clearly defined rules; and finally the creation of categorization. (Merton, 1952:362.)

The first debate centers around the intended meaning of "rational". Some students of formal organization, for example, Blau (1956:31.) interpret the term as synonymous with "efficient". Others, such as Albrow (1970:65.) consider "rational" to mean "the idea of correct calculation" based on norms of recognized legitimacy. Weber does little to clarify the situation. A reading of his Essays in Sociology (1958) indicates that he saw no necessity for drawing the finer distinctions the modern theorists deem necessary.

The aspect of Weber's work most modified and criticized is his ideal-type characterization. The criticisms range from the picayune to the more serious and problematic. In the latter category are such students of formal organization as Gouldner, Merton, Blau, Crozier, and Etzioni. Gouldner illustrates the concept's methodological inadequacy for use in examining either variation in bureaucratic form or interrelation of bureaucratic characteristics with historically specific social structures. He suggests this inadequacy is due to Weber's concentration on the clarification of the commonality of characteristics which bureaucratic organizations exhibit thereby disregarding "spatio-temporal cautions". (1952:48). Both Gouldner (1952:49) and Merton (1952:364.) make specific reference to the informal, the irrational, and the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic organizations as examples of elements excluded by
Weber's ideal-type construct.

Peter Blau's criticism of Weber centers on the problems presented by the nature of the ideal-type. Concurring with Friedrich's critique (1952:27-33.) Blau illustrates the way in which Weber's ideal-type fails to differentiate between definitions of concepts and hypotheses about the empirical relationships arising from the concepts, both of which it contains. (1963:251 fn.) The Weberian ideal-type includes the conception of bureaucracy as a mechanism that maximizes efficiency and also as a form of organization having specific characteristics. These two sets of criteria cannot be grouped together into a definition because the relationships between the attributes of the institution and its consequences is the subject for empirical investigation and therefore not eligible for inclusion in a single definition. (1963:251) Blau extracts two possible definitions from Weber's conception. The interpretation on which Merton's and Gouldner's criticisms are based is that Weber defined bureaucracy by specifying formal characteristics and hypothesized its superior operating efficiency. The other interpretation is that Weber intended to define bureaucracy as any administrative apparatus that maximizes efficiency and advanced hypotheses concerning organizational attributes which might typically have that effect. (1963:251.) Blau chooses to adopt the second definitional possibility in which

"... bureaucracies can be looked upon as institutionalized strategies for the achievement of administrative objectives by the concerted effort of many officials. They are methods of organizing social conduct in order to transform exceptional problems into routine duties of experts and to effect the co-ordination of specialized tasks. In different cultures different social arrangements will prove most suitable for these purposes." (1963:251-252.)

This definition provides for Crozier (1963) and others engaged in cross-cultural studies of bureaucratic institutions a working and workable definition.
It does not, however, provide for the tidy categorization of bureaucracies within Weber's typology of authority types. Blau's definitional interpretation allows for the presence of any or all of the traditional, charismatic, or legal authority structures in the same historical period.

By utilizing Weber's material in this manner Blau negates much of the recent debate around the terms "organization" and "bureaucracy". Mouzelis chooses to differentiate the two terms by defining "organization" as a form of social grouping or association which is established in a more or less purposive manner for the attainment of specific goals and "bureaucracy" as an extreme type of organization useful solely for broad historical comparisons. (1967:4,54.) To minimize the bureaucratic aspect in this way adds confusion rather than clarity to the discussion of a phenomenon which, as stated above, is becoming more and more universal.

F. William Howton, in his work *Functionaries*, adopts a completely perjorative stance to bureaucracy. He is almost exclusively concerned with the combined process of depersonalization and loss of direct control by the individual both of which he regards as morally reprehensible and as inherent in bureaucratic structures. To solidify his position he calls the criticisms of Weber's ideal-type construct a "misreading". He prefers to interpret the typology as setting forth a "set of abstract descriptions of what bureaucracy is." (1969:8. emphasis in original) He is then able to equate bureaucracy with "the process by which more and more authority is taken away from men and delegated to officials, (sic) rank upon rank in descending order." (1969:8.)

Soffer, in *Organizations in Theory and Practice*, agrees with Blau (1956:14.)
that the term "bureaucracy" connotes a form of organization which represents part of the historical trend toward "cumulative technological rationalization". (Soffer, 1972:8.) Thompson fleshes out this position by defining "bureaucracy" as "encompassing all modern organizations whose characteristics are specific structuring to reflect the growth of knowledge and specialized skills, culturally determined and transmitted relations between superior and subordinate roles, and a culturally determined ideology." (1969:3.)

Etzioni takes Blau's interpretation one step further by developing typologies of power and compliance relations by which the "institutionalized strategies" can be categorized and then analyzed comparatively. Etzioni begins by fundamentally challenging Weber's distinction between power in general and the specific powers represented in the legal authority of the rational bureaucracy. Rather than traditional, charismatic, and legal types of authority, Etzioni distinguishes class as an expression of economic power, status as an expression of normative power, and force as an expression of coercive power, each of which "enjoys equal status" with the others. (1961:xvi, xvii.)

Parkin (1972:42-47.) and Miliband (1969:23 ff) agree with the inclusion of the three types of power but argue convincingly that they cannot enjoy equal status as these authors accept the thesis that class divisions are based on property divisions which, in turn, provide the structural support for normative and coercive power. They would agree with Etzioni's differentiations with and criticisms of the Weberian typology. Etzioni suggests that the expansion of the typology allows for "more extensive analysis of the correlates and effects of power." (1961:xvii.) He also points to the centrality of force in his model which does not enter into Weber's typology of social order. Most
important for Etzioni is the distinction between Weber's use of legitimate and illegitimate uses of force as the distinguishing feature of bureaucracies and Etzioni's emphasis not on individual moral judgments but on the efficacy of whatever type of social control is utilized by the organization. (1961: xvii.) This approach implies Blau's statement on methodological procedure concerning the concept of organizational need which

"has been helpful in the analysis of ... processes of bureaucratic development, since it indicates the relationship between the consequences of established practices and the emergence of new ones." (1963:252.)

Etzioni sees compliance as the "organizational equivalent of social order." (1967:xvii.) From this base, and determined by the physical, material, or symbolic means employed to gain the compliance of the subject, three types of power can be identified: coercive, remunerative, and normative. (1961: 3-9.) Within these three types of power are three possible types of involvement: alienative, calculative, and moral. These, in combination with power, determine the compliance relationship. The term refers both "to a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power, and to the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied." (1961:8-16.) This manner of categorization allows inclusion of lower participants as an important segment of the organization. On the basis of the typologies, Etzioni differentiates "higher" participants from "lower" by the use of degree of subordination, commitment and "performance obligation" within the organization. (1961:20-21.) He therefore eradicates the need for distinctions between "functionaries" and "leaders" which other theorists, particularly those concerned primarily with dysfunctional aspects of modern
organizations tend to make. Howton devotes an entire book to the evils of functionaries, although he concedes that as a leader continues to do routine functionary work as part of his regular activities it "makes him akin to the species." (1969:167.) Alford, not as fearful of the species, illustrates in his study of bureaucracy and participation at the civic level that the interface between functionary and leader is extremely close. This conclusion supports Etzioni's position that the functions of higher participants are directly related and integrated with the types of compliance relations they choose to work within.

Etzioni emphasises that his typologies are useful heuristic devices but are not meant to indicate rigid distinctions in existing organizations. Compliance relations can and do overlap categories, sometimes to the point of neutralizing their individual effect.

Rather than adopting the typology _in toto_ for this study one "pure" compliance pattern and two "dual" compliance patterns have been chosen. The pure or relative normative pattern is defined as one in which normative power is the major source of control over lower participants whose orientation is characterized by a high level of commitment. (Etzioni, 1961:40.) The dual compliance structures are ones in which two patterns of compliance occur with similar frequency. (Etzioni, 1961:55.) The two types to be considered herein are the normative-coercive, and the normative-utilitarian. As normative and coercive compliance are likely to neutralize each other, the mechanism of "segregation in time" is introduced to lessen this possibility. Thus, "normative power is applied first; only when this is or seems to be ineffective is there a resort
to coercive power." (1961:57) Normative-utilitarian compliance does not en­
counter this same difficulty as this type is more readily located as the cen­
ter of a continuum. (1961:63)

Blau in his study of two government bureaucracies makes some interesting obser­
vations concerning normative-utilitarian compliance. He goes beyond Etzioni's
suggestion that in "white-collar" industries normative controls play "an im­
portant but secondary role" (1961:32).

Blau differentiates between informal leadership which "emerges in the process
of interaction among a group of equals" and "bureaucratic authority" which is
bestowed not by the group but by the administration. Further, "the official
power of sanction, externally bestowed, is the ultimate source of bureaucratic
authority." (1963:224) He also suggests that the presence of normative con­
trols in "white-collar" industries and their absence in "blue-collar" indus­
tries where utilitarian controls are primary effects the ability of the organ­
ization's members to respond to change.

Blau makes an interesting definition of authority by first referring back to
Weber's definition that bureaucratic authority is characterized by not only
the "probability that certain commands (or all commands) from a given source
will be obeyed by a given group of persons" but also by the presence of "a
certain minimum of voluntary submission." (Blaus 1963:207.) He argues that
authority "rests on socially accepted norms that define compliance with cer­
tain orders as a social duty, indeed, often as a moral obligation." Authority
"implies firm social control, but it also implies voluntary compliance with
directives." (1963:226.) This voluntary compliance is a product of social constraints, which on the one hand are internalized and on the other are enforced socially by the group. Blau identifies his concept of authority as historically specific, having developed from other forms of social control. The transformation from conqueror to king or from king to governor requires "the emergence of social values that legitimate the superiors' powers over the subordinate." (227)

In the bureaucratic context the legitimizing institution is the "legal contract" which is entered into by the employees of the bureaucracy when they accept employment in a context where authority of superiors over subordinates is the norm. (1963:227.) This argument would appear to be weakened severely if Blau did not add the rider that the formal authority codified in the legal contract does obligate subordinates to accept work assignments but it cannot assure their willing co-operation. To ensure the latter the superior must surpass the legal (utilitarian) authority by invoking normative techniques of compliance.

Blau enriches Etzioni's theoretical construct in this discussion of normative-utilitarian compliance patterns. Etzioni in developing compliance patterns is attempting to codify various types of relationships. Blau, on the basis of his studies of two different government bureaucracies, is presenting a hypothesis of how and why normative-utilitarian compliance patterns work in practice. In the course of this explanation he presents an intriguing definition of authority which eschews sanctions in favour of legitimizing social values from which deviation is as difficult and expensive for the individual subordinate but for which maintenance is less expensive and more
effective for the superior. He writes:

"if the performance of a supervisor furthers the collective interests of subordinates and commands their common respect and loyalty, social agreement is likely to develop among them that they owe a collective obligation to him. To repay their joint obligation and maintain the supervisor's good will, the group of subordinates is under pressure to make compliance with his directives part of the common norms, which are socially enforced and thus constrain even the individual subordinate who does not feel personally obligated to the supervisor to follow his commands. These emergent group norms are the source of the supervisor's effective authority." (1963:228)

He ends his discussion of authority by distinguishing between formal authority and informal (or charismatic) authority, both based on normative compliance. The distinction is that formal authority is institutionalized "legitimated by legal contracts and cultural values, and the social norms that demand compliance pervade the entire community." (1963:228.)

Blau in this study of the Dynamics of Bureaucracy sheds new light on the questions of bureaucratic dysfunction, conformity, and antipathy to innovation. Many students of bureaucracy have emphasized these negative aspects of modern organization, among them Michels, Merton, Gouldner, Thompson and Crozier. Crozier (1963:175-212) Merton (1952:361-371) and Gouldner (1952:48-51) examine the contradictory qualities of bureaucracy which ultimately result in breakdown of efficiency caused by the very factors introduced to increase efficiency. These factors include "red-tape" or, to use Merton's phrase "technicism". Much of the study of decision-making is concerned with this same phenomenon. The works of Thompson (1969), Howton (1969) and Belshaw (1964) are examples of writers who emphasize the routinized, conservative features of organizations which militate against innovation and change because of the emphasis on conformity to established regulations and procedures.
Merton gives considerable discussion to the process whereby adherence to rules which originate as facilitators, or means to ends, are transformed into ends-in-themselves or "terminal values". This process of transformation results in rigidifying the structure thereby producing inefficiency and inflexibility. (1957:119-120) Michels, in his study of political parties in imperial Germany, argues that those organizations which are established specifically to institute reforms eventually cease any such attempt because their officials lose interest in the pursuit as they become more and more conservative.

Blau flatly rejects the claim that conservatism is inherent in bureaucracy. "The widely held belief that members of bureaucratic organizations necessarily resist change rests on the assumption that bureaucratic structures are characterized by a perfect state of equilibrium, which makes any alteration a disturbance." (1963:241.) Based on his study of two governmental bureaucracies Blau illustrates that innovation comes both officially from superiors and unofficially through modifications to existing procedures brought about in the course of their administration by the subordinates. (1963:231-268.) He further indicates from his data that members of one of the two organizations studied actively and vocally sought changes and innovations in their functions and concludes that:

"The economic as well as psychological interests of members of a bureaucratic organization require that it assume new responsibilities, since this would increase their work satisfaction and further their careers....

These social and psychological factors produce the succession of goals in organizations, the emergence of a concern with new objectives once the original ones have been largely attained and have lost much of their earlier significance. The ideals beyond the initial objectives suggest the nature of the new ones." (1963:249.)
Blau includes among the organizations for which innovation is necessary specific mention of trade unions and voluntary organizations such as political parties - a position antithetical to that of Michels. The dichotomy between Blau's position and that of Michels and others is due to the latter's failure to examine the larger historical context in which the organization is placed. Blau argues that "it is the effective achievement of an organization's goals that stimulates the succession of more advanced ones". (1963:248.) If, as was the case with the organizations Michels studied, the organization is not only unable to complete its goals but is threatened by outside opposition to the point where its survival is in question the reverse of innovation will occur - the organization will retrench and modify its objectives in an attempt to protect the organization's existence. (1963:248.)

Blau suggests five inter-related pre-requisites for innovative development in an organization. The first is a minimum degree of employment security; the second is a "professional" orientation toward the performance of duties; the third is established work groups that command the allegiance of their members; the fourth is the absence of basic conflict between the work group and management; and the fifth is the presence of organizational needs that are experienced as disturbing. (1963:256.) The first criterion, employment security, Blau considers to be a characteristic more probably found in governmental bureaucracies than in industrial ones. He points out that studies of workers in industrial bureaucracies, which conclude that bureaucratic structures are inherently resistant to change fail frequently to consider the historical specificity of their data. He cites Roethlisberger and Dickson who studied non-unionized workers during the Depression in a factory experiencing continuous lay-offs. (1963:247.) The workers in this situation cannot be said
to have had even minimal job security.

However, even in situations like the Civil Service where job security prevails, the adaptations made by the individual may be deleterious to the organization unless Blau's second criterion also prevails. This "professional orientation" refers to the ability to gain satisfaction from the process of attaining "professional objectives" because of shared norms and values. This criterion relates back to the normative aspect of authority as do the third and fourth criterion he suggests as pre-requisites for adaptive or innovative development. The presence of allegiance commanding work groups and the absence of conflict, if they are to enhance organizational innovation, are also based on the premise that a "professional" orientation is present among the employees. The fifth criterion is essentially that there must be present some aspect of the process of requirement of the organization which operates to minimize the possibility of complacency.

At this point it is useful to examine more closely what is meant by innovation. Blau seems to equate innovation with changes within the organization. These changes (or innovations) can involve introduction of a different form for reporting to introduction of a new formula. In the federal bureaucracy the requests for innovation by the employees were requests for new expanded tasks to be created by the legislative apparatus of the state. Very seldom does Blau imply that the eagerness for innovation could or would be translated into specific new proposals given by the employees themselves.

Victor Thompson, in a book devoted exclusively to the relationship of innova-
tion to bureaucracy defines innovation as:

"the generation, acceptance, and implementation of new ideas, processes, and products or services. Innovation, therefore, implies the capacity to change and adapt. We can have various degrees of innovativeness, ranging from a capacity to adopt the good ideas of others to the ability to generate and adopt one's own novel ideas. Adoption is necessary to generation. (1969:5.6.)

Thompson calls this definition imprecise but heuristically useful as there has not been developed a satisfactory measure of organizational innovation.

The creativity implicit in innovation Thompson describes as inefficient from the viewpoint of the "production ideology" of most western bureaucratic organizations because of its unpredictability and its refusal to make quick decisive judgements. (1969:10.) Based on a number of empirical studies of creativity Thompson presents five conditions which must be present in order for an individual to be creative. They are psychological security and freedom, a great diversity of inputs, internal or personal commitment to search for a solution, a certain degree of structure or limits to the search situation, and a certain amount of benign competition. (1969:70.) Accepting the distinction between the pre-requisites for organizational innovation and the pre-requisites for individual creativity the specific differences are not very great. Blau's requirement of economic security surely can be incomp­assed in the notion of psychological security. Blau's other four criteria are discussed at length by Thompson within the framework of the organization's ideology and structure. He describes the organizational ideologies as the bodies of values and beliefs or set of normative decisional rules that guide the decisions. He cautions that these values or rules influence but do not determine the decisions. However, when decisions are reconstructed they are reconstructed in terms of the ideology of the organization. (1969:3,4.)

The ideology most common among western bureaucracies of all types is one
based on the classical theory of rational choice, whose economic variant is economic rationality. (1969:7.) In other terms the ideology reflects the monocratic concept of organization in which the organization is structured as a hierarchy of superior - subordinate relations in which the person at the top (the "owner") is assumed to be omniscient and issues general orders which initiate all activity. At each lower level the order is rendered more specific. In this system discipline is enforced from above while responsibility is owed from the bottom up. (1969:14-15.) Given the hierarchical nature conflict cannot be legitimated thus rendering formal bargaining and negotiating devices unnecessary. Mechanisms for settling conflict, such as coalition, are thereby forced to operate in the sphere of non-legitimate activities. (1969:16.)

The process which renders conflict illegitimate depresses creativity because conflict implies pluralism or a dispersion of legitimate power which necessitates searching for solution. Only concentrated power can afford to ignore obstacles and objections. (1969:16.) In this sense Blau, by his fourth criterion, indicates the specificity of his concern. He requires the absence of conflict between employee and employer for innovation to occur. Presumably Thompson would argue that a resolution of that very conflict, perhaps the establishment of a union to focus the dissention, is in fact an innovation worthy of the name even within the organization itself.

The two characteristics, a monocratic structure and a production ideology result in an extremely conservative bureaucratic orientation. Thompson also calls it "politically minded", that is to say, "it is more concerned with the
internal distribution of power and status than with the accomplishment of the organization's goals. It converts the organization into a political system concerned with the distribution of extrinsic rewards." (1969:22.) He sees the necessity of the political process within the organization because, given its structure, "there is no consensual or objective basis for distributing the extrinsic rewards." (1969:22.)

The evaluative mechanisms of this structural and ideological type are couched in terms of maximization of the "owner's" goals. It is therefore possible to interpret "inefficiency" purely from the standpoint of organizational inability (or refusal) to collect the "slack" (surplus satisfactions beyond those needed to induce the necessary contributions) and pay it to the "owner". In this interpretation the efficient organization would be "the one in which no one but the "owner" received satisfactions, in any form, beyond what was needed to induce his contributions." (1969:30.) Given that innovation is, by this definition, non-rational and that productive efficiency and economic rationality are cultural qualities of most western countries, Thompson concludes that innovation is at best a difficult process in most western bureaucratic organizations.

Since Blau's thesis of bureaucratic innovation relies heavily on the presence of the professional orientation it is useful to examine the notion more thoroughly. Gouldner, in a discussion of Weber's analysis of bureaucracy points to the fact that in industrial bureaucracies rules concerning those matters such as promotion and dismissal which are of most concern to the workers are of a sufficiently arbitrary nature as to not permit prediction by them. (1952:49.) Gouldner goes on to suggest that "bureaucratic rules
fulfill typically different functions for different ranks" at least in industrial bureaucracies." (1952:49.) The reason given for the maintenance of rules which render prediction difficult to impossible for the worker, is the "implicit but common assumption that anxiety and insecurity are effective motivators." (Gouldner, 1952:50.) The motivation presumably is to do one's job without interruption or adaptation for the assembly-line of the industrialized factory is not designed for innovation but for repetition. The "white collar" workers Blau studied were largely university educated individuals whose function was to complete a process from its inception rather than to repeat one gesture or function in an on-going process. The notion of specialization as it is applied specifically in different types of bureaucratic organization assumes very different implications for implementation.

The "professional orientation" Blau offers as the second criterion for adaptive behaviour is also present only at specific levels of the hierarchy. Again university trained people who are taught to think of themselves as professionals will develop "professional norms and values" more readily than industrial workers who are encouraged to remain in a state of insecurity. The only group of workers with whom some analogy might be drawn are those designated as tradesmen or craft workers who by virtue of their needed skills occupy a more secure position within the industrial hierarchy.

Blau's third pre-requisite, the establishment of work groups commanding allegiance from the individuals within them, can produce negative or positive innovation from the employer's perspective. Although Blau intends that the allegiance of these groups should be to norms and values acceptable to the employers, that is to a professional orientation, it is equally possible that the work group
will command allegiance to norms considered undesirable by the employers. Innumerable cases of solidarity of this kind have been documented in studies of industrial bureaucracies.

The fourth criterion, an absence of basic conflict between subordinate and superior, requires further definition. Blau equates the presence of conflict with the use of utilitarian or coercive power and the absence of conflict with the use of normative authority. In the civil service employment procedures and salary matters are regulated by departments separate from and not controlled by the immediate superior thereby reducing the possibility of arbitrary action by one's superior. As well, the "professional" orientation and the work group based upon it come into play militating against the possibility of decisive action on the part of the subordinates to demand changes in conditions of work.

One may conclude from this analysis that bureaucratic innovation is specific to organizational structures utilizing normative compliance. Given Gouldner's observation that bureaucratic rules and hence power types are administered differently throughout a single bureaucracy one may further conclude that the specific compliance pattern utilized differently within the structure is the important variable in determining the possibility of innovative practice. The criterion for attaining a position of sufficient stature in the organizational hierarchy is stated theoretically by Etzioni as the degree of "performance obligation" and demonstrated by Blau's work to be the professional orientation or a belief in the legitimacy of the legal authority necessary to normative power and therefore normative compliance. The same organization
can therefore be utilizing at least two, if not three, different compliance patterns: normative among higher participants, normative-utilitarian to pure utilitarian among middle to lower participants. Institutions such as prisons and concentration camps, designated as coercive institutions whose lower participants are characterized as alienated, will exhibit normative compliance patterns among higher participants. Voluntary organizations also can exhibit both utilitarian compliance and, in some extreme cases, coercive compliance although thought of as normative in nature.

As was pointed out earlier, the social constraints which ensure normative compliance must be internalized by the individual as well as being socially enforced by the group to be effective. The social values which are internalized also change over time. Blau gives the example of the transformation of conqueror to king requiring a change in values which legitimizes the change in role and in power from coercive to normative.

The question which next arises is how does belief in the legitimacy of differing types of power arise? The ideas which inform the act of legitimizing power come from a material basis but are transformed. The process of transformation from the material to belief is the function of ideology. 6

"Ideology is the 'lived' relation between (humans) and their world, or a reflected form of this unconscious relation, for instance a 'philosophy', etc. It is distinguished from a science not by its falsity, for it can be coherent and logical (for instance, theology), but by the fact that the practico-social predominates in it over the theoretical, over knowledge. Historically, it precedes the science that is produced by making an epistemological break with it, but it survives alongside science as an essential element of every social formation, including a socialist or even a communist society."

