

**MOTHERS' EXPERIENCES
OF THE
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM**

BY

JACQUELINE BEDARD

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

**Department of Sociology
University of Manitoba
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ABSTRACT

This study is about five Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system in Manitoba. The concept of the feminization of poverty is used to present the overall statistical description of women and poverty. Researchers have had a tendency to focus on recent demographics and the decline in economic status to explain the growing number of women and their children living in poverty. I use the same statistical information to present the feminization of poverty in Canada. The impact of the feminization of poverty concept will depend on the political discourse that it is situated in, and how the policies are conceptualized as well as how they are implemented. Most of the literature has situated the feminization of poverty concept in a Liberal framework. I critique the Liberal framework because while demographic changes and women's economic status do have a serious impact on women's lives, the underlying problems of racism, sexism and the capitalist economy are at the root of women's economic oppression. Therefore what is needed is an examination of the mechanism of oppression that would situate the welfare system and the feminization of poverty concept in an political framework that would challenge the core of the present political arrangements and expose the structural inequalities and misconceptions that are present. One such alternative framework is socialist feminism.

Socialist feminism situates the Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system in a context that examines the race, class and gender relations in society. This provides an understanding of the role of the state and in particular the social assistance system and how it maintains and reproduces capitalism and patriarchy.

I use an examination of the social assistance system to demonstrate how the state operates and mediates conflict and change through material and ideological activity which perpetuates capitalism and patriarchy. The material and ideological dimensions presented are those of the emergence of Mothers' Allowance and the social assistance system, and the ideology of Motherhood.

Feminist methodology is used as it values the everyday experiences of women. By examining the Mothers' personal experiences we begin to understand how their connections to systems and structures in our society affect their everyday lives. Data collection consists of interactive interviews with the Mothers and information obtained from documents, meetings and personal experiences of the researcher.

The data reveal many categories. Presented are the descriptions of the Mothers' experiences with the structure of the social assistance system, attitudes of workers and society, the state as a social patriarch and surviving on social assistance. Following this is a discussion of the major themes that permeate throughout the categories. The Mothers' experiences reflect that the social assistance system reinforces and perpetuates the disadvantaged position that Mothers experience in the labour force and in the home. The Mothers and their reproductive labour is clearly not valued, economically or politically, in such a capitalist patriarchal structure.

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to all Mothers and especially to those Mothers that participated in this thesis process.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to understand Mothers' experiences of the social assistance system in Manitoba. My interest in this topic stems from personal interaction with Mothers during my employment at Fort Garry Women's Resource Centre. It was under this circumstance that I began to hear Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system. They shared with me the frustration and confusion that they felt when having to deal with any aspect of the social assistance system. I continuously heard about horrendous experiences, such as the depth of poverty, limited resources, and disrespectful treatment by society and social assistance workers, that contributed to these Mother's feeling undervalued and powerless. Many of these Mother's felt that there was something inadequate or 'wrong' with them that the process of social assistance felt so humiliating and that they were treated with such disrespect. Because of my personal contact with these Mothers, I knew that they were dedicated, loving Mothers that worked incredibly hard at providing the best for their children even in the depths of poverty. It was this contradiction that began my interest in wanting to know more about the social assistance system and to better understand Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system.

While the topic of women and poverty has been a long standing issue, it has surfaced with renewed vigour in this new climate of economic instability and government emphasis on welfare reform. Because of the recent ground swell of discussions about women and poverty we have a somewhat better statistical understanding about the number of women living below the poverty line as well as the repercussions of this. Indeed, it is largely because of feminist research that we have begun to examine poverty through a 'gender lens'

and to turn our attention to research focused on women and their children. Unfortunately we are only at the beginning of a long journey towards a comprehensive understanding of women and poverty, much less the necessary social change required to remove women and their children from the depths of oppression.

By world standards, Canada is an incredibly prosperous country with a vast amount of wealth and resources.

We produce more food than we can eat. We have more than one-fifth of the world's fresh water, enough to provide for more than the earth's population. We have enough housing to accommodate every living person in Canada and everyone who will be born in the next ten years....The United Nations recently ranked Canada first in the world in human development, ranking ahead of all nations of the world in national income, health and education. (Charter Committee on Poverty Issues, 1993:7)

One only needs to view one's surroundings to experience the wonders of our environment; hopefully we are intelligent enough to maintain these wonders. We have access to medical and health services that, even with all of their imperfections, help to maintain a quality of life that most people in this world do not enjoy. The same can be said for our educational system. We are indeed an affluent society with staggering advantages. We are the second richest country of the major industrialized world, with the United States of America ranking first and Japan ranking third (Charter Committee on Poverty Issues, 1993:8).