(Althusser, 1970:374)

Althusser extends his analysis of ideology to discuss specific, historically
determined ideological apparatuses which institutionalize the reproduction of submission to the rules of the established order. This function is of crucial importance to the maintenance of any social formation for it provides one of the conditions by which the formation can reproduce daily the productive forces and the existing relations of production which define its existence. (Althusser, 1971:127-186.) The State, as the "instance" which maintains the cohesion of the social formation is usually thought of as corresponding to coercive power because of its control of the repressive apparatus. However, because of the legitimacy of the ruling ideology, the ideological apparatuses, "public" or "private", more autonomous or less so, can be seen as part of the same system and in fact are supported and defended by the repressive apparatus of the State.7 To restate in the terms of Etzioni's typology of power relations, the State as the embodiment of the ruling class has coercive power through its repressive apparatus; it has normative power by means of the ideological apparatuses; and it has utilitarian power by means of its maintenance of the relations of production.

Most concepts of modern organization theory are recognized as being, of necessity, historically specific. Most writers on the subject, including those referred to in this study, concern themselves with complex organizations situated in capitalist relations of production.8 Blau specifically states that the "capitalistic system...has furthered the advance of bureaucracy" in part because of the system's need for "the establishment of governments strong enough to maintain order and stability." It further promotes bureaucratic methods within industry and the unions which develop as a result of the formation of "these giant corporations". (1956:38.) Thompson writes that administrative organization is a cultural process (1969:89) echoing Crozier's thesis
that bureaucratic function and dysfunction is culturally specific. (1963)

Soffer, in a discourse unconsciously suitable to the Althusserian thesis states that:

"The existence of organizations is an aspect of the division of labour in society. Organizations are subunits of the wider social structure... This means they must, in their operations, stay within the overall legal and value framework of the larger society, though, as with any other unit in the social division of labour, there will be some social values with which they will come into conflict, which they will contest, and which they will help to change." (1972:4.)

Soffer incorporates in this statement the concept of the coercive power of the state as well as the ideological role of the organization in reproducing submission to the legitimacy of the ruling ideology. He further supports this notion in a later passage (1972:15) where he discusses the nature of the modern organizational structure in terms of promoting conservatism and the defense of existing social values.9

The "social values", which the organizations "help to change" can be seen in terms of the "reciprocal action" of the "superstructure", that is, the dialectical relationship of the super structural apparatus, repressive and ideological, on the infrastructure. In other words, the reciprocal action of the politico-legal and ideological instances upon the unity of the productive forces and the relations of production. (Althusser, 1971:134-35.) One could say that the ruling ideology determines the ideology of the organizations (ideological apparatuses) while the organizations, in turn, "inform" the ruling ideology.10

It is this dialectical relation which grants to the institution or organization its legitimacy through the acceptance of the relation by the individuals who compose it.11
Two of the most pervasive beliefs about the nature of modern bureaucracies are that they are impersonal and non-political. Gouldner was not the first (or last) to point out that the degree of impersonality is not constant within a bureaucracy, it differs most between status levels (1952:50). The notion of the non-political nature of bureaucracy has been more tenacious.

Karl Mannheim writes in *Ideology and Utopia* that "the fundamental tendency of all bureaucratic thought is to turn all problems of politics into problems of administration." (1952:105.) Ralph Miliband replies:

"But this, (tendency) for the most part, merely means that political considerations, attitudes and assumptions are incorporated, consciously or not, into the 'problems of administration', and correspondingly affect the nature of administrative advice and action." (1969:51.)

A position supported by Thompson, as can be seen in the discussion of innovation above.

One of the government bureaucracies studied by Blau was a state department established as a placement service for unskilled textile workers. Many of the clients were black and Blau in his first discussion of the possible presence of racial prejudice posited that despite the probability that some interviewers with or without conscious intent might treat these clients differently from white clients because of individual "subliminal bias". He goes on to say that although such tendencies toward racial bias did occur "specific bureaucratic mechanisms constrained interviewers to act impartially." (1963:83.) He concludes that "if objectives of over-riding importance (within the bureaucratic structure) can be made to govern organized activities, discrimination will be eliminated regardless of the presence of prejudice. The crucial point is not that the given objective is valued more highly than prejudice but that
preoccupation with reaching this objective precludes the intrusion of prejudice in a particular social situation." (1963:94.)

Between the time Blau wrote these conclusions and the reissuing of his book in revised form the state anti-discrimination commission was called in to examine this employment agency among others. "The commission found that the charge of discrimination is justified by the evidence produced in the investigation." (1963:96.) In the light of this overwhelming rebuttal of his conclusions Blau rethought them. His new conclusions recognize that the latent function of the impartiality of the production records kept on the interviewers (which Blau had earlier seen as the objective of over-riding importance) to promote or impede non-prejudicial service "depended on the precise nature of the external demands" made upon the individuals. He goes on:

"A neutral instrument does not actively correct existing inequalities but perpetuates them...Often,..... the discriminatory practices of white officials have their roots not in their own bias against Negroes but in the discriminatory demands made by the powerful employers who make the hiring decisions. In these cases, a bureaucratic institution that makes officials more of a neutral instrument will by no means attenuate their discriminatory practices; only a change in power conditions can do so.

He concludes:

"The vital significance of the power structure and market structure of the surrounding community for bureaucratic operations can be ignored...only at (our) own peril. The internal adjustments necessary to achieve organizational objectives depend on conditions that are governed by powers outside the organization, and these adjustments in turn, determine what unanticipated consequences bureaucratic institutions have..." (1963:98.)

The very nature of the bureaucracy, functioning to maximize efficiency is the root cause of this result. Unless the consequences of the actions directly impede the efficient functioning of the organization or unless the institution
or human collective receiving the inequitable treatment is in control of
greater power the condition will persist. The greater power must be of the
coercive or utilitarian type for as Blau says "ultimate ideals are less power­
ful forces than the immediate requirements of operating efficiency." (1963:117)
Section 2

Racism - A Definitional Problem

Section 1 established the presence of the ideological in bureaucratic structures. It also illustrated how a seemingly neutral instrument could be used to initiate and perpetuate a particular ideology, racism. Section 2 explores the bases for the ideology of racism. It is argued that racism arises from identifiable, historically specific conditions within a society. Racism as an ideology is universally present in the society. Therefore the psychologistic explanations of racism as behaviour deviant from a norm is not considered. The individual expression of racist attitudes can and does vary from guilt transference to outright provocation of the victim. Nevertheless, the structural cause and the ideology it gives rise to, remain similar whatever the expression.
In order to establish the structural bases of racism, it is first necessary to examine the concept of race. The origins of the term seem to be open for discussion. Dunn and Dobzhansky suggest that in 1775 the German scholar Blumenbach, improving on Linnaeus' classification of homo sapiens, proposed the division of the human species into five distinct "races" using the term first employed by the French scientist Buffon. (1952:109.) Neither Harris (1968) nor Stocking (1968) in their discussions of the phenomenon mention the term's origin but Earl Conrad attributes its first usage to Linnaeus' work on taxonomy. (1966:67.)

There is substantial agreement that the change from taxonomical classification to hierarchical classification, providing a racial rationale for differing levels of cultural development, were politically motivated. Stocking suggests the change from the concept of the Nobel Savage to that of European (Caucasian) racial superiority, reflected in the changed classifications, was, on the political level

"a part of the conservative reaction against the egalitarian optimism of the French Revolution (and on the social level) a defensive reaction against the idea of equality on the part of groups whose traditionally unquestioned class superiority was being undercut by the social changes of the nineteenth century." (1968:36.)

He further suggests that the "empirical" data gathered during the colonization of sub-Sahara Africa, "notoriously subject to ideological or conventional distortion" helped to destroy the theories of the process of degeneration from noble savage to European civilization. (1968:37.)

Earl Conrad, in The Invention of the Negro, suggests that the popularization
of the concept of hierarchical classifications of race was begun in the U.S.A. by the "American Statesmen" who adopted it as support for the creation of a "constitution of compromise" which espoused the philosophy of equality but recognized and excluded slaves. Conrad argues that this adoption was motivated by the aura of finality implied by the term's scientific origins which precluded argumentation. (67-70.)

Physical anthropologists and biologists throughout the nineteenth century continued to search for definitive characteristics, such as skin pigmentation, head shape, and body measurements, for classifying racial types. This search was augmented by the debates over monogenetic versus polygenetic evolution. Harris (1968:80-107.) and Stocking (1968:42-68.) have documented these debates as being characterized by strong political and moral overtones. Attempts to maintain the polygenist position and the legitimacy of racial classification have been continued into the twentieth century. Coon, Jarn, and Birdsell, in 1950, identified six "putative stocks" and thirty different races. (Dunn and Dobyhansky, 1952:110.)

Despite these hold-outs the overwhelming opinion of the scientific community on the question of racial classification is first, that, there is no "pure" human race anywhere (Boas, 1945:9.) and second, that there is no scientific basis either for typologies of race based on biological information or for theories of genetic inferiority or superiority. (Mead, et al,1968:193.) Nevertheless popular theories of race as the biological determinant of collective behaviour continue. The tenacity of these concepts was sufficient to cause the American Scientists' Institute for Public Information to convene in 1966
a symposium of prominent representatives from anthropology and the natural sciences to review once again the conclusive evidence against these theories. A measure of their failure to accomplish the task they set themselves is the prominence given in both the popular press and scholarly journals to the recent attempts by such people as Hernstein, Schockley, and Jensen to re-open the question of genetic determination of the collective behavior of racial groupings.

The symposium's findings, published as *Science and the Concept of Race* agreed that the tenacity with which non-scientists cling to the notion of race makes it an important sociological fact requiring serious study. In its biological manifestations, however, the term race must be replaced by such a term as "population" in order to restore to these investigations some clarity of meaning. (Mead, et al, 1968:67.)

Oliver Cox in his study of *Caste, Class, and Race* defines race sociologically as "any group of people that is generally believed to be and generally accepted as, a race in any given area of ethnic competition", although "anthropometrically speaking, the assumed race is not a real race." (319.) He defines "ethnic" as "a people living competitively in relationship of superordination or subordination with respect to some other people or peoples within one state, country or economic area." One ethnic must always imply another and therefore forms part of a system. (1948:317.)

The only situation in an ethnic system which can be described by concepts of race is when "the ethnics recognize such other physically and use their physical distinction as a basis for the rationale of their interrelationships."
In those systems where physicality is not considered a significant distinguishing feature the relationships cannot be described in racial terms.

Cox goes on to distinguish the phenomenon of race relations from those of ethnocentrism, intolerance, or racism. For Cox race relations are defined as "that behaviour which develops among peoples who are aware of each other's actual or implied physical differences" and more specifically "only those contacts the social characteristics which are determined by a consciousness of "racial" difference. (1948:320.) He does not consider ethnocentrism or the intolerance of the individual or group toward those who refuse to conform to established practices of the society to be a part of race relations. Racism he sees as seemingly referring to a "philosophy of racial antipathy" or an ideology. (1948:321.) He criticizes the study of racism because it "usually results in the substitution of the history of a system of rationalization for that of a material social fact." (1948:321.)

One might sympathize with Cox's frustrations with literature that obscures rather than clarifies the origins of race relations. However, one cannot agree that the suggestion that most studies of racism result in the substitution of rationalization for material fact is a justification for ignoring the phenomenon. The study of the material basis of race relations is not sufficient to explain the existence and persistence of racism itself.

Having said this one must also recognize that an analysis of racism must go beyond the identification of the types of racism and their perpetrators to
an understanding of the mechanisms which maintain the stereotypes and the process of racism itself. With a few notable exceptions the literature does not do this. Popular and more scholarly writings alike seem to fall into two sub-categories: those who concern themselves with what can be described as individual acts of racism and those who are concerned with institutional racism. A characteristic of the majority of material written prior to the rise of Black Power in the U.S.A. was that it dealt almost exclusively with the overt or individual racist act. Many of these critiques were underscored by strong moral disapproval of racism as contrary to the ethic of liberty and equality. The individuals (or groups) perpetrating these acts were viewed as aberrant or deviant from the norms of a democratic society. By implication these acts were limited to a few pathological individuals.

This kind of analysis of racism preferred by people such as Boas (1945) and Kunstler (1966) obscured the recognition of structural racism. A perhaps classic example of the way in which this analysis can obstruct a real understanding of the process of racism is the way in which the murder of millions of human beings in German held territory between 1938 and 1945 was blamed solely on a handful of "insane" men. Whatever Hitler's personal psychological state it is inconceivable that he could have engineered a program of such magnitude without at minimum the passive complicity of a far larger segment of the population.

The obverse of this position is exemplified by Boggs (1970) who deals almost exclusively with acts of institutional racism. His analysis, supposedly socialist in origin, leads him to the conclusion that all whites regardless of distinctions of class or ethnic origin are consciously and continually
acting in a racist manner. His solution to this situation is to create a Third World revolution which will exclude all whites.

Between these two extremes of position there are many scholarly, if not completely successful, attempts at an analysis of racism. Most, if not all, of these analyses are directed to the particular situation found in the U.S.A., for example, Franklin's examination of Black Power as a "coherent ideology capable of challenging some of the basic tenets of American capitalism," (1969:286.), or Knowles and Prewitt's study of the structural aspects of racism in the U.S.A. directed against Blacks (1969). Lyman critically examines the major figures in American sociology involved in theoretical and empirical studies of American Blacks and concludes that "despite more than a century of study, blacks remain a sociological puzzle." (1972:171.) He offers by way of explanation a criticism of the focus of American sociology. "Classical American sociology did not adopt a rigorous approach to the sociology of race relations but rather subsumed the subject of race development under the rubric of evolutionist and especially Social Darwinist theories." (1972:172.) More recently the sociology of race relations "has been characterized primarily by studies of the psychology of race prejudice." (1972:174.) Lyman includes here not only the work of Adorno but also that of Dollard and Myrdal. (1972:174.) He specifically criticizes the concentration on the psychological because it "tends to eschew the historical aspects of the question." (1972:175.)

The historian Genovese has addressed himself to the question Lyman sees as the focal problem for Blacks in the U.S.A. and Fanon and others generalize as a problem of all colonized peoples. This problem is the systematic
deprivation of their history as a people. The result is consequential for "with this deprivation not only the past but also the future is wiped out: (they have) neither known predecessors to provide tradition nor unambiguously defined successors to instill promise." (Lyman, 1972:183.) In Red and Black is a collection of essays in which Genovese discusses a number of issues related to the question of the restoration of their history to an oppressed people. In "Rebelliousness and Docility in the Slave" Genovese provides a structural critique of the psychological theories of the "Sambo" stereotype which draws on the Spanish and Portuguese economic and legal institutions as well as the British and American to conclude that "psychological models may only be used suggestively... they cannot substitute for empirical investigation." (1968:96.)

Genovese, like Cox, utilizes a Marxist methodology. Both men are concerned with the structural bases of race relations. However, by explicitly dismissing ideology, Cox forces himself into an economic determinist position. He must relate the phenomenon of race relations, in all its complexities, directly to an economic cause and consequence. The futility of the attempt to reduce everything to the economic was first stated by Marx himself. Economic determinism denies the complexity of the issue and the logic of dialectical materialism. The totality of each historically determined social formation is a complex structure of objective and specific levels that are not equivalent and are relatively autonomous. The structure is always determined by the economic (the mode of production) in the last instance. However, to use Althusser's phrase, "the lonely hour of the 'last instance' never comes". Using this mode of analysis it is possible to comprehend the
complexity of the society and its institutions. Again to quote Althusser, "the capital-labour contradiction is never simple, but always specified by the historically concrete forms and circumstances in which it is exercised".

The contradiction is therefore always overdetermined. Recognizing this complexity it is difficult to fall into the trap of regarding the role of the economic as the basis upon which is constructed a more or less ephemeral and therefore unimportant super-structure. The role of the economic in the last instance is to determine which element is to be dominant in a given social formation but never to deny the importance of those non-economic elements.

One major theoretical contribution to the structural analysis of society available to Genovese but not to Cox is the notion of hegemony developed by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci.

"(Hegemony is) an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations." (Genovese, 1968:406.)

Hegemony is the normative power which the dominant social group "obtains from the masses by virtue of its social and intellectual prestige and its supposedly superior function in the world of production." (Genovese, 1968:406)

Hegemony is expressed through the ideologies of a society which function to particularize the hegemony and to situate it within the society's individual member's world view. The state ideological apparatuses, (Althusser, 1971:142.) the systems of schools, churches, cultural institutions, for example, are the mechanisms for ensuring the voluntary acceptance of the ideological positions
of the hegemony. Only when these mechanisms either fail or are unacceptable to the masses as is the case, for instance, in a newly colonized area, does the coercive power of the state through its repressive apparatus come into direct play.

As Cox admits even as he dismisses it, racism is an ideology, or to phrase it another way, it is a set of behaviour consequences based on a set of shared beliefs. (Mead, et al, 1968:67.) Albert Memmi, a participant (or victim) observer of racism has developed an inclusive definition.

"Racism is the generalized and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser's benefit and at his victim's expense, in order to justify the former's own privileges or aggression." (Memmi, 1968:185.)

In the analysis which accompanies this definition Memmi summarizes three essential elements of racism: the insistence on a difference between the racist and victim, the application of this difference to a mythical use, and the convenience of such use. (1968:186.) The mechanisms for establishing differences can be either biological or cultural. However, it is not the fact of difference per se but the way in which differences are used that informs racism. Memmi points out that the differences frequently are real differences, either biological, psychological, cultural or social upon which the racist adds an interpretation or assigns a negative or positive value. In an interesting footnote Memmi suggests that frequently a genuine inadequacy in the victim is utilized in this fashion. But "the racist, far from viewing it as a result of the oppression to which he himself subjects his victim or at least of the objective conditions which the victim is made to endure, holds that inadequacy against him, as if it were a defect or flaw." (1968:188.) He gives as examples the technical unpreparedness of the
colonized (as a result of colonization) or the high rate of absenteeism among working women (the result of their family duties). (1968:188.) A further variant of the process, which Memmi omits in his discussion, is the situation in which the perception in what the victim says of notions or implications which transcend the actual words spoken.  

Memmi then discusses the process by which the negative and positive values are assigned. The negative value of the victims automatically becomes the positive value of the accusers who take themselves as the point of reference for the comparison. Fanon reiterates this point in a quotation from Joachim Marcus:

"One can therefore state that, contrary to what is generally believed, it is the attitude that seeks the content rather than the content that creates the attitude." (1967:158 fn.)  

Memmi suggests that this attitude is then generalized to incorporate the total personality of the individual and the totality of members of the group. This element of "social determinism" is final and absolute. "In the extreme, racism merges into myth", and the victim becomes transformed into a thing or a symbol. (1968:197.) The myth, however, refers back to the racist for "it is in the racist himself that the motives for racism lie." (1968:191.)

Memmi continues his analysis of racism by suggesting that the characterization of the victims is the attempt by the accusers to explain and justify their attitude and behaviour toward them. This need to accuse in order to justify action is due to the guilt the accusers feel toward their victims. (1968:192.) This concept of collective guilt and its transference is the concept most frequently utilized by psychological theories of racism. Memmi
suggests that the individual "can be tempted by this collective reasoning; it forms part of the values held by his peers and relieves him of the weight of any responsibility." (1968:193.) He continues that the accusation should suggest the specific oppression which is the real cause of the "racist alibi" based in the socio-economic and political structure of the society. (1968:193-194.)

In an essay written a year after the definition of racism Mimmi and his co-authors suggest that "before taking root in the individual, racism has taken root in the institutions and ideologies all around him, in the education he receives and the culture he acquires." (1968:197.) They go on to explain that the reason so negative an attitude can be so universal is because racism is an institutional fact for which the racist explanation is convenient. The victims are not only accused of being second-class humans, they are in that they are denied the rights the accusers have for themselves. (1968:198.) Further, the accuser always chooses as the victim the already oppressed. It is this factor which explains the possibility for the presence of racist attitudes among people themselves victims of racism. (1969:200.) It precludes the possibility of what has been called reverse racism when the victim is seen also as accuser. The only effective reason for accusation is to accrue benefit. The reaction of the accuser to statements and actions resisting the accusation can be to speak of reverse racism but following Memmi's line of argument these reactions can be explained as responses to the exposure of the racism.

Rather than a reliance upon collective guilt as the complete explanation for
Racism one can go back to the concept of hegemony and the ideologies arising from it. Although the nature of the hegemony is that of a cohesive whole the ideologies which arise from it and support it are not consistent in their expression.

Racism can be regarded as an ideology created as a mediation between the ideology of democracy implying freedom and equality and the socio-economic reality of exploitation and oppression. By creating an ideology which explains why some groups in the society are not eligible for the full expression of democracy the other ideological precepts are maintained. This ideological creation serves a dual purpose. If the victims of the racist accusation can be manipulated into believing in the myth they will tend to be less threatening to the hegemony and the state is less likely to have to resort to direct coercive power to maintain its position. Secondly, if the members of the society can be brought to accept the racist ideology they will, individually and collectively, help to maintain not only the ideology but its structural bases.

In this way, one can also explain the organic connection between the individual act of racism and the institutional act. The overt act of the individual which causes injury to another on the basis of racism is no longer condoned by the society. It is considered an indication of the unsocialized character of the perpetrator who is morally, if seldom legally, punished for it. The overt act, in other words, is considered to be a manifestation by an individual who is unable to incorporate the subtlety of the ideologies involved. The covert or institutionalized act whose processes "operate so normally and naturally and are so much a part of the existing
institutions of society" (Boggs, 1970:147-148.) can be as much an act of omission as commission. Covert racism is the more sophisticated action of the ideology perpetrated by the individual in daily action and by the collectives of individuals who staff the institutions. For example the teacher is not expected to include in a presentation on the history of Canada any discussion of the genocide of the Besthuck or the processes used to obtain land owned by the autothonous population. The teacher does not have to verbalize the stereotypes but simply neglect, through accident more usually than design, to provide any information which would conflict with those stereotypes.

As Blau was forced to show in his study of bureaucracy racism can be perpetuated in a process presumed to be free of such functions as readily as it can be elsewhere. The institution can also function as an inhibitor of attempts to discern the extent of the problem. The director of the study Indians and the Law done by the Canadian Corrections Association was told by many prison officials that they could not provide him with statistical data on the number of peoples of native ancestry they held in their prisons "because they didn't keep that kind of information." This despite the fact that the employees of the prisons knew the number of native people incarcerated. 16

What little discussion and study of racism there has been in this country, having specific reference to Canadian rather than foreign problems, has until quite recently centered on either the Jewish population or the limited Black population with some reference, particularly on the west coast, to Orientals.
The 1966 Report to the Minister of Justice of the Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in Canada makes mention of the Canadian Indian nowhere in either the report itself or the accompanying documentation. The conferences and publications marking Canada's participation during International Human Rights Year in 1967 again ignored the Canadian Indian. The publication of Volume 1 of A Survey of Contemporary Indians in Canada can be considered as the first major recognition, including as it does such damning evidence, of the prejudice and racism against the Canadian Indian. The subsequent publication of studies by Cardinal (1969) and Waubageshig (1970) among others, were interpreted by the majority culture as suggesting that the solution to the Indians' problems lay in the abolition of the Department of Indian Affairs. The simplicity of this solution seemed to appeal to many members of the majority culture including not a few members of the Department itself. The response by the Indian people in the "Red Paper" (Citizens Plus, 1970.) to the Government's "White Paper" was therefore bewildering. What the Indians' response illustrates is the thesis argued here and further documented in the next chapter. Institutional or covert racism is an ideological expression of hegemony and is therefore not isolated in one formal structure and cannot be eradicated by dismantling that structure alone. The fact of racism is present and maintained to a greater or lesser degree in all the structures and institutions, formal and informal, of the society. Further this institutional racism is sufficiently subtle in operation as to frequently go unrecognized by those most actively maintaining it.
Footnotes:

1. Alford in *Bureaucracy and Participation* identifies two usages of the term "power", used largely by sociologists to indicate the "possession of resources based on institutional position, wealth, property, public office, and organizational leadership", and power, used by political scientists, is meant to indicate "the use of resources to gain influence by particular individuals in particular situations." (1969:195.) Etzioni's typology distinguishes two types of power, economic and coercive which require possession of the resources given in power, while power corresponds more closely with Etzioni's normative categorization although a case could be made that power is incorporated, at least on occasion, into the wielding of both economic and coercive power as well. In brief Alford's distinction is between the presence of resources and the way in which the resources are utilized.

2. Etzioni discriminates between "pure normative" power based on "the manipulation of esteem, prestige, and ritualistic symbols" and "social power" based on "allocation and manipulation of acceptance and positive response" but classes them both as normative as they both utilize the same type of means. (1961:6.)

3. Howton (1969:43-44 ff.), C.J. Deutsch (1966), and Dubin, (1952:233-240) for discussion of the ways in which it is possible for functionaires became de facto decision-makers because of their control of information flows.

4. In the discussion of innovation and decision-making, Thompson specifically discusses the phenomenon of the new "scientific management" or neo-Taylorism which received initial support and encouragement from Kennedy and Johnson in its application to governmental bureaucracies. (1969:53-57.)

5. In most civil services operations in North America the hiring and promotion is done through civil service competitions and the individuals are simply assigned to the department, the salary negotiations and decisions are handled by a separate financial section (e.g. Treasury Board) and elaborate rules for dismissal procedures are established elsewhere.

6. I have chosen to use the Althusserian concept of ideology in preference to others such as Mannheim, (1936). The choice was made on the basis that the concept as Mannheim and others see it, is metaphysical and mystified to a degree which makes application of it to concrete analysis somewhat less than useful.

7. Examples of this phenomenon are legion. Attendance at schools, one of the primary ideological apparatuses of the State, is rendered compulsory by truancy laws.
8. Burin in his essay on "Bureaucracy and National Socialism" seems to dispute this when he writes that "the Nazis succeeded...in casting overboard the whole value system of western civilization." (1952:47) Much of the evidence he sites as proof of his statement is used also by Miliband to argue exactly the opposite position, i.e., that fascism did not disrupt the fundamental basis on which "western civilization" is based. He quotes Franz Neumann, "the essence of National Socialist social policy consists in the acceptance and strengthening of the prevailing class character of German society." (1969:7-96.)

9. The argument that modern organizational structure is antagonistic to democracy is made largely by those who equate democracy with "free-enterprise" and fail to recognize the consolidation of the capitalist relations of production into monopoly capitalist structures.

10. The exception is the colonial situation where the mode and relations of production are discrepant with the ruling ideology. The ideological state apparatuses are ineffective. (For example, the early reports by the Secretary of State for the Canadian government discuss, with some bewilderment tempered with anger, the indifference, hostility and active resistance by native Indians to official attempts (by government or church) to remove the young to institutions where they were "educated" for domestic service or farm labour.) Cf. also Belshaw 1964, discussing the difficulties of "foreign decision-makers" in colonial situations. Furnivall, in a discussion of colonial countries in South Asia graphically illustrates this point in his book, Colonial Policy and Practice, especially the chapter entitled "The Plural Society."

11. Althusser analyses brilliantly the mechanism whereby the individual subjects are "subjected" to the process in which they "freely" accept their subjection and therefore "work all by themselves" without recourse to the sanctions of repressive or coercive power. (1971:170-186.)

12. This definition is in agreement with Barth's definition of an ethnic group as one which "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order." (1969:11.)

13. Althusser's brilliant analysis of the concept of "overdetermination" (1969:87-128.) at one and the same time simplifies the process of analysis and acts to prevent simplification of social processes.

14. This point, which recognizes the possibility of real differences but emphasizes the uses to which these differences are put is useful in developing critiques of a number of writers, particularly those concerned with racism in the U.S.A., who are classed under the rubric "liberal" and who attempt to deny any real difference between Blacks and Caucasians. Genovese, 1971, and many of the Black Power advocates vigorously attack this position as racist in itself. Their reasoning is that denying differences these writers are denying much of the history of Black America which must be recognized.
15. I am indebted to Dr. H.B. Hawthorn for this notion.

16. Personal communication from the Director, Mr. Gene Rheaume.

17. I had occasion to attend many of the conferences including the federal government's opening conference at which the then-prime minister and Nobel Prize winner, Lester B. Pearson gave the address. He gave a speech that spoke of the need to increase human rights as well as the progress which had been made in the world, he cited examples from around the globe but neglected to mention once the native population of Canada.
Chapter Two

The Co-operative Home for Indian Women
Development and Original Structure
The theoretical framework now established, I begin the descriptive analysis of the Co-operative Home. The section opens with a history of the circumstances which gave impetus to the project's initiation. The members of the Indian Affairs sub-committee of CUS, here referred to as the planning committee, are examined. The examination includes discussion of the intended structure of the project and its rationale. The analysis of the structure and rationale indicates the presence of racist attitudes despite their own perceptions of their intentions.
A spate of articles appeared in Vancouver's daily newspapers in the autumn of 1965 on the conditions of young Indian women who were migrating to Vancouver and more specifically, to Skid Road from the rural areas. The interest seemed to be sparked by the chance reporting of the attempted suicide of a young Indian woman in the skid road area. She had thrown herself from a hotel window and sustained injuries which resulted in almost complete paralysis. One of the articles quoted City Coroner Glen MacDonald as saying that of a population of around 500 Indian women in the skid road area, maintained by steady in-migration, approximately 20 women between the ages of 16 and 30 die each year. He attributed these deaths directly to the social diseases of alcoholism, drug addiction, and prostitution.

This limited interest in the conditions of young Indians in the city coincided with the return of the University of British Columbia student delegation from the 28th Annual Congress of the Canadian Union of Students (CUS). Almost without exception the Canadian Union of Students (and its predecessor, National Federation of Canadian University Students, NFCUS) had adopted a student qua student approach to societal issues, concerning itself solely with those areas narrowly defined as of direct concern to the university student. The only exception was in realm of international affairs but this activity was not reflected on the campuses. The 28th Congress marked a turning point in the organization's perspective aided by the heightened politicization of the Quebec members, the formation of the Student Union for Peace Action, and the growing radicalization of university campuses in the U.S.A. Among the issues raised for the first time at this meeting was the status of the Canadian Indian. Resolutions were passed to hire an Associate Secretary for Indian Affairs as part of the national secretariat in Ottawa,
to work in close conjunction with the newly-formed Canadian Indian Youth Council and to promote the development of local programs concerned with Indians. On the basis of these two events the UBC-Alma Mater Society (AMS) Committee of CUS began discussions around the possibility of establishing accommodations for native women in the city of Vancouver.

The decision of the Committee to begin a project of this type was aided by the experience of one member of the committee who had spent the summer interviewing Indian women in Vancouver for a UBC research project. Her work had pointed up the need for an alternative to the meager and unsatisfactory accommodations presently available to Indian women - all of a hostel or 'flophouse' nature. A small committee was formed to explore the feasibility of establishing a residence specifically for Indian women which would provide long-term accommodation away from the skid road environment.

This same member brought into the committee an Indian woman who had recently severed her connections with an east-end hostel organization and was presently working with the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center. This woman was most emphatic about the need for a residence exclusively for Indian women and equally enthusiastic about the CUS committee proposal. She was subsequently hired as house mother for the project.

The committee met over the fall months to develop the policy and determine the physical arrangements for the project. By December they had established their policy and had issued a proposal. The project was to establish a home "to be co-operative in the sense that it is the resident girls (under the supervision of a house mother) who will be responsible for its running
and maintenance." The proposal stated that the house would also be used as a temporary home for women needing emergency accommodation, for which purpose one room would be reserved.

This proposal was used in initial contacts with various non-governmental social service agencies, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, the Vancouver City Social Services Department, and the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center. Referrals to the Home were later made by the latter three organizations although active co-operation was forthcoming only from the Friendship Center. Of the non-governmental social service agencies, the Salvation Army responded most generously by providing much of the furniture needed for the Home.

The committee established a dual administrative structure. The Advisory Board, which at the Home's inception consisted of a psychiatrist, a lawyer, a sociologist, an anthropologist, a home economist, and a social worker, was envisaged as a passive rather than an active group who would provide their professional expertise to either the residents or the Management Board when called upon to do so. They were not expected to meet regularly or participate directly in the administration of the project. The Advisory Board therefore was seen as providing public legitimacy as "patrons" as well as freely available (and free) technical advice.

The Management Board was to consist of four students, one faculty member from the School of Social Work, and a representative from the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center. The representative from the Friendship Center never
sat on the Board, the other positions were filled by November of 1965. The functions of the Management Board were to ensure that the material needs of the project were provided for, to hire staff for the project, and to meet regularly to oversee the project's administration. As well as these general administrative tasks the Management Board was to review with the house mother the monthly progress of each resident in order to make decisions as to when each resident was considered ready to leave the environment of the Home to establish her own residence.

The philosophy and organization of the project was to attract

"the girls from Skid Row (sic) and [provide] them with a co-operative living scheme [in order to remove them] from any immediate possibility of falling into the same circular trap of prostitution, drug or alcohol addiction, hence imprisonment, release and back. There are a great number of girls who are attempting to escape but have nowhere to escape. However, it is obvious that removing these girls from their immediate environment is not a complete solution for we must ensure that the girls will not regress into their former habits.

"This can only be achieved by the girls themselves. Therefore, it is necessary for the girls to realize a new status for themselves and in society. This can only be done if the girls themselves realize what it is in life they want and not what is wanted of them by paternalistic charity. Furthermore, the girls must realize for themselves the responsibilities of being a citizen; it is for this reason that the cooperative home will not in any way dictate how they should live, except in the area of cooperative home living. However, should the girls request any special training, such as personal grooming or educational training, the services of the respective professionals will be made available to them.

"The resident girls (under the guidance of a 'house mother') will be responsible for the running and maintenance of the home.... As well as being a semi-permanent home for some 8 to 10 girls, the house will be used as a temporary home for girls just released from institutions who are without lodging until a permanent residence is found. An extra room will be reserved for such purposes."
The decision to use the home as both a long-term and temporary residence, and the decision to hire a house mother, both had serious ramifications later in terms of the stated purpose of the home as a "co-operative living scheme".

The duties of the house mother as outlined in the original proposal were classified under three headings:

"(a) Home Economics: Each girl will alternately be responsible for specific duties assigned by the house mother.

- to assist in budgeting for meals, household furnishings, heat and light bills, etc., from the monthly allowance allotted by the Board.
- planning the meals for the coming week in advance, and shopping for the necessary provisions. (Instruction in cuts of meat, Canada Food Rules, etc.,)
- preparation of meals
- housecleaning, upkeep of house and yard, laundry.

Members of CUS who are in the Faculty of Home Economics will counsel the house mother in these matters, and may give occasional instruction to the girls.

(b) For instruction in grooming, deportment, hygiene, etc., volunteer models, hair-dressers, and nurses, will be invited to give occasional instruction and demonstrations.

(c) Presenting monthly reports to the Co-op Board; maintaining contact with social work agencies, police courts, employment agencies, volunteer groups, etc. Volunteer member(s) of the Faculty of Social Work will be invited to assist in coordinating the various agencies with the Co-op."

By April of 1966 a house had been found and furnished and on April 15th, the Home was opened with six Indian women, one student member of the Management Board, and the house mother as first occupants. The operating costs were estimated at $800 per month based on rent, heat, utilities, food, salary for the house mother, and other miscellaneous expenditures. Of this sum, approximately $400 was to come from the residents, each of whom was to
pay a fixed rent per month (for example, a woman on welfare would pay $50 per month or her maximum housing allowance). This breakdown projected a $400 per month subsidy.\textsuperscript{6}

Funding at this time was very irregular. The AMS had donated $200.\textsuperscript{7} The CUS committee provided office space, materials and secretarial facilities (as they did for the duration of the project) and some donations, ranging in size from $10 to $200 were received. These donations had been sought out by private appeals to individuals, talks to various clubs and other voluntary organizations, and a funding appeal letter sent to all the organizations listed in the current edition of the Blue Book, as well as to officials of the academic community.\textsuperscript{8}

The organizers of the project had a professedly anti-racist stance. They saw the project as providing in some measure a change from "paternalistic clarity" and from the situations in the existing hostels where Indian women were expected to work for the non-Indian hostel occupants. Most of the organizers were social democrats who viewed the welfare state as a desirable objective. All of them were honestly outraged at the conditions in which the native women were forced to exist in the city. They saw the solution to the dilemma of the native woman as first removal from the undesirable environment of skid road and second a reconditioning process from which "the girls must realize for themselves the responsibilities of being a citizen." Nevertheless it was accepted that the Management Board would be the final arbitor in the decision as to when the residents had realized this responsibility. The vehicle of the reconditioning process was to be
the co-operative living scheme in which the girls would be taught how to shop, the Canada Food Rules, as well as deportment, grooming and hygiene. The residents' responsibilities were not seen as extending to such decisions as to who would do what tasks and when as these were to be assigned by the house mother.

Although the student organizers were enthusiastic in their endorsement of co-operative living it was a concept new to all of them. Their only contact with co-operatives had been either through reading or discussions with students at two other universities who were embarking on co-operative residences as solutions to their housing shortages. Clear indications of the organizers' inexperience are present in their proposals quoted above. They hired as house mother a woman whose only experience with group-living situations had been as resident or employee in hierarchically established hostels and dormitories and whose duties include assigning tasks. By denying the residents the responsibility for ensuring the regular functioning of the Home one is led to wonder how effectively the co-operative living scheme was to contribute to the process of developing individual responsibility amongst the residents. The planners also compromised the co-operative aspect by providing an "extra room" to serve the function of a hostel for transient accommodation. The net effect of these modifications to the co-operative model was almost entirely economic as staff and maintenance costs could be reduced by utilizing the labour of the residents.

The structure and aims of the project reveal a woeful ignorance of native cultural patterns. The socialization of native children involves the
development of a sense of independence and responsibility as well as inclusion in the family economy. (Hawthorn, 1966,[2]:112.) Social conditions frequently result in the children taking a major share of the responsibility for each other's material well-being. Knowledge of nutrition and good consumer practices are useful for any person living in this society but the assumption that the native residents would be incapable of handling responsibility for the household tasks without supervision and assignment is more indicative of the acceptance of a stereotype than a reflection of the reality.

Much of the information on which the organizers based their proposals came from the woman hired as house mother. It is perhaps an example of their complacency that they so readily accepted one interpretation of the situation and cultural background of native peoples without desiring to either question it or inquire further into the matter. They were content to engage on a project specifically aimed at changing the cultural environment of a designated group of people without any knowledge or even in most cases any contact with the peoples they were setting out to help. Moreover they were formally assigning to themselves the task of deciding when the helping process was completed in each individual case at which time the resident whose progress the housemother would report on would be eased out to make room for a new candidate for reformation.

Despite the anti-racist stance which the organizers had adopted they reflected in their own proposals the racist stereotype of the incompetent native, unable to administer his/her own affairs and needing to be protected from
evil temptations which might prove overwhelmingly attractive. They attacked the paternalistic attitude toward native peoples because it did not help the native person to assimilate. The native women were to be taught the responsibilities of citizenship as defined by the dominant culture and the self-appointed representatives of that culture would insure that they had learned the lesson well before allowing them to move into the mainstream.

The students involved in the establishment of the project were not conscious of these assumptions. They viewed the project as an extension of their activities within the university designed to democratize the university structures in order to ensure that students had the right to participate in decisions directly affecting their lives. The purpose of the project was to prepare the native people to participate. When I became involved with the project in April of 1965, I too accepted the structure and the ideology implicit in it as valid and legitimate.
Section 2
The Residents and the Community

The planning committee, professing anti-racist intentions, was objectively racist in their organization of the project and their rationale for such a structure. In this section the objects of their planning, the residents, are described. The discussion is brief because they proved to be the least important element in the drama. The residents provided by their presence the reason for the Home's existence, but not for its demise. The section also includes some description and commentary on the small donors from the community at large. Although their individual donations were minimal, they played a catalytic role in exposing the contradictions between the reality and the rhetoric of the planners, the Board and the AMS. They were also the only participants albeit peripheral, to engage in acts which might be described as overtly rather than covertly racist.
The term "Indian" has two definitions in official usage in Canada:

"The first, which refers to what are usually called 'registered Indians', is the legal definition used by the Indian Affairs Branch for the people who come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act: that is, those whose names are included on the official Indian Register, .... Registered Indians do not necessarily live on Indian reserves; .... Some of them (in-marrying wives) are not of Indian racial origin. Legal status as an Indian is acquired at birth if the father is an Indian, or by marriage to an Indian husband. Illegitimate children of Indian women are also usually granted Indian status. Indian status is given up by 'enfranchisement', which is automatic for women marrying non-Indian husbands, and otherwise voluntarily, by application. An Indian woman who marries a non-Indian husband thus loses her Indian status as do in most cases any minor children she may already have, and all children resulting from the marriage.

"A non-Indian woman who marries an Indian, on the other hand, assumes Indian status, and the children of the marriage are regarded as Indian.

"The second definition refers to 'Indians by racial origin', and is used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Division of Vital Statistics. It includes all residents whose racial origin, traced through the father, is Indian. These are not all registered Indians, nor do they all live on Indian reserves." (Duff, 1964:46-47.)

The Indian residents encompassed not only these official definitions of race, but also a third, common one, i.e., those people of Indian origin, traced through either the father or the mother, irrespective of legal status, who are regarded by Canadian society as Indian.

All the long-term residents were referred to the Home by the Indian Affairs Branch, the City Welfare officials, or the Friendship Center, and all were on assistance of some kind. They all came from rural areas, and most had been transient for periods of up to at least two years before coming to settle in Vancouver. Average age range was from 15 to 20 years; educational backgrounds varied from functionally illiterate to high school matriculation. Most (if not all) had had some experience with the courts and many had used either drugs or alcohol or both consistently at some period of time. They
had all attained some skill in basic survival but little sophistication in the manipulation of institutions for their benefit.

The women who utilized the temporary facilities considerably. Their average age was higher, their experience with the courts and jails much greater, and their tendency to remain transient much more pronounced. They had, for various reasons, no continuing economic support. They rarely stayed more than one week, frequently only one night. They were peripheral to the operation of the Home with two exceptions. The first was that some of the long-term residents found the transients' presence disruptive, both because of the life-style they represented, and because they contributed nothing to the Home or its functioning. The second exception, contained to some degree in the first, was the contradiction in both theory and practice represented by the attempt to graft a hostel operation onto a co-operative living situation. This contradiction continued to operate within the Home until the practice of encouraging transients ceased with the departure of the house mother from the Home. The debate around the hostel concept continued, however, until the project was closed down. (It was in fact "won" by the hostel faction in that the Student Council voted to give the monies remaining from the project to a hostel operation.)

The house mother, as stated above, had had experience with administering hostel accommodation. She had not, however, encountered co-operative living situations before. This lack of experience, coupled with the apparent assumption by the project originators that no explicit education on the concept was necessary either for staff or residents, had important ramifications
later in the development of the home.

The house mother, rather than promoting the development of the co-operative function, emphasized a more traditional hierarchical family structure which encouraged the development of close one-to-one dependency relations between the house mother and each resident. "Mrs. ------ wants us to call her Mom. She's a wonderful woman. She really worries over us. .... It's like coming back to one big happy family." This structure was also expressed in the way the housekeeping tasks were assigned; "There are ... no appointed turns for the cooking and cleaning. The girls are reminded by Mrs. ------ that these are their responsibility." In other areas not directly concerned with the physical maintenance of the home, examples could also be found. "They are told to be in by 11 at night because when they start studying they will need to get up for classes." The house mother also handled the residents' assistance cheques, separating out rent and food allowances to be deposited and administering daily their transit allowance on the basis that if she allowed them to have it monthly in a lump sum they would "give it to their friends". Therefore, the decisions concerning the daily operations of the home and the group behaviour of the residents rested solely with the house mother.

When the house mother resigned in October of 1966, she was replaced by a young Indian woman who had been active nationally in both student groups and the Canadian Indian Youth Council. Her concept of her role was antithetical to that of her predecessor. She saw herself as an "older sister" but refused to be either an authority figure or disciplinarian. The residents
for the first time began to make collective decisions about the home and their activities. Some found the new regime difficult to adjust to for a time as they had come to rely heavily on the house mother as a surrogate mother, but all adapted more readily than might be expected. The official name of the home was changed from "Girls" to "Women" and for the first time, the residents were invited to attend and participate in the meetings of the Management Committee. (Meetings had always been held in the home but residents had been actively discouraged from attending by the house mother, passively discouraged by the Board itself.) A representative elected by the residents was in fact sent to the Board meetings to speak on their behalf. By the late fall the residents, in conjunction with the lawyer appointed to the Advisory Board, had written the first draft of a constitution in preparation for incorporating as the "Indian Youth Co-operative House" under the B.C. Societies Act. Apart from this legal advice the Advisory Board, as constituted, was not called upon by the residents.

The relationship of residents to students was very tenuous while the house mother was employed. The female student member of the planning committee, referred to in Section 1, lived in the home at a reduced rent for about 2 to 3 months, theoretically to provide both assistance in supervision and a link between students and residents. As a member of the Management Committee she was able to express the views of the residents to the Board but only in an unorganized fashion for two reasons; first, because the hierarchical structure of the home militated against any clear expression of views on the part of the residents and secondly, because the house mother did all she could to actively discourage student involvement in the home. For this reason the
student members of the Board by and large encountered the residents only before and after Board meetings. The possibility of involving other students in some aspect of the home was non-existent. With the change in personnel and philosophy came a change in the atmosphere regarding students. Students were actively encouraged to participate in all areas of activity, they formed friendships with the residents which resulted in frequent visiting, arranged free tickets to events on the campus, and formed committees to co-ordinate tutoring, menu preparation (specifically 3 students in the Faculty of Home Economics) and house repairs. A CUS sponsored conference on Indian affairs which brought together native representatives from Ontario west, had their meals at the home and gave a display of Mohawk dancing there as well. The relations, however, between the residents and the official representatives of the students, the AMS, were non-existent. One member of the AMS executive visited the home on many occasions but not in any official capacity.

The Vancouver Indian Friendship Center, invited to be represented on the Management Board, figured largely with the residents again only after the change in personnel. The residents frequented the Center, located near the home, for the social and cultural activities and for companionship with other native young people. That this tendency grew after the departure of the house mother was due less to any possible discouragement she might possibly have advanced than to the active encouragement the "older sister" gave to the residents to meet with and befriend other young people, female and male. It was through the contacts made at the Center that a young Indian man, attending chef's school, was hired to cook for the home once a
week. On the Thanksgiving weekend, the residents of the home planned and prepared (with the help of some student friends) a huge turkey dinner for friends from the Center which ended with a visit to the Center. This was an unofficial interaction. Officially, the Center representatives dealt either with the house mother or the Board and concerned themselves with structure and finances rather than with the residents.

Attempts were made by many of the service and social clubs, who had been approached by the house mother for donations, to have tours and teas set up at the home in order that they could see it first hand. All such attempts were promptly quashed by the Management Board as part of their philosophy that the home was to be kept as a private residence and hence all donations, inquiries, and offers of aid were channelled through the CUS office at UBC. Thus, the only contact the residents had with these groups was through receipt of donations of material goods.

The decision not to publicize the exact location of the home was taken to discourage the curious and preserve the emphasis on home rather than hostel, and more importantly, to protect the individuals and the project from potential acts of racism. The wisdom of this decision can perhaps be best illustrated by events which did occur of this nature. One example is the following incident. An organization called the Kia-Ora Service Club wrote directly to the house mother in reply to a talk she had given on the project. In the letter the secretary reminded the house mother of the Club's offer of clothing and included two names and phone numbers to contact in this regard. The house mother followed up this offer. A friend of the project picked up
two large brown paper bags of clothing and dropped them at the home without examining the contents. When the residents unpacked the two bags they found clothing which was soiled and in poor repair, a pair of white nurse's shoes with large cracks in the vamps, and a used douche bag.13

It is impossible to assess the motivations of the majority of donors as they were not encouraged to become involved in the project. One rather interesting example however does give rise to some questions. On August 20, 1966 a gentlemen sent a donation of $10 to the project with a letter setting out his reasons for the "gesture".

"... my heart was smitten sorely by the sad story in the Province on July 23,1965 regarding Violet Jones a poor Indian girl who 'had no one to turn to' - so someone strangled her to death with a stocking and threw her into a ditch.

"afterwards, someone said 'she's just a waif.'"

"If the Greek's 'pity and terror' mean anything, this is a theme and story worthy of the pen of Sophocles. The tragedy of this child out into my heart."

On September 15th, 1966, the following letter was sent by the same gentleman:

"Following the story in the Province in August regarding the lack of funds for your hostel, which the article said was faced with closure due to lack of adequate funds, I sent you a donation check (sic) for $10.00.

"This was on August 20th, and I have heard nothing from you; so should like to know if you received my donation at all: for income tax purposes."

On September 30th a letter from the Better Business Bureau was sent to the project enclosing a "Consumer Experience Form" dated September 20th and completed by the same gentleman. A reply was forwarded to the Bureau enclosing a receipt which could not be used for income tax deductions as the project
did not have such status. 14
The Board and the two staff people were briefly mentioned in the last section. In the following pages, I engage in a fuller description of the internal workings of the Board. The bulk of the section is composed of a discussion of the two staff people and some analysis of their personal histories by way of explaining their very different reactions to racist attitudes and behaviour. This discussion necessarily includes reference to the differing effect each had in her relations with the Board and with the residents.
The structure of the project as it was originally conceived was briefly outlined in Section 1 of Chapter Two, that is, an Advisory Board with a purely passive role and a Management Board to actively oversee the daily operations of the project.

The opening of the Home in mid-April of 1966 coincided with the end of the university term and the beginning of the summer holiday season. It was decided to informally restructure the Boards during this period and those members of both boards who were interested and available began meeting together. This expanded the active board to eight members from the original five. (No member was ever appointed to the Management Board by the Vancouver Indian Center.) This single Board was composed of the social worker from the Management Board, the lawyer and psychiatrist from the Advisory Board, the student in residence at the Home, two other students who had been on the planning committee, and the in-coming and out-going chairpersons of the CUS Committee, the latter acting as Chairperson of the Board. The house mother attended meetings but did not have a formal vote.

By August the ratio of students to non-students had changed from 3:5 to 5:4. The anthropologist and the home economist from the Advisory Board began to attend regularly and all but the student in residence and the in-coming chairperson had resigned from the Board because of commitments outside Vancouver. These three were replaced by only two new student appointees from the CUS Committee.

Two factors which created difficulties in administration both in the short and in the long term were the majority of "professionals" to students and
the drastic reduction in persons who had participated in the creating of the project's philosophy and principles. None of the members had had experience with co-operatives and the majority of this new board had not been privy even to discussions on why this form of organization had been chosen. Furthermore, none of the five professionals had been involved with the work of establishing the Home and, with one exception, their interest in and involvement with Indian peoples had been, at most, tangential to their work and leisure.

These deficiencies might have been overcome in part if the Board had seen fit to spend time recounting the earlier decisions regarding the nature of the project and the rationale for the particular structure. Two things militated against this course of action. First the presence of four of the project originators (all but one of whom left in August) which lent a false sense of unity to the Board as a whole; and second, the pressing need to find funding sources and reach other immediate administrative decisions. Many of the decisions and the rationales for them, could be described as ad hoc. The house mother, more familiar with volunteer boards, was frequently able to ensure decisions favourable to her own philosophy and to circumvent those with which she was not in agreement.

It is at this time useful to briefly describe the house mother herself. As stated above, she was a Cree from Alberta who had been raised on a reserve and educated at church-operated residential schools. She often spoke bitterly of this period of her life, characterizing her education as one where she was taught to pray but little else. She seemed, during this
period, to have internalized much of the dominant culture's stereotype of the Indian as savage, ignorant, dirty, and drunken, and its corollary, that the Indian's salvation would come through a process of "whitening" or becoming the apotheosis of the white middle class. She devoted her activities to destroying the first stereotype by adopting the second.\textsuperscript{17} She was thus caught in the contradiction characteristic of those who would attempt to assimilate. On the one hand she was proud of being Indian but violently disliked any activity by Indians which, to her, lent credence to the racial stereotype.\textsuperscript{18} On the other hand attempts to emulate white middle class behaviour could only result in failure because of the structural impossibility of achieving this status. A process which frequently and understandably results in a hatred of representatives of the dominant society.

The conflict between condemning the stereotype and yet accepting its specifics and hating the perpetrators of the stereotype and yet desiring to become like them is one common to victims of racism. Fanon is perhaps the most widely known explicator of this process which arises most frequently in those situations when the strategy of the racist is expressly assimilationist. The assimilationist position suggests that the dominant society is ready to accept the oppressed as equals but the oppressed themselves lack the motivation to improve themselves and alter their conditions. Any racism is therefore the fault and responsibility of the oppressed and not of the oppressors. This position, when accepted by a member of the oppressed culture, leads to contempt if not hatred of those of the oppressed who are not trying to conform to the oppressor's definition of what is to be valued. Their non-co-operation is seen as an attack on the actions of those attempting
to conform to the self-proclaimed standards of the dominant society. It also provides the oppressor with a rationale for not granting acceptance to those who are attempting entrance. However, the refusal of the dominant society to grant a higher status to the oppressed who has attempted to conform brings with it a hatred for the oppressor as well.

In the Home her attitudes were puritanical, forbidding the use or possession of alcohol, refusing to allow young men to visit because "they only want one thing", and showing an over-riding concern for cleanliness and order. In her relations with the Board she distinguished sharply between those she perceived as having little power and those having much power. This distinction could, with a few exceptions, be expressed as a division between student and "professional" members. Her relations with most of the student members were minimal and she frequently indicated her displeasure at their involvement in the project unless it was peripheral to the activities of the Home itself. Her relations with the non-student members were much more cordial although again her cordiality seemed to increase with the degree of power she perceived the recipient to possess.

"The duties of the house mother may be defined as helping the girls adjust to their home and environment as well as coordinating the duties of the girls. The house mother will assist in:

1. budgeting
2. planning and preparation of meals
3. home management
4. guidance

The house mother will also be responsible for presenting a monthly report to the Management Board; maintaining contact with social work agencies, police courts, employment and vocational-training agencies, volunteer groups, etc."  

Before engaging in activities not specified in the job description the house mother was to seek the approval of the Board. In fact, the house mother,
referring to herself as "executive director" actively solicited funds from small volunteer organizations (obtaining the reluctant acquiescence of the Board after the fact) and sought out speaking engagements and interviews with the media in which she represented herself as "founder of a hostel for Indian women" which was "backed by the Alma Mater Society of UBC and the Canadian Union of Students."²²

The Board had appointed two of its members to engage in fund raising with the express intention of moving away from personal appeals to small groups which netted only $10 and $20 sums. They were also concerned that the Home not receive the type of publicity sought by the house mother which was based on appeals for charity. That the house mother chose to ignore this ruling is a further indication of her own ambivalence concerning Indian—non-Indian relations as she had been quite vociferous about the demeaning nature of charity particularly as it had been experienced by native people.

She interpreted the section concerned with liaison with other organizations to involve direct social work in the courts and on the streets. She therefore endeavoured to continue her previous free-lance social work activities along with those directly involved with the Home. Her attempt to gain control of the project together with this social work activity and the authoritarian method of running the Home²³ meant she was frantically busy. She therefore "appointed" as assistant, another Cree woman. Since she did not consult the Board (and would have met with opposition if she had because of the nature of most of her "duties") she and her assistant shared the small salary. The assistant lasted only from June to September at which time she left.
The house mother's connection with the CUS Committee (apart from those members of the Committee also sitting on the Board) were almost non-existent. It became apparent that she had viewed the Committee as a way of obtaining a hostel and saw the students as simply providing the funds and material to that end. She viewed any attempt by the Committee or the Board to refocus the direction of the project as rank interference and therefore attempted to minimize the students' role at all times.

The student members of the Board reacted to her hostility by retreating as much as possible from any direct confrontations with her. Recognizing her greater receptivity to the professionals on the Board I declined the Chairpersonship of the Board and recommended the lawyer as the new Chairperson to replace the out-going CUS Chairperson. No Board members visited the Home except for Board meetings. The professionals seemed too busy and the students felt unwelcome and therefore unwilling to thrust themselves into a situation in which they were not wanted. Some of us felt uncomfortable about the fact that although meetings were held in the Home the residents were excluded from discussions (and also from watching television as it interfered with the deliberations.) None of us were, however, prepared to voice this discomfort to the house mother.

The house mother's relations with the AMS centered around one individual only, the Treasurer. A student in his last year of law school, he had retained control of the finances of the project over the summer months. He was completely ignorant of the aims of the project and of social action projects in general. His lack of prior experience in this regard, and an absence of any previous contact with Indian people resulted in his uninformed approval of
the house mother and her wishes because "she was Indian herself and experienced". The house mother was quick to perceive this and chose to consult him more frequently than she did the Board.

By the September Board meeting the workload the house mother had set herself had become untenable (particularly as she was in less than perfect health) and she indicated she wished at least one month's leave of absence. The question of staffing was therefore raised and she arranged an interview with an Indian couple. She told the three Board members at the interview that the Indian couple would have to be hired on a permanent basis as the woman would have to leave her present job. When pressed for clarification of her own status in the light of this consideration, the house mother replied that "perhaps someone else could do a better job" and that she didn't care who they got to replace her but she had to leave." Although the couple, when interviewed, proved unsuitable to both the Board and the house mother, she did indeed leave by the end of the month.

Before she left the house mother also told the Board she had previously discussed affiliation with the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center's Board and that they were willing to assume complete responsibility for both administering and financing the project. One student and three of the non-student members of the Board were mandated to meet with representatives of the Center's Board to discuss this issue. The results of the meeting were that the Indian Center was interested in affiliating with the project but were in no position to provide either financial or administrative aid. They would in fact require continuation of both the financial and administrative structures which were presently operating.
The house mother's relations with non-Indian organizations have been briefly referred to above. She had sought them out in order to obtain donations of money and material for the Home. Because of her contempt for the structural limitations placed on these contacts by the Board, she continued to maintain contact with many of the organizations. Later she would fall back on these contacts to muster support for her opposition to staff and administrative changes.

At the end of September when the house mother left no replacement had been found. In the two weeks between her notice of leaving and her departure attempts had been made to find a suitable candidate. In my dual capacity as Board member and CUS Chairperson, I had contacted the Chairperson of the Advisory Board of the Company of Young Canadians to request help in finding replacement staff. He agreed to look for possible replacements but failed to find anyone. With the actual departure of the house mother the need to find a replacement became absolutely crucial. Because of the dependency relations the house mother had created the Home could not be left without supervision and guidance. As well I contacted the woman who had been the first national Associate Secretary for Indians Affairs for CUS and a founding member of the Canadian Indian Youth Council. She had come to Vancouver with her infant son to resume her university studies. After a lengthy discussion with her I was able to persuade her to move into the Home and assume responsibility for its functioning.

Her acceptance of the position was conditional. She agreed to take on the tasks outlined in the job description drawn up by the project's planners but
refused the title and the model of administration the house mother had established. She wanted to stabilize the residence as a relatively long-term co-operative and therefore requested the discontinuance of the hostel aspect of the operation. As well, she accepted only the free room and board, declining the salary, and immediately set about to increase the resident's involvement in the decisions concerning the project.

In many ways the staff person was the antithesis of the house mother. Her analysis of racism indicated the futility and destructiveness inherent in the assimilationist position. She was an active participant in the new wave of young native people consciously developing a pride in their culture and the leadership capabilities necessary to develop this consciousness in others. They refused to conform to either the stereotype of the native or the stereotype presented to them as the ideal to which they should strive for inclusion in the dominant society. In her own words taken from the report she prepared on the Canadian Indian Youth Symposium held in February, 1967 at U.B.C. and jointly sponsored by the CIYC and the UBC-CUS Committee:

"Integration talks as such side-step the issue of unequal opportunity in Canadian Society, as it assumes there is equality if only an individual works hard enough. The street with this kind of definition of integration is a dead end for most Indians. A few 'make it', and unfortunately, turn against their 'humble beginnings', in a ferocious attack on other Indians who have not tried as hard as they have. Is it really a case of thrift and industry or is it a matter of luck? Do these few individuals realize that they are the system's 'chosen few', and that their example of being successful Indians perpetuates the fallacy of this kind of integration."

The staff persons' political and organizational experience had been in non-hierarchical groups which stressed participation and the development of leadership potential among native peoples.
As she did not accept the legitimacy of the racial stereotypes she did not fear non-acceptance by the dominant society and was more forthright in her actions and demands than the house mother could afford to be. She recognized that the problems encountered by native peoples in the urban centers could not be overcome by teaching them the responsibilities of a citizenship they were not allowed to assume but only by creating situations where native people could provide for each other the support necessary to withstand the racism they were encountering. From her experience with student organizations she could readily identify the weaknesses and strengths of such organizations and worked quietly but effectively to change the structure of the Home to benefit from the strengths and compensate for the weaknesses.

Changes soon became apparent. The altered relationship of the residents to the Board was outlined in the previous section. The direct relationship of the staff person to the Board became less important and less conflict ridden as the residents began to assume more responsibility. The staff person perceived the weaknesses of the Board almost immediately and began to rectify the situation by organizing students into committees to work directly with the residents. By November, 1966, these committees had coalesced into a new, functioning Management Board which met weekly to deal with the actual concerns of the Home and the members of the Advisory Board had been returned to their original function. (This organizational change had the additional benefit of reducing costs in terms of house repairs and food bills as student committees had been organized to work with residents in these areas.) Perhaps the most significant organizational innovation was that of beginning the process of legal incorporation. Under her leadership the residents,
with the help of the lawyer, drew up a draft constitution which had as its Aims and Objectives the following five points:

(a) To establish, maintain, and operate non-profit houses for Indian young people.
(b) To provide needed accommodation and to promote an environment which allows the expression of independent thought and decision-making on the part of the residents, and which emphasizes mutual moral support, in adjusting to city life, among Indian youth.
(c) To co-operate with established social services, welfare and educational institutions and agencies.
(d) To provide a common forum for the exchange of ideas between Indian and non-Indian youth.
(e) To acquire by lease, purchase, or rent, premises to be used in accordance with the objects of this Society.27

The structure is interesting in terms of the aspects the residents incorporated and those they omitted. The first Board of Directors was to be composed of the signatories to the Constitution which would, in effect, consist of the members of the existing Board plus at least some of the residents. They were to serve one-year terms but could be re-appointed. New members were to be appointed from "members of the Co-operative Council, the executive members of the Student Resource Committee and the members of the Advisory Committee."28

"The Canadian Union of Students Chairman at the University of British Columbia shall be an ex officio member of the Board of Directors and shall annually, immediately prior to the Annual General Meeting of the Society in March present to the Board of Directors a slate of nominations for members of the Student Resource Committee and the Advisory Committee and the Board of Directors shall either approve the individual nominations or require that the Canadian Union of Students Chairman present an alternative nomination or nominations."29

The Student Resource Committee, "composed of students from any accredited educational institute in British Columbia" were to communicate the aims and objectives of the Society to the general community and their respective student bodies, and to provide volunteers when requested by the Co-operative
Council to assist in the management of the House (or Houses). The Co-operative Council, elected by the Board, again from nominations presented by the CUS Chairperson, was to be composed of residents of the Co-operative Houses. Their duties were to maintain the Houses in accordance with the aims of the Society, and "to bring to the attention of the Student Resource Committee and Advisory Board any needs for which they require either specialized skills or professional advice" and to promote the aims of the Society among Indian youth. These two groups were to present monthly reports to the Board.

The Advisory Committee, elected by the Board, was to consist of five to eight professional members of the university and the community whose functions were to provide specialized skills or professional advice when called upon by either the Co-operative Council or Student Resource Committee, and to act as liaison with the general public. As well as automatic membership in the Society for all members of the committees outlined above, membership was to have also been conferred on others, in payment of a membership fee, who would then have a vote at Annual General Meetings.

Although the draft constitution contained some problematic areas which still required resolution the residents and staff person had indicated clearly that they wished to implement in the project the philosophy which the students were attempting to implement in the university - control over decisions which affected their lives. In other words they had developed a procedure for implementing the intention of the project "to gain self-confidence through the assumption of responsibilities and participation in decision-making process" and "to organize similar ventures of an undetermined extent," as they were
expressed in a grant application to the Koerner Foundation in July of 1966.

The new staff person's relations with outside groups have been alluded to in the previous section. She organized or promoted active relations with individual students and student groups. Her own links with Indian organizations were brought into the Home and the residents were encouraged to participate in them. This included a nation-wide conference of young Indians held in Vancouver in part in the Home itself. She was not interested in continuing the speaking engagements cultivated by the house mother, nor were these at all necessary as the Home was more than adequately funded. The reasons why she did not maintain a direct connection with the staff at the Indian Center will be explained in the next section.

The house mother returned to Vancouver at the end of October and, after visiting the Home, contacted the lawyer who was also Chairperson of the Board at this time. She was vociferous in her disapproval at the way in which the Home was operating but reiterated her inability to return to the Home because of illness in her family. An emergency Board meeting was held to which she was invited. In her presence, the Board re-discussed the philosophy of the Home (it had finally been raised in thorough discussion twice during that month in conjunction with the development of the constitution) and agreed yet again that the philosophy expounded in the original briefs and advocated by the new staff person was in fact to be the \textit{modus operandi} of the project. The house mother left in anger, refusing to leave either a telephone number or address where she could be contacted. This was the last direct communication between the Board and the house mother.
Footnotes

1. My attempt to find corroborating data has been unsuccessful. Neither Indian Affairs Branch statistics nor census statistics extend to cover those individuals who cannot be defined as of Indian origin patrilineally nor are registered with I.A.B. and yet consider themselves and are considered to be Indian. This omission coupled with the difficulties in enumeration detailed by Nagler, (1970:7) make almost insurmountable the problems of determining the rate of in-migration of native peoples.

2. The record of this intent is found in Motion #3 of the Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Western Regional and Local Committee of CUS, Nov. 4, 1965. "That we accept in principle the recommendations of the Indian Affairs Committee ... to set up a co-operative home for Indian girls." (Students' Council Document #66-135.)

3. From "A Co-operative Home for Indian Girls, A proposal of the Canadian Union of Students for the establishment of a co-operative home for Indian Girls", published by the UBC-AMS Committee of the Canadian Union of Students, n.d.

4. Taken from a brochure written after the "Proposal" mentioned above which was entitled "A Co-operative Home for Indian Girls" printed by the UBC-AMS CUS Committee n.d.

5. From "A Co-operative Home for Indian Girls, A proposal...", pp.3-4. The woman who was hired as house mother had an active part in drafting this job description.

6. The amount of subsidy required per month dropped substantially as the actual operation of the project proceeded.

7. This was the only monetary donation made by the AMS. They did contribute materially in so far as AMS office staff did the bookkeeping and required accountancy for the Co-operative Home (as a part of the CUS Committee) as the centralized nature of the AMS financial operation required this procedure.

8. The financial records containing the information on the exact amount and source of funds as of April 15, 1966 have unfortunately been destroyed by the Alma Mater Society. However, as of June 21, 1966, the records available state that $1,790 had been received. This figure includes an estimated $1200 in the form of a gift from the Graduating Class of 1966. Cf. Chapter 3, Section 2 for a complete discussion of these monies.

9. From an interview with residents of the Home, Vancouver Sun, June 11, 1966. as are the following two quotations. In each case emphasis added.

10. Personal communication to me by the house mother.
11. The full discussion of the relations between the students and house mother are to be found in the next section.

12. The house was situated in an area zoned for single-family dwellings. C.f. Letter from B.B. Trevino, Barrister-at-law, April 18, 1966 on exact zoning regulations. This meant that no binding lease agreement could be signed with the owner and the rental was on a month-to-month basis. Thus, at any time pressure could have been brought to bear on the owner either by the area's residents objecting to the occupants, or by the city for violation of the zoning by-laws. In the latter case, however, the project's legal advisors were prepared to argue the case in court on the basis of an "intentional" family being the equivalent of a consanguine family.

13. I am in possession of the letter and saw the articles described. No attempt is being made to single out this group from others as more consciously or overtly racist. The group was chosen because it was one of the few which escaped the surveillance of the organizers.

14. From documents in my possession.

15. This marked my official involvement in the project as incumbent chairperson of the CUS Committee.


17. "We don't expect them to be pure, white and Christian overnight," declared Mrs. ---, "It is a hard thing --- climbing up the hill. We've got to keep at it and never let them down." From an interview in the Sun, Vancouver, June 11, 1966.

18. This attitude was of great importance in the house mother's reaction to her replacement in the Home, and her subsequent activities regarding the project.

19. Personal communication.

20. Despite this, she referred to the presence of the white student in the Home as beneficial because the visits of her friends and family introduced the "girls to a better class of white people." (The student came from a family of intellectuals.)


22. Quotations taken from an interview in the Sun, Vancouver, June 11, 1966.

23. In the only written report to the Board she made that summer the house mother stated that "Girls in home need constant (except when sleeping) supervision, they have no initiative."

25. The psychiatrist, the lawyer and I were delegated to do the interviewing.

26. Minutes of the Management Board Meeting, September 22, 1966. I was again delegated to participate in this discussion.


29. Ibid. By-Law 3.

30. Ibid. By-Law 5.


32. Ibid. By-Law 7.
The Co-operative Home for Indian Women

Approaching the End
Chapter Two focussed almost exclusively on the internal relations of the project. The unconsciously racist attitudes of the students and professionals was discussed together with the contrasting reactions to racism exhibited by the house mother and the staff person. The only non-members considered were the small donors, although passing reference was made to other agencies and organizations as they directly affected the residents. Chapter Two established the presence of racism in the project. The stage is now set for the final act. Chapter Three documents the drama played out by the major protagonists, the Board and the CUS Committee on the one side and the AMS executive on the other. It begins with discussion of the funding policies and large donors. After presenting a breakdown of the financial position of the Home at various points in its history, I present a lengthy discussion of the relationship of the CUS Committee and the Home to the AMS, focussing specifically on the AMS Treasurer and his frequent interventions. This detailed data is necessary in order to place in correct perspective the financial, legalistic and bureaucratic arguments alternately used by the AMS Executive as justifications for its unconstitutional interference. The Chapter continues with a description of the "investigation" and subsequent report done by the AMS Executive in response to the "bad" publicity resulting from the house mother's protestations. After analyzing the report and subsequent press release, the Chapter concludes with a description of the activities of the Board and staff person prior to the forcible eviction in April, by the AMS Executive, of the residents. As the events unfold it becomes evident that the cause of failure was due to neither "crude external direction" on the part of the Board nor bureaucratic inefficiency.
The structures of the two Boards and their unofficial melding was discussed in the previous chapter. There are, however, other interrelationships which must be discussed. As suggested, there was a discrepancy in background information and experience which was not rectified nor even dealt with until the staff change forced the Board to confront the question of whether the project was to be a co-operative or a hostel operation. The meld of the two Boards, because of its unofficial nature, resulted in some confusion about expected roles. Two of the non-students originally appointed to the Advisory Board took an active role in the melded Board while others attended only sporadically and evinced relatively little interest. As suggested in Chapter Two none of these Board members had experience with group-living situations of either a hostel or co-operative type. They also seemed to lack concern for the maintenance of good administrative practices although at least two of them were in business for themselves. The one non-student appointed originally to the Management Board, a member of the School of Social Work at U.B.C. was absent for the summer and began to attend meetings on a regular basis only after the start of the fall academic term.

It was therefore left to the student members to rectify the deficiencies of the Board as best they could. My predecessor as CUS Chairperson established an efficient filing system which was maintained for the duration of the project. Maintenance of the system was aided by the Board's policy that correspondence concerning the Home was sent from and received by the CUS office at the university although the policy was established solely to avoid publicizing the actual address of the residence itself. The policy had a further result which was that the CUS Chairperson was placed in a pivotal position in terms
of all the relationships between the staff, the Board, outside agencies and groups and the Alma Mater Society.

I, in my position as CUS Chairperson, appointed two new students to the Board in September of 1966. One was the Treasurer of the CUS Committee, a Senior Commerce student, who was to take responsibility for the financial concerns of the project, a task which the AMS Treasurer had performed pro tem during the summer months. The other student was appointed as secretary and took responsibility for reproducing and distributing the minutes of each meeting and handling the necessary correspondence. As the agendas were set at the end of each meeting we did not feel the need to circulate written agendas prior to each regular meeting although two agendas were included in letters sent to all Board members in November and December of 1966. The first of these was to consider the status of the house mother who was accusing the Board of having fired her during her absence. The second was to adopt the constitution as the pre-requisite to incorporation as an independent entity under the Societies Act of B.C.

The minutes of the meetings reflected the Board's emphasis on discussion rather than the passing of motions. They more closely resemble transcripts of the discussion than they do records of motions for subsequent legal justification of actions taken. Although the style of minute-taking was called into question by the Alma Mater Society it has proved a valuable source of information on the thinking of the Board.

The most crucial question for the existence of the project at its inception and for some time after was the concern for adequate funding. The process
of securing sufficient financial support for the project began in January of 1966, four months before the Home opened. A brief was drafted and sent with a covering letter to all large corporate concerns in the province with particular attention paid to corporations employing Indian people or exploiting their resources. Letters were also sent to the Board of Governors at U.B.C., to all of the major voluntary organizations, and to the major unions. Another letter stressing the need for donations in kind was sent to other smaller volunteer groups and to non-government social service agencies.

In response to appeals of the latter sort the Salvation Army responded most generously, providing the bulk of the necessary furnishings. To those appeals sent to the former group, the largest donation came fully a year later in the form of a 23-inch console television set complete with suitably inscribed plaque from the Columbia Cellulose Company, Ltd. They were one of the ten replies received from over 100 letters sent. Two lumber concerns and one fish packer stated directly that they were "unable" to support concerns of "a sociological and welfare effort of this nature". Three others, (two of which were distilleries) said they had referred the request either to a local subsidiary or committee from whom nothing further was heard. MacMillan Bloedel and Powell River Limited donated $200 and wishes for success. The British Columbia Telephone Company declined "due to budgetary limitations". The Vancouver Sun's donations budget had been finalized and was not flexible enough to include new charitable donations at that time. The UBC Board of Governors, several members of which were representatives of the corporations mentioned above, did not grant any monies. Two members did give individual donations totalling $125.
Despite these meager contributions from industry the total donations shown on the books as of June 1, 1966 were $590 and by September 1, 1966, $1056. This sum included many smaller donations from groups and individuals, some as a result of the letters sent, others as a result of the talks and interviews given by the house mother. (Cf. further discussion of the small contributors below.) The Students' Council of the UBC Alma Mater Society, endorsed in principle the CUS proposal for the project February 7, 1966 and voted "an amount not to exceed $200" on March 28, 1966.

The Board of Directors of the Vancouver Indian Center Society pledged their co-operation and on annual grant to the project on January 26, 1966. Due to financial difficulties it was not until May 24, 1966 that they were able to forward a cheque for $100 with the hope of providing regular financial assistance in the future.

Curiously, none of the financial statements include or even allude to the 1965-66 Graduating Class Gift, approved unanimously by the General Meeting of the Graduating Class on February 3, 1966. This gift amounted to $2,078.80. The original reason given by the AMS Treasurer for its exclusion from the statements was that the exact amount was not known and could not be known for some time as the motion granting the gift to the Co-operative Home was conditional on the prior purchase of one 8-man and one 4-man rowing shell. As these shells were to be purchased in Italy it would be some time before the final costs could be assessed. The rationale used by the Treasurer for the omission was that until this matter had been finalized no monies whatsoever could be credited to the Home. However he himself referred to a
guaranteed advance of $1,200 given by the Graduating Class in a document written September 7, 1966. The whole matter would have been of less importance were it not for subsequent statements made by the Treasurer and utilized to the fullest by the house mother in her fund raising activities, suggesting that the Home would have to close due to lack of funds. Their statements were made with some regularity over the summer and into the fall of 1966 in letters to contributors and memos to board members. In the light of the Graduating Class Gift these statements were misleading at best.

While the AMS Treasurer and house mother were engaged in these activities, the in-coming and out-going Chairpersons of the CUS Committee were attempting to secure further large grants to ensure stable long-term funding of the project. To this end they applied to the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation in July of 1966 for a grant of $3,500 to subsidize the operation of the project for a one-year period. The Koerner Foundation replied in October with a grant of $2,500 "to be used solely for the purpose designated unless specific permission is received from the Board of Governors of the Foundation to apply it otherwise."

The two members of the Board, together with the lawyer, also investigated other funding sources including Children's Aid (which expressed interest but made no subsequent donation), the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State), Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Social Service Department of the City of Vancouver. Neither of the federal departments were empowered to give direct financial aid as federal monies had to be channelled through provincial sources. This gave
the Board its first impetus to begin discussing the process of incorporation as an independent society. The possibility of qualifying for these federal-provincial funds was negligible if the Home remained under the AMS structure.

Despite the fact that the Co-operative Home, as with most other volunteer projects of a social action nature, saved the formal administrative apparatus large sums of money per year, the Home representatives met with a less than helpful reception from the Social Service Department of the City of Vancouver. At a meeting held with the director and his assistant and the in-coming and out-going CUS Chairpersons in the summer of 1966, the welfare officials could offer nothing in the way of advice or aid in financing the project.

This lack of support fortunately proved not to be a handicap to the project, particularly as the projected salary disbursement of $3,600 per year was, due to the staff change, reduced to a total expenditure of $1,450. (Tables 1 and 3)
Table 1


Revenue:
- Rentals - 6 women @ 60/month $4,320.00

Expenditures:
- Salaries @ $300/month $3,600.00
- Food, Sundries, etc. @ $250/month 3,000.00
- Rent @ $125/month 1,500.00
- Utilities @ $50/month 600.00

Total Expenditures $8,700.00

Net Expenditure: $4,380.00


Table 2

Actual Income and Expenditures April 15, 1966 to June 1, 1966.

Revenue:
- Rentals * 237.00
- Donations 590.00

Total Revenue $827.00

Expenditures:
- Salary 380.40
- Food, Sundries, etc. 251.28
- Rent and Utilities 307.65

Total Expenditures 939.33

Net Expenditures: $112.33

*Not including Graduating Class Gift.
Source: AMS Revenue Ledger Card, to June 1, 1966.

Table 3

Actual Income and Expenditures June 1, 1966 to November 20, 1967*

Revenue:
- Rentals $2,888.25
- Donations
  - Koerner Grant 2,500.00
  - Sundry Donations 1,413.00
  - Grad. Class Gift 2,078.80

Total Revenue 5,991.80

Expenditures:
- Salary (June 15 - Sept. 30 Including CPP and Holiday pay.) 1,070.39
- Food, Sundries, etc. 1,837.17
- Rent and Utilities 2,139.35

Total Expenditures 5,047.91

Balance remaining at closure of Home 3,740.81

*The Home actually ceased operation in May, 1967.
Source: "CUS Co-operative Home" report by AMS Treasurer, November 20, 1967.
Taking a monthly average from Table 3 of the rental income and expenditures for rent and utilities and for food and sundries but excluding wages, the excess of expenditure over income, that is, the subsidy needed per month is approximately $99 or $1,188 per year. Allowing a rate of 6% inflation per year while not considering possible interest accruing to the balance, there were sufficient funds to continue the Home at the same rate of subsidy for almost three years.

Of the donations received the Koerner grant represented over 40% of the total and the Graduating Class Gift approximately 35% of the total. The individual and corporate donations (exclusive of donations in kind) represents slightly more than 20% of the total. The time expended in soliciting these funds compared with that spent in obtaining the other two large donations far outweighed the amount received. More significantly, the number of interventions and the outspoken criticism which many of the small donors felt justified in offering, particularly after the staff change far outweighed the importance of the funds contributed by them.

The reaction of many of these small contributors might have been anticipated. Their contributions had been solicited either through "human interest" articles in the press or by talks given by the house mother, both of which emphasized the helplessness rather than the independence of the resident. When the contributors discovered that the project was being made into a functioning co-operative in which the residents were prepared to take a major role they were upset. Some also registered their disapproval of the staff change. In many of the conversations I had with donors who telephoned to complain about
the changes in "their" project, they assumed a stance of righteous anger at our replacing the native house mother who, by their definition, was competent to handle natives. Few had bothered to ascertain that the house mother's replacement was also native. Some who had, were still angered because the house mother was a respectable Indian while the new staff person was not because of her political activities. Although none of these people came to any meetings (nor were they invited at this point) they indirectly affected the closure of the project by providing the AMS with a rationale - bad publicity - for becoming directly involved with the project.

The relationship of the local committee of the Canadian Union of Students to the Alma Mater Society was unique in some respects to all the committees organized under that umbrella. The AMS Code stated that Chairpersons of Standing Committees, of which the CUS Committee was one, "are annually appointed in the spring at a joint meeting of out-going and in-coming Students' Councillors" and "may be removed at any time by Students' Council". Further,

"the chairman is responsible for selecting his committee or sub-committee chairman. He must be prepared to report to Students' Council from time to time. Whenever possible, the President shall appoint Students' Councillors to act in an advisory capacity and as a liason to these committees."

"Detrimental members of committees may be removed by the chairman."

Concerning minutes and reports, the Code stated:

"Minutes and reports of both general and executive meetings of these committees shall be forwarded to the Students' Council immediately after the said meetings for consideration, ultimate approval, amendment, or rejection by the Students' Council."

Despite this directive, the CUS Committee was not expected by the AMS to submit regular minutes as were other of the organizations considered as
standing committees and, in three years of weekly AMS minutes, that is, from June 3, 1965 to April 10, 1968, those minutes and reports submitted to Students' Council were "received" as distinct from the other standing committees whose minutes were "considered, approved, amended or rejected". This distinction may in part have been due to the nature of the Canadian Union of Students as a national organization whose membership was composed of the various Students' Councils in Canada, thereby making the Students' Council President also the president of the local grouping (of whatever form) of the CUS, a structure unique to this national student organization. The close relationship between the UBC-AMS CUS Committee Chairpersons from 1965 to 1967, and the national secretariat of CUS might also have had some effect in the matter. In the period 1966-67, I as CUS Chairperson, which administering some separate programs, worked in close conjunction with the AMS President, frequently in the capacity of political advisor on matters of education, also no doubt a contributing factor in this different relationship vis-a-vis the Code and Council procedure. Whatever the reasons, however, the relationship was distinct from that of other committees and the relative autonomy much greater. 24

This autonomy did not extend to separate budgeting or financial arrangements. All committees and organizations constituted under the Alma Mater Society participated in a central bookkeeping system administered by the staff of the AMS. The Co-operative Home, as a project of the CUS Committee, also came under this financial arrangement. As such, the donations to the Home were not tax deductible since the AMS was not considered eligible for tax deductible status. 25 The AMS, acting through the Treasurer, had the legal authority to freeze the funds in any account which was suspected of mismanagement.
This was a measure included in the Constitution for the protection of the Society from misappropriations of its funds but was not intended to include situations such as that of the Co-operative Home where the Society was acting solely as "banker" for outside funds. (This position was clarified by the decision regarding AMS control over Graduating Class funds.) The dual reasons of funding and financial control figured largely in the discussions by the Management Board of procedures for incorporating the project as an independent legal entity.

The difficulties with the AMS Executive and Council, which led to the demise of the Home, began somewhat innocuously when the newly elected AMS Treasurer acted as pro tem treasurer of the project for the summer while he was on salary. In a letter to the first Chairperson of the Board, dated May 18, 1966, he commented that the house mother required assistance with bookkeeping as she had been unable to keep the rentals, the "imprest fund", and her own money separate and had no receipts for anything. He requested that a person be assigned by the Board to handle the finance and act as signing officer as "I am sorry that time does not permit me to do this and act as a kind of diplomatic watchdog over the whole operation." Because of the summer break it was not until September that a competent student could be found. The Treasurer had suggested that "a close and careful record be kept of all who stay at the home and the correct rentals be collected." As previously indicated, the house mother did not welcome this kind of scrutiny by students and no non-student member of either Board was willing or indeed able to take responsibility. It was hoped that the student member of the Board residing in the Home could take over the bookkeeping functions but this did not prove feasible.
In mid-July the Treasurer sent another letter to the Chairperson concerning the management of the Home. Throughout the rather lengthy letter he used the pronoun "we", although he made distinctions between this "we" and the Board, making it unclear whether he considered himself part of the project or of a body above the project. His complaints were all with the Board and its manner of functioning. He found no fault with the house mother but rather praised her competence. Among the criticisms he enumerated of the Boards were: having attended two Board meetings without having met "all the Board", and not receiving agendas and previous minutes prior to meetings, about which he commented that "many professional people whom we are asking to assist in this project do not wish to waste their time waiting for a meeting to start and do not especially appreciate sloppy procedures, lack of Agenda, etc."

The criticisms he levelled were not considered very meaningful. Of the Board members he had not met, one had been dropped because she had never attended a meeting, one had resigned because of a job transfer and the remaining three were away for the summer, a fact of which he had been informed prior to the writing of his letter. The student members of the Board found this criticisms of absenteeism and tardiness at meetings somewhat frivolous as they had attended many summer Students' Council meetings which had been forced to adjourn for lack of a quorum. The particular item he referred to as "sloppy procedure" was the failure to circulate minutes and agendas prior to meetings. The Students' Council dealing as it did with many subsidiary organizations and having agendas with up to twenty housekeeping items, found
In this same letter the Treasurer castigated the Board for making the house mother carry "the responsibility for ensuring her own pay cheque" and for allowing her to appoint an assistant for whom she requested of the Treasurer an increase in salary. He again ignored information given to him previously. He seemed to prefer the funding style of the house mother to that adopted by the Board which was to seek out large grants and donations which would permit assured long term funding. Perhaps an indication of this was that the Treasurer undertook to respond personally to many of the small donors without informing either the Board or the CUS Committee of their having been received and while claiming lack of time to act as signing officer. The action on his part made the CUS Committee's attempts to keep good records of funds received much more difficult.

He continuously expressed confidence in the house mother's abilities and stated more than once that she was doing a good job. The Treasurer saw the house mother only on those occasions when she came to the AMS offices to deposit money and deliver bills as he did not attend meetings regularly nor had he ever voluntarily visited the Home or spoken to the residents. His confidence in her financial abilities was nil which raises the question of the bases for his positive judgement of her. The most logical response, which he provided, was that she was Indian and in order not to appear racist he would not question her at all except in an area which many found to be beyond their efficient capabilities.
He concluded his letter by saying "I am somewhat concerned about the student funds that have been committed to this project and it is quite possible that Students' Council might consider suspending the project if these funds and the entire project are being mismanaged". It is not clear on what basis he was making this threat as the only student funds committed to the project were the $200 granted in March of 1966 and long since spent. The only other funds which fit this description were the monies donated by the Graduating Class of 1966. If the Treasurer had attempted to suspend these funds they would have been ultra vires of their own constitution.

The Treasurer continued his policy of criticizing the Board and encouraging the house mother in her activities even when they went against the express policy of the Board. Despite his demands that the project become better organized in terms of the Board he frequently published or endorsed information himself which was erroneous or against the Board's policies. On several occasions when replying to donors on the CUS Committee's writing behalf he gave out the address of the residence as well as invitations to visit it despite the existence of a standard letter of acknowledgement which stated "We have taken care not to advertise the location in respect of the privacy of the members of the Home." He also circulated a progress report prepared by the house mother which by omitting mention of the organizational structure implied that the project had no relation to the students; included the Home's address and telephone number; and was signed by the house mother as "Executive Director" of the hostel. One consistent inclusion in his correspondence to donors at this time was the statement that "we are planning to
incorporate the Home under the Societies Act" in the hopes of gaining government funding.

In a progress report authored by the Treasurer in September, 1966 he repeated this statement suggesting that "incorporation will be completed sometime in October." He mentions the guarantee of funds from the Graduating Class in the course of quoting large sections from the preliminary fund-raising brief (by then badly out of date). His only suggestion was to increase the house mother's salary by $50 to $300 as "it is unreasonable to expect one person to run this Home on a twenty-four hour, seven day week basis at a salary of $250...." The Board had anticipated him and had authorized the AMS to raise her salary two months prior to the writing of this report. That they had done so it indicated by the Revenue Ledger Cards.

In September, the incoming CUS Chairperson appointed a fourth year Commerce student as treasurer and signing officer for both the CUS Committee and the Co-op Home. This student had headed one of the special interest committees of the AMS the previous year. The AMS Treasurer refused to authorize him as signing officer for the project although he gave no reason and it was not within his powers to take this action. As outlined above, the executive and/or council could dismiss a Chairperson but had no means other than via the Chairperson to remove a member of a committee. This man did remain as unofficial treasurer and spent much time with the residents and the new staff person setting up procedures and explaining the intricacies of bookkeeping to them. However, the AMS Treasurer retained control of the financial disbursements of the project throughout his term of office.
The actions of the Treasurer when contrasted to his criticisms of the Board imply a number of things. He seemed totally impervious of the added difficulties he was causing the Board by his unilateral actions. His experience of groups other than Students' Council was limited to the Varsity Inter-Christian Fellowship and the campus branch of the Social Credit League both of which he had headed in previous years. He was therefore very inexperienced in dealing either with social action programs or with administrative functions other than those of the AMS. His relations with the house mother were a good example of the type of racism which masquerades as anti-racism by refusing to admit any differences. He was then forced to develop criticisms of the Board, which although valid in some respects, were not reflected in his own actions or the behaviour of the organization of which he was an executive officer.

The second group of individuals and organizations who involved themselves in the Home's functioning were brought together by the house mother. After her angry departure from the October Board meeting she contacted many of the individuals and groups to whom she had spoken when fund raising, the media, and representatives of federal and provincial departments, requesting their intervention with the Board on her behalf. The house mother made three charges: the first that the Board had fired her, secondly that the residents were being mistreated and thirdly, that the nature of the project had been changed. She made these charges to the lawyer in a telephone conversation but did not further communicate with the Board. The CUS Chairperson received numerous letters and telephone calls in the next six weeks all expressing some degree of concern over these charges. Most of
These calls were from the donors of small sums discussed above.

Notification was sent out after the extraordinary October meeting (cf. Chapter Two, Section 2) of a joint meeting of the Management and Advisory Boards to be held November 8, 1966. Eight members of the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center Board, one youth member from the center, and the AMS President and Treasurer attended this meeting as observers. The house mother did not attend.

Despite this interest in the meeting by the other organizations at least two of the non-student members of the Boards, including the Chairperson, did not attend. The business of the meeting began with a reading of two significant pieces of correspondence. The first letter was the announcement of the grant of $2,500 from the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation. The second letter was the first of a series of letters from the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society concerning a $100 donation they had given to the house mother in September, 1966. The letters from these two organizations are interesting to compare particularly considering the amounts of money involved in each case. The Leon and Thea Koerner foundation made no similar demands for explanations despite the state of publicity in the next few months and the amount of money involved in their grant.

As the minutes of the joint Board meeting have been re-written in the AMS style which records only motions moved and omits any record of discussion, the exact procedure of the meeting is unavailable. However, memory and
other documentation make it possible to reconstruct the discussion to some degree. The second agenda item was a report on the Home by the new staff person and the new student Chairperson of the reconstructed Management Board. This report included discussion of the three issues which the house mother has raised as queries. The first was the status of the house mother as she was now claiming she has been dismissed while the Board maintained that she resigned. The second charge was that the nature of the project had been changed and the third was that at least some of the residents were being mistreated. The members of the Indian Center Board seemed to find the explanations given in the report quite satisfactory as they did not pursue them further. The one exception was the Executive Director of the Center, a non-Indian, who supported the house mother totally in her advocacy of a hostel cum crisis center and felt strongly that the Co-operative Home should become such a facility. To this end she sent a hand written statement (Appendix 3) to be read at the meeting. No discussion prior to or subsequent to the meeting could convince her that her position vis-a-vis the Home might not be completely correct.

After the financial report by the AMS Treasurer had been adopted it was decided to call another joint Board meeting for two weeks hence at which time the agenda would include a final determination of the status of the house mother, specifically her status on leaving; discussion on incorporation; possibility of electing a chairperson for the reconstructed Advisory Board; and finally, whether a policy for admission to the Home would be set and if so who would establish the criteria. A draft constitution and the minutes of the November 13th and 17th Management Committee meetings and the
proposed agenda were sent out to all Board members November 17, 1966.34

The November 13th minutes record among other things: a) that the Indian Center had been formally requested to evaluate each resident in terms of the benefit (or lack thereof) of the environment offered by the Home and to recommend, where necessary, placement in a different setting; b) that although the Home was now being run by the residents "there is still a form of authority through the Indian Center Counsellors (who, together with Indian Affairs Branch counsellors had the power to remove residents if they felt the situation was not conducive to the individual's well-being); c) the draft constitution was passed; d) "The Board is anxious to set up, in affiliation with the Indian Center, a Hostel for Indian Girls to be placed under the direction of the house mother. The staff person has written to the Company of Young Canadians to interest them in the project. It is hoped that CYC volunteers could help in the running of the Hostel."

The meeting on November 17th passed two motions of some interest, the first, that "various campus societies be approached for volunteer workers for the Home", the second, that all press releases for the project be written by a specified member of the editorial board of the student newspaper. The latter motion was passed in hopes of controlling the news releases issued by both the Students' Council and the house mother. An example of the type of reportage the Board hoped to stop is the announcement of the November 22nd joint Board meeting which appeared in the Vancouver Sun. (Appendix 4.)

Despite the mailed notices and the ensuing (if incorrect) publicity, the
ten Management Committee members but only two of the Advisory Board members attended the November 22nd meeting. These did not include the lawyer or the psychiatrist, both of whom had had significant roles in the determination of the staff change and neither of whom notified the Chairperson of their intended absence. Concerning the first agenda item, the status of the house mother, the following motion was moved by an Advisory Board member and carried unanimously:

"As there appears to be a great deal of uncertainty about the status of [the house mother] in the Co-operative Home for Indian Girls the Board wishes to emphasize that on no occasion did this board dismiss [the house mother]. [The house mother] left the Home having received her salary; she received holiday pay on October 31. This would indicate that [the house mother] had severed her connection with the Home.

"Since [the house mother] states that she in fact had not resigned the Board feels that she is entitled to a monetary compensation to be mutually worked out between [the house mother] and the Alma Mater Society as her legal employer."

The second agenda item involved presentation of the constitution and a discussion of some proposed alterations to render it legally acceptable to the Societies Act. The decision whether or not to elect a chairperson for the Advisory Board was not considered at this time due to the presence of only two Advisory Board members.

The question of criteria for an admissions policy involved first a report stemming from the request to the Indian Center Counsellors to evaluate the individual residents. It was necessary to pass a motion to the effect that the Management Board (called here the Student Resource Board, after the draft constitution) "contact the respective counsellors of two girls not suited to the environment of the Home and request that other accommodation be found."
In the spirit of the draft constitution it was decided that new admissions would be accepted between Board meetings if they had been referred by a dependable agency.

This meeting, despite its appearance of rationality, was carried out in an atmosphere of strain and tension. Two days after the November 8 meeting the AMS Executive decided to "conduct an investigation of the CUS Co-op Home". Each person, known by the Executive to have been involved in the project with the exception of all the residents was sent a memorandum from the AMS President requesting a written report (to be received by him five days after the issuing of the memo) which was to contain:

"A frank discussion and evaluation of the project to date, including comments on the following:-
  1. Brief outline of your involvement in the project.
  2. The effectiveness and function of the Management Board.
  3. The proposed change in policy (sic.)"36

As well the CUS Chairperson was requested to submit to the Treasurer by the same time limit,

"1. Composition of the various Boards since the home's inception.
  2. Number of Board meetings with dates and members present.
  3. Present composition of the Board(s).
  4. All past minutes of the Board."37

The resulting Report, written by the AMS Treasurer and First Vice-President (the AMS member mentioned in Chapter Two, Section 2 as visiting the Home in a personal capacity) was issued November 24, 1966, a Thursday, and sent to Students' Council the following Monday for approval. The "investigators" did not see fit to attend the joint Board meeting November 22 to appraise the Boards of its recommendations, nor did they give either the residents
or staff any opportunity to discuss the recommendations prior to their release. Those most closely concerned with the Home, particularly the residents and staff read of the decisions in the newspapers. The Public Relations Office of the AMS issued a press release November 25, 1966 (before the Council meeting had approved the document) which quoted liberally and by name from the supposedly confidential reports without even obtaining the permission of those they quoted. Significantly perhaps, they chose not to quote any of the "professionals", only the students and staff person.

The report as presented to Students' Council is reproduced below.

"A letter was sent out under the signature of the President, to various people involved in the project requesting them to critically evaluate the Home and make recommendations thereto. The replies have generally been of great assistance in giving us a greater understanding of the project and in guiding us in the formulation of some recommendations. Most of them merited more than one or two readings.

"Some may question the propriety of the Executive or the Alma Mater Society investigating the Home but as it is legally an AMS sponsored project administered by the CUS Committee and has also received considerable student financial support, it justifies our continued interest. Some interest and action on our part is also justified because of some of the internal problems which have arisen with respect to the management of the Home which have caused concern amongst the press and others interested in the project.

"It was envisaged that the role of the Alma Mater Society should be restricted to assisting in the establishment of the Home with the idea that the Project might assume incorporated status at a later date. We would hope that this general policy would continue.

PURPOSE

"The Home was originally envisaged as:-

1. Enabling displaced young Indian women to find a proper environment in Vancouver in what might be called a "co-operative" home. There has been considerable discussion as to whether the Home should be of a "hostel" nature with a stronger institutional flavour, full-time house mother and catering more to crisis situations. Under
this policy the Home tends to accommodate shorter term occupants and has the real possibility of assuming a flop-house function. The other view advanced has proposed a more "co-operative" home for girls who are probably equally as much in need of such an environment but on a longer term and less institutionalized basis. This incorporates the philosophy of allowing more decision-making within the living group and less in the way of authority figures. In our opinion, the latter policy, which has been adopted by the students in the project should be continued although it must be very clear that this is not a co-op for well-established working girls but one to assist those from Skid Row, those who have just touched it, or those that can and want to benefit from such an environment.

"We would urge that the Board continue within these terms of reference but it should draw up a much clearer and more detailed policy statement.

**ORGANIZATION**

"It was the unanimous conclusion of those replying that this was the gravest weakness in the project. So much so that one of the Board members (professional) has indicated organizational procedures must be corrected if he is to remain a member of the Board.

"We are very conscious of the undesirability of undue interference in the affairs of such a project and fully recognize the energy and enthusiasm which students are contributing to it. Nevertheless, a certain standard of performance should be expected of any committee related to the Alma Mater Society especially one where it is in contact with the general public and involved in such a vital project.

"We therefore recommend that the Executive, with the approval of Students' Council, ensure the organizational structure of the Home is tightened up and functioning properly. We would recommend that the following motion be passed.

1. That the following be appointed to the Board:

[Of the twelve Board members, six were to be students and six non-students. Of the students "appointed" five were executive members of the re-constituted Management Board and included the man appointed Treasurer (who was in fact "re-appointed" Treasurer but who had been refused signing powers by the AMS Treasurer.) The remaining student appointee was the AMS Secretary. Of the six non-students, the staff person was included but the other elected representative of the Home was not. The five remaining had been members of the Advisory Board with varying degrees of activity and interest]
2. That this Board be recognized as the official Board and be solely responsible for directing those affairs of the Home which properly fall within its jurisdiction. Further, that the Board meet at least once a month.

3. The Board draft a clear statement of policy for the Home consistent with the concept of assisting young Indian girls who will benefit from a co-operative home environment.

4. The Board determine and implement any further policies conductive (sic) to the operation of the Home.

5. That the rules of procedure and method of recording minutes used by the Alma Mater Society be adopted by the Board.

6. That all minutes, documents, etc., be deposited promptly with the Alma Mater Society Executive Secretary for distribution and receipt by Students' Council.

7. That any changes in the composition of the Board be based upon the recommendation of the Chairman with the approval of Students' Council.

8. That the Chairman be normally appointed in March at a joint meeting of the in-coming and out-going Councils." (emphasis added.)

The one issue clarified by the report was that of the "proposed change" in policy. As the report indicates there was no change of policy either proposed or effected. In the section "Organization" they state that certain standards of organization must be maintained. An interesting sidelight on this question involves correspondence with the legal firm retained by the AMS concerning license and zoning regulations in relation to the proposed lease agreement between the Co-operative Home and the landlord in April of 1966. The original, dated April 18, 1966, was forwarded from the AMS President to the Treasurer and a xerox copy sent to the CUS Chairperson. A few weeks prior to the inception of the investigation the CUS Chairperson asked the Treasurer for a copy of the lease agreement which he claimed had
been signed by the AMS on behalf of the project. After some searching she was told the lease agreement and related correspondence had been lost. A call to the AMS's lawyer bore out the evidence of the xerox copy held by the CUS Committee that, if fact, because of zoning regulations, a binding agreement could not be signed.

In discussing the recommended motion no further specific comment need be made on item 1., the composition of the Board. In item 2., the phrase "which properly fall within its jurisdiction" was never clarified and the fact that the two Boards were meeting a total of three times per month (Management Board, bi-monthly and the Advisory Board, usually in a joint meeting with the Management Board, once a month) was ignored. Item 3., concerning a clear statement of policy ignored the draft constitution although neither of the two "investigators" could possibly have been unaware of its existence as copies had been sent to them and the AMS Treasurer had made mention of incorporation proceedings in almost every piece of correspondence he had sent out concerning the Home. Item 4. seems merely a repetition of item 2. with no further clarification of the terminonoly utilized in either. Item 5. had been adopted previously by both Boards with considerable loss historically in terms of records of discussion excluded by this method of procedure. They had adopted this reporting form as a concession to the AMS. In item 6. the phrase "for distribution and receipt" had been amended from the draft report issued November 24, 1966, which read "for distribution and approval", the only point conceded by the executive in a very bitter session between the executive and myself the afternoon prior to the Council meeting during which many of the comments made here were raised.
by me on behalf of the residents and staff. Item 7. not only ignored the
draft constitution but had the effect of making the passing of such a con­
stitution and subsequent proceedings for incorporation that much more diffi­
cult by demanding the approval of an uninformed, uninterested body, before
any changes could be made in the project. Item 8. had the effect of "eleva­
ting" the project to the status of a Standing Committee independent of the
CUS Committee. The whole motion when presented to the Students' Council
was duly passed after an attempt by two Councillors to talbe the motion was
defeated.41

One of the more notable omissions from the press release, particularly for
persons concerned with the image of the AMS vis-a-vis "the general public
and professionals", was the lack of any mention of the Leon and Thea Koerner
Foundation Grant. The AMS Treasurer, however, was still making pleas for
donations to prevent the project from closing. The President's quote per­
haps summed up the contradictions most completely.

"I am happy to report that the home is making good progress. Naturally, in an ambitious project of this sort, we are bound
to run into a few snags. But a co-operative, self-help home for young Indian women is worth working for. The idealism
of student(sic), combined with the desire of the Indian people to remake their lives, will, I think, ensure the continued
success of the project," he continued.

"I personally thank all the people who have helped us in the
past, and who will, I am sure, continue to do so in the future.
This is one of the few times students at UBC have officially
involved themselves in a major social action project outside
of the immediate problems of education. The AMS will continue
to do everything it can to ensure the continued success of the
project," he concluded."42

Given these arbitrary actions and untrue comments, it is interesting
to look briefly at the major activities of this executive. They, individually
and collectively, were primarily engaged in the campaign for democratization of the university which occupied much of the activity of the planners. Their specific activities centered around student representation on the Senate and open meetings of the Board of Governors. Their rationale was that students had the right to participate in the decisions which governed their lives.

These two documents, the report and the press release bear close analysis. That the authors of the report felt the need to provide a justification for their investigation was indicative of the opposition to it which they were receiving. The justification they offered can be reduced to their concern about bad publicity. The financial justification they raised could only have been based on the monies the project received from the Graduating Class, over which they had no legal control, as the AMS contribution to the project had never gone above the original $200. given the previous spring.

This concern about publicity could be regarded as a legitimate one. However, the executive who endorsed the investigation and the subsequent report had actively participated in a "tent-in" on the campus to protest the Vancouver City Council's policy on illegal suites in the Point Grey area and had also made speeches on the steps of City Hall during the outside worker's strike proclaiming their support for the strike and denouncing as scabs those students who were collecting garbage. The publicity and criticisms which arose from these actions was far more widespread and vocal than the criticism or the press coverage of activities surrounding the project. Given these events the righteousness of their position begins to pale.
The general policy they enunciate in the report of "restricting" the AMS to "assisting in the establishment of the Home" made its first appearance in this document. Apart from the two Council motions approving the project in principle and giving the $200, the AMS as such had had no involvement. The Treasurer had retained control of the books over the protest of the Board, an action to which the other executive members responded with the excuse of incompetence in dealing with the matter because of the internal politics of the executive. However, the effect of their motion would be to make incorporation almost impossible.

The description of the original purpose of the project and the author's concern that no "well-established working girls" should be admitted indicated their lack of familiarity with the project and with the conditions of native people generally and particularly. Their desire to ensure that the project only assist the unfortunates in the society connotes the kind of benevolent paternalism toward native people to which the staff person and many of the students then involved in the project were adamantly opposed.

The members of the AMS executive with the exception of the Treasurer held the same kind of social democratic welfarist views as had the student planners of the project. They seemed to view the project as a good social action project at a time when it was popular for students to show their concern by engaging in social action. This explains their blindness to the incorporation process in which the Board was actively engaged at the time of the investigation. They did not want to lose the project in this way. It further explains why they proposed a re-structuring which would result in the project
becoming a standing committee of the AMS and directly involve the Council and Executive in its functioning.

Their failure to involve the residents of the Home in the process or to even make mention of them except in their discussion of the types of women who would be eligible for admittance was an indication of their regard for native people as children whom one did not need to consult. They focussed the exclusion in the report of any discussion of the staff changes which were the cause of the publicity adds to this conclusion.

The executive members had attempted in every way possible to avoid confronting the race question. The criticisms of the Board's management were no longer apt as was indicated by the high degree of support both physical, in terms of committees, and philosophical, in terms of the acceptance of the constitution drawn up by the staff person and residents.

The members of the Board had undergone considerable changes during their tenure. They had been confronted with the contradictions between their rhetoric of participation and co-operation and their practice of exclusion. By and large they had resolved them in favour of providing backing and material aid when asked and concentrating on educating the non-Indian community about their problem.

The two Board's response to the report was to comply on the small issues such as style of reporting minutes, while defying the Council on the larger ones. Minute 4 of the "Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Indian (sic)
Cooperative House", December 13, 1966, reads "AMS Council recommendations read and circulated." Minute 5 reads, moved and seconded (by two of the professionals)

"That the lawyer re-draft (re-word) the Constitution and that it be circulated to all Board members and members of the AMS Council for examination, with intent to incorporate the society at the next meeting."

These were hopeful plans never to be realized. The executive, once it had "officially involved itself in a major social action project", returned to democratizing the university, leaving the residents, staff and board members exhausted and demoralized. They continued to meet on a regular basis and dealt creditably with the immediate problems of finding new residents, bringing in new volunteers, contacting organizations and individuals outside the university who were interested in the project but the creation of a suitable constitution which would meet the desires of the residents as well as the strictures of the AMS could not be created.

By April, those concerned with the project were thoroughly frustrated. The Minutes of the meeting of the "Board of the Indian Youth Co-operative House for Girls", April 11, 1967 indicate that the Board had decided to implement the spirit of the constitution despite the problems caused by the AMS executive, and to begin to take control of the financial assets of the Home. For example, an addendum to minute 2, accepting the Treasurer's Report, states that "rental incomes being withheld by residents have been deposited in a bank." Minute 4 records that the list of Advisory Board members proposed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution were accepted; Minute 7, "That the House be set up on a co-op basis, with the residents responsible for the operation and financing", was passed. Minute 8 rendered the
staff person responsible for the keeping of financial records and the preparation of a financial statement on the last day of each month, a copy to be forwarded to the Chairperson of the Board. Minute 9 formally established an account at an off-campus bank and authorized two signing officers to include the staff person and "two other residents as may be decided by the residents from time to time and registered with the Bank." Minutes 10, 11, and 12, were of a housekeeping nature, authorizing payment of bills. Minute 13 read "That the balance of funds remaining in the AMS account be under the control of the in-coming Board." They purposefully established these procedures in order to indicate to all concerned that they were withdrawing from the AMS banking and accounting system.

In May of 1967 "the situation had developed to the point where the AMS Executive felt the home was not fulfilling its purpose, and steps were taken to close it down." A more colourful writer might have inserted the phrase "forcibly evict the occupants" in place of "close it down," as the residents felt moved to call in support from the Indian youth community to resist the attempts of the AMS to carry out this step. Nevertheless the "steps" were successful and the Home was closed permanently. The official rationale of the report to Council, November 20th, 1967, and passed by them was as follows:

"The restructured board never really became effective and the affairs of the home drifted on from month to month through the winter and into the spring. The girls in the home appear to have been making a genuine effort to form a viable co-operative group throughout this period but their efforts were being frustrated though inexperience in co-operative living, and an inability to manage their own affairs, together with a muddled relationship between the co-op home, the Board, the CUS Committee, and the AMS, which was the responsible fiscal agent." (emphasis added)
In fact the AMS had refused to turn over the funds to the control of the Board although, once again, they had no legal control over them as they were not student monies.

The author of this report, then Treasurer of the AMS, and former chairperson of the local committee of the World University Service, included an epilogue to his brief "history" of the project.

"The failure of the Indian co-op home project deserves some thought. A great many people put a lot of effort into the project; some of them were left very bitter at its result. The home received financial support from many individuals and community organizations.

Some will argue that students have no business involving themselves in a community project such as this one. I think that it is essential that they do. Students must present intelligent critical appraisals of existing social institutions and attitudes. Through projects such as the co-op home they can offer challenging innovations, new techniques on approaches in response to perceived social problems. It is not surprising that many such projects fail, but it is important that they be carried through as carefully and as competently as possible.

The Indian Co-op Home was an attempt to use a sophisticated social technique (co-operative living) to solve a complex cultural problem (integration of young Indian women into a white, urban society).

The failure of this project cannot be attributed to inadequate physical resources. Generous donations of money and material were available almost from the inception of the project. I think that the failure of the home can be attributed to two primary causes:

1. The project was never adequately researched. Its aims were not clearly understood, and the implications of the approach were not foreseen.

2. The project did not have a continuous, strong, sensitive leadership. Neither co-op residences nor the Indian culture are amenable to crude external direction. On the other hand, it is apparent that many of the internal problems of the home involving, for instance, the role of the house mother, the management of financial affairs,
the development of autonomy and responsibility, the admission of residents, etc. could have been alleviated by an active, informed Board of Management.

The CUS Indian home is finished and was clearly a failure. What is, unfortunately, not clear is whether it was a failure of conception or in execution."

The author of this "report", subtitled "'The only good Injun is a deed un' General Custer", chose not to present anything resembling a complete accounting of the history of the Home to the Students' Council. His comments were of a sufficiently unspecific nature to render them acceptable as an objective analysis to those who had no prior knowledge of the Home. The Co-operative Home for Indian Women failed but for vastly different reasons than those given by the people who were instrumental in its demise.
Footnotes


2. These were the Truck Loggers' Association, Lucky Lager Breweries, Ltd., and McGuinness Distillers Limited.


4. Letter from J.J. Rooney, Business Manager, April 25, 1966. An interesting sidelight on this particular refusal was a letter sent by the same person a week prior to this one containing a $100 donation and received by me in my capacity as Treasurer of the UBC World University Service Committee. The WUSC fund-raising campaign had been begun a month after the campaign for the CUS project.

5. One hundred dollars of this sum was solicited by personal contact from a member in the summer months and was therefore technically not a part of this funding campaign.

6. The discrepancy between this figure and the one given in fn. 8 of Chapter Two is the approximately $1,200 given by the Graduating Class of 1966, discussed below.

7. Minute 10 of Students' Council Minutes.


9. Letter from A.H. Bayne, Secretary of the Board.

10. Letter from W.J. Mussell, President. They were unable to meet this hope as they encountered further financial difficulties of their own.

11. The sum appeared finally in the financial statements of the report to Students' Council, November 20, 1967, recommending the closure of the project and on the Revenue Ledger Card, April 19, 1968.

12. The Graduating Class monies that year had been inflated due to an action of the 1965-66 Students' Council in freezing the Graduating Class Gift of the previous year which was to have gone to the Three Universities Capital Fund Drive. In the fall of 1965 these funds were unfrozen and added to those of the 1965-66 Graduating Class. This action on the part of the Council provoked the Graduating Class Council to move a motion, January 13, 1966, (#7) seeking an "amendment to the AMS Constitution which will effectively vest financial autonomy over Graduating Class Council monies in the Graduating Class Council and its Graduating Class Students in the General Meeting pursuant to the Graduate Council Constitution." On January 24, 1966, Minute #10 of the Students' Council records the following motion:
"That Students' Council approve in principle for presentation to the AMS Lawyer, the following amendment to the AMS Constitution and By-Laws:-

Notwithstanding anything in the AMS Constitution to the contrary, it is recognized that the Students' Council has no control over the expenditure of the funds of the Graduating Students except:

i) to assure that all expenditures are made pursuant to the relevant provisions of the Constitution of the Graduating Class; and where an expenditure has been approved by the Graduating Students in General Meeting,

ii) to compel the calling of a further General Meeting of the Graduating Students within three weeks time to re-consider any proposed expenditure to which Students' Council objects and any decision of a meeting so called shall be final and conclusive.

Carried."

There is no further reference to the matter in the Minutes of any Students' Council Meeting except the approval on February 14, 1966 (Minute #5) of the Graduating Class General Meeting, February 3, 1966 (Doc. #66-224) which contained the motion on the apportioning of the Graduating Class Gift. The attempt to ascertain whether the Constitutional revision had been made was thwarted as the AMS had lost the pertinent records.

13. "An approach was made to the graduating class at UBC who generously showed their interest in this project by guaranteeing an advance of $1,200 to the project." from "Progress Report: Co-operative Home for Indian Girls", September 7, 1966, written by the Treasurer of the Alma Mater Society. (emphasis added.)


15. This requested subsidy was based on estimated operating costs which included $3,600 in salaries.


17. The Indian Affairs Branch was them empowered to give direct grants to Friendship Centers and to provincial Indian organizations but not to projects other than these.

18. Based on 12 months actual occupancy from April 15, 1966 to April, 1967.

19. This particular Code is listed in the 1967-68 Document file of the AMS as Doc. #68-87.

20. Ibid. Article 3 (2) a.
21. Ibid. Article 3 (2) (b) viii.
22. Ibid. Article 3 (2) (b) ix, x.
23. Ibid. Article 3 (12) emphasis added. Article 3 (11) says that all committees established under Article 3 "shall act in accordance with By-Law 14 of the AMS Constitution" however, I was unable to ascertain the import of this as the AMS are unable to locate a copy of the relevant edition of the Constitution.
24. The Constitutional Revisions of 1967 included a change from Chairperson selected by Council to an executive position, External Affairs Officer, (later changed to Vice-President, External) elected by the students and including all the CUS responsibilities plus those assumed by the CUS Chairperson in 1966-77 (excluding those of the Home).
25. A few of the larger donation earmarked for the Home from well-known individuals were diverted by the Treasurer through the Alumni Annual Giving Fund, and thereby obtained tax exemption.
26. A major factor militating against any person who was employed full-time taking on the job was that the AMS office hours were 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. only.
27. These "special interest" committees included Frosh Orientation, Leadership Conference, Homecoming, etc.
28. When the CUS Chairperson appealed to other members of the executive for aid in this and other matters she was told they could be of no assistance as she was more competent in the matters than they.
29. Verbal communication to the writer in September, 1967 by the then B.C. Regional Officer of the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State.
30. The B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society first contacted the Board Chairperson in June requesting information about the project in order to consider it for financial assistance. An extensive reply was sent to their Corresponding Secretary which referred her to the in-coming CUS Chairperson for further information. In late September, executive members of the organization visited the Home and presented the House mother with a cheque for $100. The house mother did not inform the Board of either the visit or the donation which was simply deposited to the account with the AMS. The Society followed up their visit with a letter from the Corresponding Secretary to the house mother which made mention of the house mother's "endeavour to get the Vancouver Friendship Center to take an active interest and to assist in financing the Co-Op House" and requested written acknowledgement and a receipt for the donation. This letter, which was forwarded to the CUS Chairperson as it arrived after the house mother had left, was the first information the Board received of the Society's interest in the project. The letter which was read at the November joint Board meeting, was the first of three received in the next two months. They are reproduced
as Appendix 2.

31. This person was the student who had moved out of the residence and now resumed active involvement in the project when the new staff person took over.

32. One example of this mistreatment cited by the house mother was that one of the young women found the presence of the staff person's nine month old baby upsetting.

33. On January 31, 1966 she had sent a letter to the CUS Chairperson congratulating the committee for its project and the approach which she then described as "creative and refreshing". Her ideas on supervision seemed, though, to more closely parallel those of the house mother, for example, in her capacity as Executive Director of the Center, she reserved the right to edit each edition of the Center young people's newsletter before she would allow it to be printed.

34. The Management Committee, as reconstructed, consisted of ten members, all of whom were students.

35. From the first draft of the Minutes for this meeting. They were subsequently rewritten "according to AMS format" by a motion at the following meeting which meant removal of all record of discussion, leaving only a record of motions moved.

36. Alma Mater Society Interdepartmental Memo, November 10, 1966. The Sun article, reprinted in Appendix 3, must have combined this memo with the date of the regular Students' Council Meeting to arrive at the date of November 14.


38. The confidentiality had been invoked when members of the Board requested access to some of the reports after the AMS had completed its investigation and made its report.


40. That this confused situation concerning the rental status of the Home could have arisen was directly due to the reluctance of the AMS Treasurer to release the financial controls.

41. Minutes #13, 14, and 15, Meeting of the Students' Council, November 28, 1966.

42. The name given at the end of the press release as the contact for further information was that of the Chairperson of the CUS Committee.

43. AMS Document #68-21.

44. "CUS Co-operative Home" submitted to the Students' Council, November 20, 1967, by the then AMS Treasurer.
Understanding the Failure
The Co-operative Home for Indian Women was effectively closed when the residents and staff person were forcibly evicted by the AMS executive in May of 1967. The official ending of the project occurred in late November of that year when the report by the then Treasurer, subtitled "The only good Injun is a deed un" was accepted by the Students' Council together with a recommendation for the disbursement of the balance in the account of $3,740.81. This report, extensively quoted above, gave as the primary causes for the project's failure inadequate research and gross lack of leadership by the Board.

The question of lack of research was first raised by the AMS in this report. I and some of the other student members of the Board had raised the question as a criticism of ourselves in our submissions to the AMS "investigation" in November of 1966. By May of 1967 the problem was no longer real. The discussions prompted by the house mother's charges concerning the purpose and procedures of the project had provided all those involved with the project with a better understanding of co-operative methods. The influence of the staff person and her successful attempts to draw together native and non-native young people in both formal and informal social and political settings had done much to educate those involved in the project in the cultural similarities and differences. As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 1, the problems with the Home would have been substantially minimized if this process of education had occurred before the project's inception rather than well after it had begun. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the inadequacies had been overcome and the original ideals of the project were being met as much as they could be without control over the financial assets. Lack of
adequate research, unclear aims and unforeseen implications on the part of those directly involved in the project were not a primary cause for the project's failure.

The charge of mismanagement, described in the Treasurer's report as "crude external direction" was a leit motif running through all the AMS pronouncements on the project.

A Ubessey story, February 7, 1967, four months prior to the Home's demise is entitled "Despite AMS Co-op House operating." It begins

"Despite a run-in with U.B.C. student council (sic) the Indian Youth Co-operative House for Girls is flourishing."

"The house was almost destroyed by AMS bureaucracy."

The story goes on to quote the student chairperson of the Board of Management as saying that the AMS action was "typical petty student politics." On the one hand then, there were charges of bureaucratic ineptitude, on the other, charges of petty bureaucracy.

The Alma Mater Society, chartered under the Societies Act of British Columbia, had an extensive organizational structure which encompassed property management and financial investment, administration of special interest clubs and organizations, and establishment of cultural, educational and political subcommittees. Administration of the Society's functions was by means of a formally established hierarchy of rank. The officers of the Society were elected annually by the general student body. The directors of the Society
were elected by their constituencies in the various faculties. The chairpersons of the sub-committees were chosen annually at a joint meeting of the incumbent and retiring Councils. Membership in the committees and other organizations was voluntary and all positions were unpaid with the exception of some small honoraria. The only continuing presence in the administrative structure was a small support staff whose manager was responsible to the Council but who reported directly to the Executive.

Membership in the Society was compulsory for all students and fees were collected by the university administration on the Society's behalf. Despite the compulsory membership less than twenty percent of the general membership voted in general elections and fewer than five percent actively participated in the Society's programs.

The stability from year to year was based on the recruitment network through which the majority of the officers and directors achieved their positions. The network operated largely in the sub-committees of the Society. The members of these sub-committees were, or became, known to the retiring Executive who would encourage and aid those they felt suitable to run for positions on the Council thus perpetuating the ideological and administrative commitment. The limited involvement of the bulk of the student body enabled this type of recruitment mechanism to function with little challenge. Among the participants in the Society the compliance patterns were normative and normative utilitarian. Pure normative compliance was the most characteristic pattern of the Council members and members of the sub-committees seen as potential recruits. These individuals exhibited a high level of commitment to
the organization and its maintenance as they saw themselves as the inheritors. This voluntary commitment provided a reinforcement to the hierarchically oriented officers and directors in their pursuit of bureaucratic authority although there was no legal contract of the type to which Blau refers, entered into by the parties.

Compliance relations with those who were active in the special interest clubs and organizations were normative utilitarian. All of them were dependent upon the Council for funding and access to space and other physical assets. Many of them had little contact with the Society's officers and dealt almost exclusively with the support staff who provided the banking function. The few exceptions when contact was made with the officers were occasions when the subsidiary groups required more funds than had been allocated, at which time they would approach the Council directly.

Blau's definition of bureaucracy as an institutionalized strategy for the achievement of administrative objectives by the concerted effort of many officials (p. 9) is applicable to the organizational structure of the Society. Thompson's definition which involves a specific structuring of the organization to reflect growth of knowledge and specialized skills, culturally determined and transmitted relations between superior and subordinate roles, and a culturally determined ideology (p. 11.), is also applicable. The ideal-type construct developed by Weber to reflect rational-legal bureaucracy is completely inapplicable.

Despite the inaccuracy of equating the hierarchical model of bureaucracy
developed by Weber to the reality of the Society's structure, those members of the Society most committed to it held an equally strong commitment to hierarchical bureaucratic structuring as the most desirable form of organization and attempted to act on the basis of its existence. Innovation in administrative technique and in programming were continually resisted because of this thinking which required that change should come only from the top down. None of Thompson's criteria for the encouragement of individual innovation (p. 20 above) were applicable to this situation nor were Blau's (p. 18) for organizational innovation. The innovations in programming which occurred were innovations forced on the organization from external sources. The first weapon resorted to by the officers in situations of this sort was an attempt to secure compliance through the withholding of funds or supplies. Those external groups who could find space and funds elsewhere were relatively untouched by such threats and could continue to pressure from without, with varying degrees of success. Organizational groupings who were not ad hoc or who were more closely tied to the formal structure generally met with a much lower incidence of success in their attempts at innovation.

The CUS Committee had a minimal hierarchy whose existence was due primarily to the stipulations of the AMS Constitution. The Chairperson was selected by the joint Councils in the spring and was answerable to the Council. All other members of the Committee were recruited by the Chairperson. The Committee was granted an annual budget by Council for operating and program expenses. Any special functions necessitating additional funds required
application to the Council's Finance Committee or directly to the Council itself. The Committee's organizational structure was collegial. In nature, programming in the Committee, was based on the policies developed at the Annual CUS Congress and on perceived local needs. In planning programs the Committee tended to be very innovative. The ideological motivation for this was due to the purpose of the Committee - to carry out the educational aims of the national organization among the students on the campus. Structurally the Committee met almost all of the criteria established by Blau and Thompson. The minimum degree of employment security Blau requires was not present, however the pure normative compliance relations and the structural difficulty in removing an individual from his or her position provided an analogous condition. The professional orientation, workgroups commanding allegiance, and absence of basic conflict between workgroup and management were all present within the committee because of the combination of a high level of commitment and a non-hierarchical structure. Blau's fifth condition, the presence of organizational needs experienced as disturbing, was met because of the nature of the political and educational tasks the Committee saw itself as facing. In part this last condition was due to the peculiar position of the Committee. The Committee was both a subsidiary of the AMS and the representatives of a national political and educational organization to which all students belonged by virtue of their membership in the AMS.

The majority of members of the Committee met Thompson's criteria for individual innovation. They had psychological security and freedom for the same reasons they could be said to meet Blau's condition of job security. There was a great diversity of inputs from local as well as national sources. A
high degree of personal commitment to search for solutions was both a reason for joining and a condition of continued membership. The limits to the "search situation" were set by means of limited material resources and the receptivity of the audience. The nature of the organization guaranteed a certain degree of benign competition at all times. In some respects an analogy could be drawn between the role of the CUS Committee vis-a-vis the AMS and its constituents and the classic Research and Development component of a large governmental concern. When the competition ceased to be benign the innovative qualities and effectiveness of the Committee were reduced concomitantly.

The organizational structure of the Co-op Home, which arose from one of the CUS sub-committees reflected a degree of confusion in structure and intent. The formal structure established, that of a dual Board and paid house mother, was hierarchical. The intent of the planners was that the Home should operate in a collegial format. It seems that this confusion was a result of compromises between members of the committee (including the house mother). The dual Boards were planned to give the project a sufficiently respectable and organized appearance to attract funding from the business community and government agencies. The house mother had to be paid a salary if she were to take on the task of administering the project as she had no other source of funds. The desire for a collegial operation was apparent in the refusal of the Board to treat the house mother as an employee. Rather they established a normative compliance relationship and regarded her actions as indications of her degree of commitment to the goals they saw as important. It appears obvious that the house mother did see her relationship with the Board as more utilitarian.
She had difficulty in adjusting to the lack of a clear line of authority and therefore began to act in ways which would imply her intention to reformulate the structure to reflect the goals she espoused most strongly, hence her tendency to call herself "Executive Director" and to consciously de-emphasize the role of the students in the initiation and maintenance of the Home. When she was replaced she interpreted the action of the Board as definitely having fired her in order to change the direction and intent of the project. Her accusations forced the Board to confront the confusion in structural perceptions.

The staff person agreed to accept a position in the Home only on the basis of a high degree of commitment to the goals of the project. She had some limited means of support as a student and was therefore able to reject the salary and accept only room and board for herself and her son. Because of this she was able to avoid consideration of utilitarian compliance which also relieved the Board of the responsibility of an employer. She was successful in changing the compliance pattern of the residents from one in which they had a high degree of commitment to an individual, the house mother, but a low degree of commitment to the project and a potentially utilitarian - coercive relationship with the Board, to a pure normative one. The full involvement of the residents in the processes of maintaining the Home and planning its future resulted in a final return to the collegial model in practice if not yet in formal restructuring.

Receptivity to innovation was markedly greater among Board members than among the AMS Councillors and Executive. The student members largely reflected the
attitudes of the CUS Committee. The non-student members were either professors or professionals in private practice. The professionals in particular were used to innovation in their practices and had few qualms about the principle of adopting change. All the Board members were somewhat cautious in practice.

Thompson defines innovation in part as the necessity of a willingness to adopt in order to be able to generate ideas. The AMS was markedly reluctant to adopt new ideas and held doggedly to notions of tradition and hierarchy in defining their programs and their role. They approved the project most ungenerously and ignored it for a considerable length of time - the time period during which the project was most unstable financially. The Treasurer, the Executive member most closely connected with the project, was particularly convinced of the efficacy of hierarchical structures. His dealings with the house mother were quite unambiguously those of an employer to an employee. In this sense his discomfiture at the subsequent appointment of the staff person who could not be related to in this way could be seen as a contributing factor to his growing hostility to the project.

The question of funding, intimately related to the question of bureaucratic competence and incompetence as well as to power relationships, figured largely in AMS criticisms of the project. (Its omission from the final report by the next Treasurer is understandable given that 40% of the total revenues still remained unspent at the time of the Home's closure). For the first six months of the project's operation the stated lack of funds was used by the Treasurer as a possible, if not probable, cause for the closure of the Home.
By October this threat could no longer be substantiated in any way because of the reduced operating costs and the substantial grants from the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation and the Graduating Class. The possibility of government funding had also become more real as the Board proceeded toward incorporation—a necessary pre-requisite for funding of this type. In the latter seven months of the project's existence the threats of closure by the Treasurer were expressed as due to the possible misuse of funds.

The concern about the misuse of funds was always expressed in terms of misuse of student monies. As stated earlier the only student money over which the Executive had any legal control was the Students' Council grant of $200, which had long since been spent. Nevertheless the presence of these funds was also used as one of the two rationales for the Executive investigation of the project. The Executive's concern over finances can be seen to be ephemeral when the situation is examined closely. The Graduating Class Gift which guaranteed $1200 to the project was approved a month before the Home opened although it did not appear as an entry on the Record Ledger until six months after the Home had been closed. Therefore during the first six months of operation the project had a cushion of $1200 on which to fall if other funding sources had been unproductive. The incomplete reporting of the financial position of the project did much to encourage the house mother to engage in independent fund raising activities as she saw only the dismal picture painted by the Treasurer. By October the project had been granted a further $2500 from the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation rendering the Home solvent for some time to come. This grant carried with it legal stipulations on how the monies were to be spent which were met by the Boards. The AMS had, therefore, no legal
basis for its involvement in the financial concerns of the project nor had it any legal right to prevent the withdrawal of those funds from the AMS accounts.

The accusation of bureaucratic mismanagement could be reversed and a case made that the AMS exhibited more inefficiency than did the Boards or the CUS Committee. The inability of the AMS to retrieve letters of import, the crude system of recording donations not directly received by the CUS Committee and the subsequent inability to produce either constitutions or information concerning to whom the balance of funds were paid all are indicative of an organizational system which was less than completely efficient.

As well the charge of "crude external direction" levelled by the new Treasurer in his final report was more applicable to the actions of the AMS than to those of the Boards. The Treasurer's refusal to relinquish signing powers was one example of this phenomenon. The imposition of an investigation on the dual rationale of potential mismanagement of funds and of possible bad publicity was surely another, particularly as the Executive consistently neglected to mention the acquisition of the Koerner Grant which would have brought very favourable publicity to the project. The most extreme example of crude external direction, however, was the eviction of the residents from the Home. Not only was this act carried out without proper consultation with either the participants in the project or the Council but it was extra legal. The AMS did not have any commitment in the form of a lease or rental agreement with the landlord and therefore had absolutely no authority to take the action they took. The question of public relations again can be raised in regard to this action. All the women in the Home had been placed by either
the Indian Affairs Branch Counsellors or by City Welfare workers. To say the least, closure of the Home in this manner did not reflect well on the students. In summation, the charges of bureaucratic mismanagement and the counter charge of petty bureaucracy seem to be on the one hand an argument about form versus content with the AMS accusing the Boards of bad form while the Boards defended themselves on the basis of the ultimate validity of their content. On the other hand the charges could also be seen as a conflict over ideological outlook. This position could be argued with some certainty in regard to the Treasurer. However, at least three members of an Executive composed of six, had on various occasions expressed themselves as emphatically in favour of the principles of participatory democracy. (On these occasions they by no means reflected the view of the Council as a whole, however the Executive's actions concerning the Home were never in response to Council's concerns.)

The Executive represented among its six members a wide spectrum of formal political affiliation, from Socred to Liberal to NDP to Communist Party of Canada. The divergence of political affiliation did express itself in a lack of unanimity on political questions such as the tent-in and the public statements decrying student scabbing. This was not the case in their deliberations on the Co-op Home. The investigation and subsequent report were written by active members of the Social Credit League and the Communist Party of Canada. The remainder of the Executive, consisting of small and large 'L' liberals and social democrats readily endorsed the report, refused to consider the interventions of the CUS Committee and Board members, and argued for the report's adoption in the subsequent Council meeting. That the unanimity
exhibited on this occasion was real was apparent by the way in which the Executive had ignored the interventions which had been made by individuals who were personal friends of at least half the Executive members. The atypical unanimity of the Executive on this one issue when taken together with their stated disagreement on the philosophy of participatory democracy strongly indicate that the root cause for the Home's failure lay elsewhere.

The discussion on racism in Chapter I established that racism is the ideological expression of structural relationships of oppression inherent in the society. It is one aspect of the hegemony and is thus promulgated by the various state apparatuses. As such, the ideology of racism is a powerful motivating force in shaping the consciousness of the individual members of the society. It provides for them a rationale for the otherwise totally discrepant positions between the ideology of equality and that of structurally denying equality to particular segments of the population. In Blau's example from *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* he suggests that the discriminatory actions of the members of the bureaucracy toward Black clients stemmed not from their own bias but from the discriminatory demands of the "powerful employers who made the hiring decisions," (1963:98.) and for whom the bureaucracy existed. This analysis confuses the act of oppression with its justification. It is the justification, that is, racism, which is inculcated into the members of the bureaucracy through their participation in the society, allowing them to unquestioningly process the clients in a discriminatory fashion. Blau points out in his discussion of the federal law enforcement agency that the individuals were eager and willing to carry out the law enforcement duties their jobs required because they had an ideological commitment to the principles of the New Deal which had created the laws they enforced. It is conceivable
that the employees of the state hiring agency could have worked to enforce the anti-discrimination legislation than in existence if they too had had an ideological commitment to oppose racist practices. The difficulty with such a powerful ideology as racism is that most people are unconscious of their role in maintaining it. If they are not participating actively or passively in the physical brutalization of a group or a representational individual they view themselves as non-racist if they consider the matter at all.

I do not feel it necessary to enter into a lengthy defense of the presence of structural oppression and of racism regarding native peoples in Canada. In the recent past many books have been published on the subject documenting the presence of racism and its structural origins form a personal and a general theoretical perspective. The reader who remains unconvinced of this fact after reading the Indian Act is referred to the general works of such authors as Hawthorn (1966), Fields and Stanbury (1970), and the Canadian Corrections Associations (1966), and to personal accounts such as those of Cardinal (1969), Waubageshig (1970), and Campbell (1973).

The refusal to consider the possibility of racist attitudes was present in all the actors involved in the project, beginning with the planners. There is no evidence that any of the group questioned the desirability of the concept or the structural exclusion of the Indian women from the decisions most directly relevant to them such as those concerning length of stay in the Home. There was a strong assumption of rightness which permeated the briefs and proposals concerning the removal of the women from the wretched environment of skid row in order that they might develop their citizenship in a more conducive
environment.

Hugh Brody, in a sensitive study of native peoples in the skid row environment writes of this kind of endeavour:

"The Indians ... constitute a sub-culture within the industrial society which has moral and social qualities systematically at odds with those of the mainstream society. ... Many of these migrants are glad of help. What they are much less glad of is a presumptuous claim by the helper that the Indian on skid road is quite obviously in desperate need of reform. The experience of the skid road Indian in many cases disconfirms that view, for he frequently knows very well just how difficult, hostile, and alien the alternative forms of life in the city are. (1971:59.)

The planning committee referred, in their second brief, to the "relative ineffectiveness" of the correctional institutions as a causal factor in the high rate of recidivism among Indian women from skid road. "Upon release the girl is forced by circumstances to go back to Skid Road and the cycle [of crimes without victims] begins anew." What they failed to identify, for themselves or their readers, was the reality of the hostile, alien environment outside the parameters of skid row as a much more significant factor. By neglecting this primary aspect of social relationship they maintained, implicitly, the stereotype of the native as lazy, drunken, amoral and irresponsible. Brody's description of skid road and the dynamics of the ethnic relations are pertinent to consider at this time. He writes:

"It is the most dispossessed of society who gather together on skid row. ... It can be repeated that almost no one on skid row has been socialized there, and the majority of mainstream conceptions are brought in by the migrants themselves. Even in the terms of the migrant, therefore, skid row is associated with failure within the society as a whole."
"But within the skid row the relative failure of the two groups [native and white] is different. That is to say, while the skid row white feels he is at the base of the social system, he can qualify that position to his advantage by being a racist, consoling himself in the belief that the Indians form a substantial group below him.

"On the other hand, the Indian can qualify his sense of failure by sharing his life with non-Indians. If it is accepted that non-Indians are inevitably superior to Indians, then in making an identification with non-Indians the Indian is not as socially relegated as he is in separation from the white.... In living on skid row his life is fuller, in pure status terms, in virtue of the skid row mixture of Whites and Indians. That is not the case in any other part of the city. ... Thus it can be seen once again that skid row offers the Indian a milieu in which his self-respect is enhanced. But it is a corollary of this enhancement that he must accept the White's racism: status accrues just because being with Whites is better than not being with Whites.

"For the White this involves the merging of racism in theory with assimilation in practice: for the Indian it involves the internalization of White views of Indians." (1971:51.)

Thus despite the tremendous cost to the native person's sense of self the skid road environment offers to the individual a less hostile environment than that offered elsewhere. The native person is able to make contact with the white society at the level of the lumpenproletariat with some degree of mutual interaction. The almost universal misunderstanding of this reality and of the significance of the lumpenproletariat as a distinct class results in the failure of rehabilitation techniques used by most social work agencies, public and private.

"The efforts of social workers and others to deal with the problems which inevitably arise among a group in this predicament, have on the whole been unsuccessful and a little misguided. .... Skid road's advantages are not understood by the majority of people
whose job it is to tackle its problems. Few of them are Indian, and all tend to place high value on and have unshakeable faith in upward social mobility. It should be clear from this report, as from the work of Hawthorn and others, that for the Indian upward social mobility is profoundly chimerical." (1971:72.)

The planners did not feel uncomfortable with the house mother for she too, as Brody describes, placed her faith in upward social mobility. Her difficulties with the Board came later when her own attempts at mobility came into conflict with those of the Board. Although they viewed the Home and the residents in a paternalistic way (which some of my native friends describe as the worst form of racism) they did not wish to place it in the position of a charity or themselves as doing "good works." As was stated in Chapter 3 the Board members underwent some significant changes in attitude during the project's active life. These changes seem to have begun with the increasingly obvious differences in philosophy between the Board and the house mother. Ironically perhaps the differences were no less paternalistic in nature but only in degree. They objected to the house mother's refusal to encourage the residents to develop responsibility for the Home and their activities but still retained the right (never practiced) of judging the readiness of the residents to leave the Home. Expressed differently, they objected to the house mother's assessment that the residents needed constant supervision but agreed that the residents required ultimate supervision in making decisions.

By the time the house mother left and was replaced by the staff person the Board was less sure of its position. The quiet insistence of the staff person that the residents become fully involved met with no obvious opposition. The capabilities of the women when contrasted with the accusations of the house
mother on her return and the claims of resident abuse from her supporters seemed to convince many, if not all, the Board members that the actions and philosophy of the staff person were correct. Further, the Board members who expoused ideals of participation could find little argument for denying it to the residents as they continued to prove their ability to maintain the Home more cheaply and efficiently than before.

This example illustrates one facet of the unconscious racist position. When racism is adopted by default, as it were, rather than as a conscious philosophy for overt action there is a greater possibility that direct educational experiences of the type described here will be efficacious in disabusing people of their racist reactions. It might be speculated that this is due in part to the lack of real need for the individual to maintain a racist stance if he/she is not directly in a position to lose economically by being non-racist. It may also be due to a reluctance to confront the alternative of becoming overtly racist in speech and action.

Despite the slow reversal in policy to the point where the Board actively moved to turn all responsibilities including fiscal ones over to the residents the Board never confronted the issue of racism. They discussed their changing attitudes in terms of co-operative living philosophies and in terms of complete disenchantment with the AMS policies which had become major stumbling blocks in the continuation of the project and to its incorporation as an independent society. I was confronted quite graphically with the shift in position and the concomitant change in philosophy at the last meeting I attended. That was the meeting at which the Board moved to open the bank account, appoint
signing officers from among the residents and in general adopt the new constitution's framework of organization. After the meeting my replacement as in-coming CUS Chairman, and another potential student member of the Board approached me with some feelings of anger and asked what their role could be now that the residents were taking control. They were displeased at the thought that they might continue to aid the residents but would no longer have a controlling role. Both of them subsequently joined forces with members of the Executive to shut down the project.

The differing roles and attitudes of the house mother and the staff person have been discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 3. The house mother was the victim of the racist attitudes of the society and had attempted to fight them by adopting an assimilationist position. The staff person, because of a different personal history had rejected this non-solution and had chosen a more aggressive and political philosophy with which to guide her actions. She believed in attacking the "final assigning of values" from a more militant and less defensive position. This method brought about short-term success in regard to the project but it also forced a final confrontation which resulted in the destruction of the project by those forces opposing her.

The first forces of opposition were composed of a combination of the small contributors, non-native members of the Board and staff at the Vancouver Indian Friendship Center, and the house mother. The house mother apparently had not thought the Board would find a permanent replacement in her absence and reacted with considerable dismay at finding the position filled on her return. Her dismay was compounded when she discovered that her replacement was the antithesis of her image of the ideal native person. The staff person
was not only unwilling to promote an assimilationist position but was encouraging the controlled use of alcohol in the Home, and the presence of young male friends of the residents. Further, the staff person herself had had a child without benefit of legal sanctions. In her sense of hurt and anger the house mother turned to those who had supported her earlier fund-raising appeals. In the small donors she found ready support. Their letters enclosing donations indicate overwhelmingly that they viewed the project as a program of succour to the helpless rather than an experiment in ways to provide material aid for a self-help program which was the way in which the project was described in the grant application to the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation. The so-called change in policy was in direct contradiction to the way in which the small donors had viewed the project and their own charitable donations to it.

The members of the Indian Center actively opposed to the staff person and to the "change" in direction were non-Indian. They were also the most vociferous in their advocacy of either a hostel which would provide temporary ameliorative care or of a strongly authoritarian longer term living situation. Some of these individuals subsequently left the Center and started a hostel operation which emphasized total abstinence from "the sins of the flesh" and a heavy reliance on semi-professional psychiatric counselling. Echoing Brody's predictions the recidivism form this hostel has been overwhelming and the successes in rehabilitation slight.7

The Alma Mater Society supported the proposed project for reasons similar to those of the small donors. They viewed the project as a non-controversial attempt by students to engage in a charitable action which would reflect well on the student body as a whole. The amount of money they voted to the
project was consistent with the donations they made to other ventures such as the Heart Fund and the Cystic Fibrosis campaigns sponsored by various faculties. The Council as such, did not hear of the project again until the investigators' report and composite motion were presented to it approximately eight months later.

The Treasurer, as I have suggested previously, looked upon the project specifically as a charity created to help the needy. Just as he reinforced the house mother's concern with funding from small donors by appeals to their charity so the house mother reinforced his view of the project as administering to social cripples. He saw no contradiction in her view that the residents were untrustworthy and required considerable control. On the contrary he encouraged her view by agreeing to the need for a second staff person to assist her in her supervisory role. His communications with the student Board members became gradually harsher in tone as he perceived the growing dissidence between the Board and the house mother. As an opponent of participatory democracy and a strong advocate of hierarchical structures he was consistent in his opposition to the co-operative philosophy. The new staff person presented real problems to him. Her refusal to respond to him in terms of the employer-employee relationship which he had adopted with the house mother together with her radically different outlook, combined to make relations considerably more hostile. The Treasurer never attacked the staff person directly but his criticism of the Board and lack of co-operation were intensified by her presence in the project.

The other Executive member who had had direct contact with the project was the
Vice-President who co-authored the investigation report. His contact had been largely informal as he had come to the Home in the first months of its existence in order to visit the student while she was in residence. He had not attended a Board meeting nor had he had any role in working to establish or fund the project.

The President of the AMS had consistently declined direct requests by me as CUS Chairperson to intervene with the Treasurer and to direct him to recognize the treasurer appointed by the Board. His first contact with the Home occurred the night he attended, in the company of the Treasurer, the extraordinary Board meeting called to consider specifically the house mother's allegations concerning her firing and the changes in policy implemented in her absence. Both these officers chose to ignore the fact that the issues were dealt with to the satisfaction of the President of the Indian Friendship Center and the representative of the Indian Affairs Branch who were also in attendance at that meeting. They also chose to ignore the fact that those parties most directly concerned with the project, the major funding and placement agencies, were not concerned with the allegations. The President, Treasurer and Vice-President decided to pursue their investigation regardless, using as their rationale the specious arguments of misuse of student funds and possible bad publicity.

The Executive refrained, in all their communications, from referring to the presence of native people in the project. However, they had made explicit assumptions concerning the capabilities of the residents and potential residents. The co-authors of the report spelled out in detail that type of person eligible
for residency. These were not to be "well-established working girls" but rather ex-residents of skid row who were motivated to become well-established working girls and renounce their former ways. Implicitly, they were to be native women who desired assimilation. A further assumption of the Executive was that as native women who aspired to "white" values they were not capable of controlling their lives but had to be guided and controlled. This was evident in their refusal to recognize the existence of the constitution, their moves to make incorporation more difficult by re-structuring, by fiat, the make-up of the Board and the way in which it reported to the AMS. When the Board members continued to move in the direction of granting autonomy to the residents the AMS Executive made their final and most decisive move - they illegally evicted the residents and staff person.

The actions of the planners and Board members had initially been motivated by a racist ideology. Over time the contradictions inherent in the racist stereotype had become clear and the individuals had changed their motivation although they had never confronted the question of racism in the group. The AMS was also acting from racist motives. Their exposure to the residents and staff person and their commitment to the project were insufficient to cause them to examine their values. They were willing to assume, a priori, that native women were incompetent and nothing they witnessed would convince them otherwise. To do so would have meant very different actions on their part.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the actions and motivations of both parties was that they stated them in bureaucratic terms. This seems partly a function of the lack of consciousness of racism in Canadian society in the
mid-sixties. Historically it was a period when Canadians were still able to ignore the very presence of native people and congratulate themselves on being different from their neighbours to the south. Only after the publication of the studies by Hawthorn (1966), the Canadian Corrections Association (1966), and those more expressly political accounts written by native peoples, was the problem of racism in Canada forced into the public consciousness. That it was unwelcome was evident from the criticism which the Canadian Indian Pavilion at Expo '67 received for telling graphically some segments of the real history of native peoples in this country. To choose bureaucracy as the scapegoat appealed to the protagonists in the project because of receptivity to charges of technicism on the one hand and charges of lack of good management on the other by members of the society. Bureaucratic organization per se may be a neutral instrument as Blau suggests. It is also a systematized power relationship which can be used to create or destroy by those who hold the power. In the case of the Co-operative Home for Indian Women the AMS Executive representing the legal authority, chose because of unrecognized racist motivations to attack a project which was becoming more actively non-racist. Although their means became less legal as the struggle progressed they maintained sufficient credibility because of their position of authority to destroy the credibility of the project and its members first. The Co-operative Home for Indian Women failed because the racist ideology which is a structural element of the hegemonic relations in Canadian society was at that time too well disguised to be confronted by either side. This allowed the mystification of mismanagement to become a rationale behind which both major parties could hide.
In the introduction I described some of the processes involved in the prolonged search for an analytical framework from which a cogent and historically accurate analysis of the Co-operative Home for Indian Women could be developed. The framework I adopted had as its basis an analysis of bureaucratic organizations as purposeful instruments for the promulgation of the predominant ideologies of the Society. From this position I proceeded to a discussion of racism as a predominant ideology in capitalist societies who, by definition, practice the systematic exploitation of groups who can be defined "racially." (That this discussion is unfortunately brief is due to the absence of analytical material and my time constraints on developing the argument more thoroughly.) As an ideology racism is inculcated into the members of the society through the multiplicity of socializing agencies. All these agencies are organized to a greater or lesser extent according to the model of rational-legal bureaucratic organization, whose development was a necessary condition for the development of a capitalist society. A further refinement of the thesis is that the notion of the importance and necessity of rational-legal bureaucratic structure is itself an ideological perception whose basis lies in the necessity of this type of organization for the maintenance of society at a capitalist level. However, both this and racist ideology are acted upon unconsciously by the majority of citizens.

The discussion of the origins of the project, which introduces Chapter Two, establishes the presence of racism as an unconscious motivation for initiating such a project in such a manner and for developing the particular, hierarchical structure. The universal presence of racist ideology is reinforced by the description of acts of perceived good will on the part of members of the
community who were moved to action by newspaper articles and speeches. It is obvious that their intentions, as was the case with the planners and house mother, were not consciously racist. The racism inherent in their behaviour is evident only when their actions and their words together are examined objectively.

The house mother provides an excellent example of the reaction by the victim to racism which is frequently labelled as "reverse racism." I have tried to show, concretely, why this kind of label is both inaccurate and counter-productive to the understanding of racism as a universal phenomenon. Her tragedy was that she had accepted the assimilationist position with its exclusive emphasis on the ability of the individual victim to conform to impossible standards. Continually confronted by failure she understandably developed a strong resentment toward the authors of her dilemma - the members of the majority society. The sad irony of her situation was that her position frequently isolated her from her natural allies, forcing her to seek support among those who, objectively, were the perpetuators of her dilemma.

The staff person, in rejecting the assimilationist position, avoided the dilemma of the house mother. Through her presence in the Home she was able to begin the process of changing the structure from a racist to a non-racist basis. However, because the question of racism was never addressed directly, she was defeated in this particular struggle.

The importance of the study of the Co-operative Home is proportionately greater than its size and duration. The ability to document institutionalized racism in this setting implies the strong possibility of documenting institutionalized
racism on a far larger scale in other projects and programs whose organization is stronger and concomitantly more difficult to restructure. Residential programs have, in the seven years following the closure of the Co-operative Home for Indian Women, been established across Canada by governmental and non-governmental agencies. With few exceptions they have been established or controlled by non-Indian people. The funding sources have been primarily governmental. Their mandates have been again with few exceptions, to provide the kind of service Brody speaks of in his study *Indians on Skid Row* (1971.) quoted above on pp. 154-155. That is to say, the programs are hierarchically organized and authoritarian in nature with the ultimate goal of changing the native person into the claricature which assimilationists see as the final solution to the Indian Problem. Native organizations which attempt to find solutions to the problems facing the urban native person in a non-hierarchical, non-assimilationist way meet with little support at best and more frequently, the kind of active opposition illustrated in this case study.

The problem of institutionalized racism will not diminish unless and until much more work is done in developing the theoretical understanding of its mechanisms. This work can best be accomplished by widespread examination of all institutions who serve, in a minor or major way, as parts of the mechanism for maintaining racist ideology.

The implications do not end with the examination of racist ideology. The phenomenon, now called sexism, is analogous to that of racism. Ignored until very recently, the institutionalized oppression of women has similar origins and similar expressions. The most overt of the manifestations of sexism are
now being attacked with some limited success. However, the covert, institutionalized forms will require the same kind of rigorous theoretical and practical research so necessary to an understanding of the phenomenon of racism. Ezorsky, in a recent article in the *New York Review of Books* (XXI(8):32-39) discusses the ways in which the very minimal request that universities not demand higher qualifications from female candidates than from male candidates for the same positions has been received by the universities in the USA. Obfuscation of the issue of objective discrimination, by claims that the request would result in "reverse sexism" and destruction of traditional organizational patterns is analagous to the process documented in the case study. The difficulty in attacking institutional practices of racism or sexism is therefore compounded. Not only is the racism or sexism present in both the individuals and the structure but the victim is also confronted by the general difficulties, inherent in the rational-legal bureaucratic organization, of promoting innovation. The presence of either (or more frequently both) of these oppressive ideologies can only be combatted by exposing them by means of vastly increased research.

Future theoretical developments must surely also consider, more specifically, the complicating factor of class. The knotty problems present in the inclusion of class, particularly given the present theoretical disputes over the exact nature of class in the late twentieth century, appeared too prohibitive to warrant their inclusion in this preliminary study of the problem. I am hopeful that others will contribute to the debate enabling the development of a much more sophisticated understanding of the problems inherent in an analysis of the oppressive forces of racism and sexism. The battle is joined!
Footnotes

1. The recommended motion, passed at the Students' Council meeting was:-

(a) That the funds remaining in the co-op home account be divided into three portions:-
   Koerner Grant $1,375.32
   Grad Class 1,143.59
   Sundry Gifts 1,101.90

(b) That the funds in the Koerner Grant portion be held in trust by the Treasurer of the AMS pending instructions from the Directors of the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation as to their disposition, and further that the Koerner Foundation be urged to consider directing these funds to the Nasaika Lodge Society.

(c) That the Treasurer be authorized at his discretion and subject, if necessary to the approval of major donors, to direct the funds of the Sundry Gifts portion to the Nasaika Lodge Society.

(d) That the Treasurer, at his discretion, and subject if necessary to the approval of an executive member of the 1965-66 Graduating Class be authorized to direct the funds of the Grad Class portion to the Nasaika Lodge Society or to any other organization whose objects are similar to those of the CUS Indian Co-op Home.

I was unable to ascertain whether this procedure was carried out. The only records the AMS has of the final financial transactions are three disbursements on the Record Ledger Card identified by cheque numbers. The staff was unable to locate records of to whom these cheques were issued.

2. The files on the project contain my submission and one other, both of which make this comment. In personal communications and public statements by other student members this question was also raised. Due to the confidentiality invoked by the AMS executive at the time of the investigation and the subsequent destruction of submissions I am unable to comment on the possibility that the non-student members may also have been concerned with this lack.

3. This was the woman who had been a member of the planning committee, lived in the home, known both the staff people and had sat on the Board and various committees.

4. Some members of the Executive were paid during the summer months to allow them to devote their full attention to the functions of the Society.

5. During the two years I was directly connected with the Society as an active participant many suggestions to minimize the amount of duplication and paper work were met with hostility by the Executives.
6. The most dramatic case of this sort occurred in 1965 and involved an ad hoc group of students dubbed the "Seven Dwarves" who, demanded that the Council participate in the CUS National Student Day demonstrations for which the AMS representatives had voted at the previous CUS Congress. The nature of the demonstration was to be a march by the students to the Bayshore Inn, where the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada was holding a meeting. The demands of the students were to freeze tuition fees at their present level in order to mitigate the difficulties encountered by lower income students and potential students. The Council refused to participate and the "Seven Dwarves" prepared a leaflet, rented buses and obtained the necessary permits from the police. On the evening before the demonstration, when it was clear that the demonstration had considerable student support, the Council reconsidered and led the march on the following day. The CUS resolutions establishing the National Student Day had also dealt with the necessity of forming local education action committees to confront the problem of universal accessibility to higher education. Again the "Seven Dwarves" through leafletings and coverage in the student newspaper succeeded in forcing the Council to establish such a committee under its aegis.


Indian Girls Co-op House, Board of Directors

For the consideration of the Meeting, I would like to cite two examples. Both of these situations came to my attention to-day.

Both of them, are cases where young people need a special kind of live-in situation - with some kind of supervision and a great deal of support and warmth.

Thelma - was living common-law in the west end. She had been admitted to the hospital with slashed wrists when she was brought to our attention. She subsequently joined A.A.

After this she was thrown out of the apartment in the west end. We placed her in the East End Hostel. This was a mistake. Now has disappeared.

Francine - 17 - to be released from Wellington School - accustomed to the city and will be returning to school. Has run away three times from foster homes. Needs a home setting with some supervision and a great deal of understanding.

Could be placed this week if there was some place for her to go.

We at the Centre would feel it a great loss if the original purpose of the Co-op House were changed.

Director
Vancouver Indian Centre
Miss Daphne Kelzard Chairman
Canadian Union of Students Committee
Alms Mater Society
Brock Hall, University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, B.C.

Dear Miss Kelzard,

Ref. Co-op Home Indian Girls

We have learned of the recent change of administrative staff and sponsorship of the Co-operative Home for Indian Girls.

The president Mr. R. Beaven and the Past-president Miss Betty Pragnnell both of this society, visited the home on September 21st, 1966. At that time they presented a cheque for $100.00 to the Home to assist with expenses. They were impressed by what they saw of the Home and its staff.

The objects of the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society are primarily to assist Indian persons wherever the need may be judged to be greatest and at the same time to encourage them to assist themselves.

We would appreciate a letter of explanation as to the new administrative set-up and sponsorship and the underlying reasons for the dismissal of Mrs. Margaret White, Executive Director.

Our Executive meeting will be held Nov. 9th, 1966. We would appreciate your letter on or before this date.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Harriet R. Isaacson
Corresponding Secretary
Miss Daphne Kelgard Chairman  
Canadian Union of Students Committee  
Alma Mater Society  
Brock Hall, University of British Columbia  
Vancouver 3, B.C.

Dear Miss Kelgard:

Ref: Co-op Home for Indian Girls

We are awaiting a reply to our recent letter to you in regards to the changes of administration and sponsorship of the Co-op Home for Indian Girls at 2722 West 6th. Avenue, Vancouver 9, B.C.

May we request your prompt attention to this letter and your reply at the earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Harriett E.I. Tessiernt  
Corresponding Secretary

Ha:
Miss Daphne Kilgour,
Pres. Alma Mater Society,
University of B.C.
VANCOUVER, B.C.

13 Dec 66

Dear Miss Kilgour;

re: Co-operative House for Indian
Girls-west 8th Ave.

Following recent articles in the press concerning a change of policy and management with respect to the above house, our secretary was instructed to write to you enquiring what was the reason for the "probe" or reorganization and for the change in management.

She has advised me today that despite some 2 or 3 letters, during the past month or so, she has not the courtesy of a reply.

I realise that this is a busy time of year at University, but our members are concerned about this and our society is vitally interested and I would particularly ask you to be good enough to let me have an explanation for the changes before you leave for the Christmas season.

Our interest stems from our interest in all matters pertaining to Indians and from our financial contribution, which was a lot for a society such as ours and from the impression, most favourable, that the past president and I formed of the house and its management when we visited it on the 21st September last.

Yours very truly,

RB/b

RODNEY BEAVAN-President of and solicitor for The B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society.
Indian House
Future Probed

The fate of the Indian Women's Co-op House, which was founded in Vancouver last spring, the first of its kind, will be decided at a meeting Monday night.

Meeting will be representatives of the Alma Mater Society, which sponsored it, and the Canadian Union of Students, which administered it.

Also to be decided is the fate of its founder and director, Mrs. Margaret White. She claims she was replaced by the students while she was away at a conference in Winnipeg at the end of October.

Officials of the Alma Mater Society have met with students' council members and representatives of the Indian Centre, which had endorsed the house. However, they declined to comment until after the meeting next Monday, when an official statement will be issued.

Members of the students' council, questioned earlier by The Sun, said Mrs. White was running the house as a sort of halfway house for Indian women out of Oakalla and off skid road, whereas they would like to change it to a co-operative residence such as university students have. It would be for young women taking courses or getting themselves established in jobs. Residents would make all the decisions themselves, and be responsible for the running of it.

B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts Welfare Society, which has donated some money towards it, has protested in writing to the change in concept of the house.
Description of Unpublished Materials

All material pertaining to the Co-operative Home for Indian Women, other than official AMS documents, are in my possession. They include the following:

- two fund raising briefs written by the planning committee

- two funding letters, one soliciting funds from corporate bodies, the other requesting donations in kind from voluntary agencies.

- correspondence:
  from corporations in response to the funding letters
  from small donors and the letter of thanks sent to them
  from AMS Treasurer
  from AMS lawyer

- notices of meetings and all minutes of Board meetings

- memoranda from the AMS Executive

- documents and press releases issued by the AMS

- copies of draft submissions to the AMS "investigation"

- copies of the application to the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation and the subsequent correspondence.

- receipts and financial statements

- newspaper clippings

- sundry notes and memoranda internal to the project, including reports from the staff of the Home.

- related documents and reports from the CUS Committee and national secretariat
Bibliography - Published Material

ALBROW, MARTIN

ALFORD, ROBERT AND HARRY SCOBLE

ALTHUSSER, LOUIS

ALTHUSSER, LOUIS, AND ETIENNE BALIBAR

ARATO, ANDREW

BANTON, MICHAEL
1959 White and Coloured, the behaviour of British people toward coloured immigrants. London: Jonathan Cape.

BARTH, FREDRIK, Ed.

BARZUN, JACQUES
1938 Race, A Study in Modern Superstition. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.

BELSHAW, C.S.

BLAU, PETER

BLAUNER, ROBERT
1969 Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt. Social Problems 16(4): 393-408.

BOAZ, FRANZ

BOGGS, JAMES
BRODY, HUGH
1971 Indians on Skid Row. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. NSR6-70-2.

BURIN, FREDERIC S.

CAMPBELL, MARIA
1973 Halfbreed. Toronto: McClelland and Steward Ltd.

CANADA. Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in Canada.
1966 Report to the Minister of Justice. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

CANADA. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION

CARDINAL, HAROLD

CARMICHAEL, STOKELY

CARMICHAEL, STOKELY AND CHARLES V. HAMILTON

CHAGNON, NAPOLEON

CONNOLLY, WILLIAM E.

CONRAD, EARL

COX, OLIVER CRONWELL

CROMBIE, A.

CROZIER, MICHEL
DANIELS, ROGER AND HARRY KITANO  

DEUTSCH, KARL  

DIMOCK, MARSHALL  

DUBIN, ROBERT  

DUFF, WILSON  

DUNN, L.C. AND THEODOSIUS DOBZHANSKY  

ETZIONI, AMITAI  

EZORSKY, GERTRUDE  

FANON, FRANZ  

FIELDS, D.B. AND W.T. STANBURY  
1970 The Economic Impact of the Public Sector upon the Indians of British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

FRANKLIN, RAYMOND S.  

FRANKENBERG, RONALD  

FRIEDRICH, CARL J.  

FURNIVALL, J.S.  
GENOVESE, EUGENE D.

GOSSETT, THOMAS F.

GOULDNER, ALVIN W.

HARRIS, MARVIN

HAWTHORN, H.B.

HUNTER, GUY

INDIAN CHIEFS OF ALBERTA

JACKSON, GEORGE

KEW, MICHAEL

KNOWLES, LOUIS L. AND KENNETH PREWITT, Eds.

KUNSTLER, WILLIAM M.

LYMAN, STANFORD M.

MANNHEIM, KARL


NAGLER, MARK 1970 Indians in the City. Ottawa: Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, Saint Paul University.


PARKIN, FRANK 1972 Class Inequality and Political Order. London: Paladin.


UNESCO
Ottawa: Canadian National Commission for Unesco.

WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL
and Sons, Inc.

WAUBAGESHIG, Ed.

WEBER, MAX (H.H. GERTH AND C.W. MILLS, TRANS.)