The question becomes: how is it that we are the second richest country and yet many people are living in the depths of poverty? How is it that Canada has homeless people? How is it that in 1991 almost 62% of single parent families lived below the low income cut-off in Canada (Lero & Johnson, 1994:15)? Estimates of poverty in Canada are generally based on Statistics Canada's 'Low Income Cut-offs.' These cut-offs represent the gross

level of income beyond which an individual or family is considered, by the state, to be spending a disproportionate amount on food, shelter, and clothing. Analyzing family income and expenditure data, Statistics Canada found that, on average, Canadian families spend 36.2% of their gross income on food, clothing, and shelter (Charter Committee on Poverty Issues, 1993:13). For example, a family that must spend an additional 20% on these items, or 56.2%, is considered economically disadvantaged, having inadequate income for other expenditures such as education, health care, furniture, transportation and so on. Low Income Cut-Offs vary by size of family unit and community of residence and are updated annually. For a large city the poverty lines were set at \$14,951 for an individual and \$29,661 for a family of four, in 1991. The poverty rate is another commonly used term that refers to the percentage of people who live under these poverty lines (Charter Committee on Poverty Issues, 1993:13).

The fact that almost 62% of single parent families in Canada lived in poverty in 1991 seems absurd when one considers that other industrialized countries that are not as rich as Canada had lower poverty rates for single parent families. Single parent families living in poverty in Germany was 25.5%, in Sweden was 5.5%, in France was 15.8%, and in the Netherlands was 7.5% (Charter Committee Poverty Issues, 1993:11). It may be argued that poverty in Canada is not as catastrophic as the poverty in less affluent countries but the poverty that people experience is very real and has an impact on their lives in significant and negative ways. Furthermore, in Canada, the three highest poverty rates in 1991 continue to be among women: 1) women 65 and older (47.4%), 2) women under 65 (37.6%), and, 3) with the highest level, women with children (61.9%) (National Council of Welfare, 1993C:11). This situation worsens still when the number of children increases

from 1 to 2 to 3 or more; the respective poverty rates are 54.5% to 63.4% to 78.2% (National Council of Welfare, 1992D:34-35).

Even though the poverty rates are high, this problem is not insurmountable, however. In 1991, the poverty gap was nearly \$13.4 billion, which means that it would take \$13.4 billion to bring all Canadians above the poverty line. \$13.4 billion is less than 4.7% of total government expenditure (Charter Committee on Poverty Issues, 1993:13).

It is my fundamental belief in the moral imperative of equality and a sharing of the society's wealth that motivates and propels this thesis. Chapter I outlines a statistical description of women and poverty using the concept of the feminization of poverty. This concept draws attention to the inadequacies of women's incomes regardless of the source of income. Of specific interest to this thesis is the inadequate payments from the social assistance system. Chapter II provides the theoretical backdrop of socialist feminism to situate and understand the social assistance system and the part it plays in regulating Mothers' and their children's lives. Chapter III examines the material dimensions of the social assistance system. A history of the development of Mothers' Allowance and a detailed description of the current social assistance system is provided along with the ideology of Motherhood that permeates our society. This provides the backdrop within which to situate the Mothers' experiences of this study. Chapter IV is concerned with the methodology that has been used in carrying out this study. The research methodology used in this thesis is based on principles of feminist methodology as it applies to the collection of information from interactive interviews with Mothers and their experiences with the social assistance system. These data provided the basis for the description and analysis outlined in Chapter V. The analysis includes numerous quotes from the Mothers as it is crucial that

they be heard directly. Their voices form a prominent component of this research, as opposed to the single voice of a researcher. Chapter VI discusses the conclusions drawn from the data and the analysis which suggests that the social assistance system is a reflection of and reinforces the disadvantaged position that women experience in a capitalist patriarchal structure.

CHAPTER I

THE FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

Diana Pearce (1986) first used the phrase "feminization of poverty" in 1978 to describe the increasing proportion of women who have become poor. In discussions of the feminization of poverty, researchers have had a tendency to focus on recent demographic changes and the decline in economic status to explain the growing number of women and their children living in poverty. When describing the decline in women's economic status the focus has included their sources of income, such as, income from employment, support and alimony payments and social assistance payments. This attention to the feminization of poverty is useful as it provides a statistical description of what is occurring in women's lives as well as drawing a good deal of attention to the issue of women and poverty. However, the issue of women and poverty is not a recent phenomenon. Rather, it is an issue that has permeated much of our history. As well, much of the feminization of poverty literature has used demographic changes, such as the increase in women's longevity, the increase in divorce rates and the increase in out of wedlock births, to explain the increase in women's poverty. Also of importance is the sex-segregated nature of the labour market which contributes to women's disadvantaged economic status. Therefore, in the following discussion a statistical picture will be provided of the feminization of poverty in Canada, along with a discussion of the sex segregated nature of the labour force and the insufficient income levels for women regardless of their source of income. It will then be argued that while demographic changes and economic status do have a serious impact on women's lives, the underlying problems of racism, sexism and the capitalist economy are at the root

of women's economic oppression (Sparr, 1986:63). Also, the tendency to analyze the feminization of poverty within a liberal political framework limits the potential for realizing substantive change.

I. FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY CONCEPT

The primary focus in most discussions of the feminization of poverty has been on gender which has brought to the forefront women's experiences of poverty. Most researchers have provided statistical pictures of women to describe their increase in longevity, their increase in divorce, their increase in 'out of wedlock' births, and their decline in economic status, as contributing factors for the increasingly large proportion of women who are economically disadvantaged (Pearce, 1986:30). This information is useful as it provides a general descriptive picture of women's experiences. Therefore, to begin my discussion of the feminization of poverty, I will provide a statistical picture of women in Canada using the same determinants that have been so often cited in most discussions of the feminization of poverty.

In 1991, women's life expectancy was 81.2 years and that of men was 74.1 years (McBride & Bobet, 1990:25). Because women are living longer than men and based on current trends in marriage and divorce, 84% of Canadian women can expect to spend a significant portion of their adult lives in husbandless households where they will have to support themselves and often their children as well. Included in the 84% are 13% of women who never marry, 30% who separate or divorce, and 41% whose lifetime marriages end in widowhood (National Council of Welfare, 1990E:15). Regarding the increase in 'out of wedlock' births, in 1977, 'out of wedlock' births accounted for 9.8% of all live

births and in 1991, 'out of wedlock' births accounted for 26.3% of all live births (Lero & Johnson, 1994:11). With respect to the divorce rate in Canada, in 1971, there were 1.4 divorces per 1000 population in Canada. By 1991, the divorce rate had doubled to 2.8 per 1000 population while marriage rates have generally decreased (Barr, 1993:16). This does not take into consideration the number of common-law unions or the dissolution of such unions, making it difficult to obtain an accurate picture of marriage and divorce rates. It is known, however, that the number of common-law couples increased from 6.4% in 1981 to 11.3% in 1991 (Barr, 1993:15). These statistics do indicate an increase in divorce rates and 'out of wedlock' births which impacts on the number of women that will spend a significant portion of their lives 'husbandless' and having to support themselves and their children. While many women spend a significant portion of their lives husbandless and in poverty, the situation is particularly acute for those women who never marry and have children.

Never married single parent mothers had the highest poverty rates: 75% of them were poor. Previously married single mothers also had a very high poverty rate at 52%. Married women had the lowest poverty rates, ranging from 10% for wives with children under 18 to 6% for wives 65 years and over. (National Council on Welfare, 1990E:8)

These are absolutely appalling statistics. More than half of all single mothers and their children live in poverty. In 1991, the average income of poor single parent mothers in Canada was \$13,382 compared to an average of \$22,186 for all single parent families (National Council on Welfare, 1993C:16). Another appalling statistic about poverty is that:

In 1990, 16.9% of all Canadian children under 18 were poor. Manitoba had the highest poverty rate of 22%. The national poverty rate for poor children in two-parent families was 10.6% and again Manitoba had the highest rate of 16.3%. The poverty rates for children of single-parent mothers were abysmally high. The national rate was 64.1% with Manitoba placing second highest with 75.3%. (National Council on Welfare, 1992D:59)

In addition to considering the above social factors, another contributing factor cited by researchers of the feminization of poverty concept is the decline in economic status because of the sex-segregated nature of the labour market. The following statistical information clearly establishes that women are concentrated in low-paying, part-time, and service orientated occupations. Irrespective of a women's age, marital status or education, employed women earn less than employed men, although the gap closes the higher the level of formal education attained. In 1991, earnings ratios for full-time, full-year workers ranged from 64% for women with some secondary schooling to 72% for those with a university degree (Zukewich, 1993:5). With respect to part-time work, between 1976 and 1991, women have consistently represented at least 70% of total part-time employment. In 1991, 26% of employed women worked part-time compared to only 9% of employed men (Lero & Johnson, 1994:4). Regarding the nature of the work performed, the majority of women continue to work in traditionally female-oriented occupations. In 1991, 71% of women versus 30% of men were employed in five occupational groups - teaching, health professions, clerical, sales and service (Zukewich, 1993:5). This has not changed significantly since the turn of the century, when 85% of women who worked for wages were employed in "female occupations." These occupations offer little or no prospect of promotion, and lack benefits, pensions and retirement plans. For example, in 1990, 39%

of all employed women were members of employer-sponsored pension plans compared to 50% for employed men (Zukewich, 1993:5). Women have also suffered higher rates of unemployment than men. However, during the recessionary periods of the 1980s and the 1990s the female unemployment rate fell below the male unemployment rate. For instance, in 1991, the unemployment rate of women was 9.7% compared with 10.8% for men (Zukewich, 1993:5). Nevertheless, the unemployment rate for female lone parents was exceptionally high at 48% (Lero & Johnson, 1994:15). The sex-segregated nature of the labour market severely disadvantages women in their ability to provide economic support for themselves and their families.

Other sources of income for women include child support payments, alimony payments and social assistance payments. Nevertheless, these too are severely inadequate as the amount of money that women receive from child support payments and alimony payments are very low and the majority of women receive none. "Among mothers with dependent children, only 58% had obtained a support order for the children. The other 42% bore the burden of bringing up their children all by themselves" (National Council of Welfare, 1990E:72). Of the 58% who had obtained a support order, "63% received the full amount of their payments, 14% received part of them and 23% received nothing." (National Council of Welfare, 1990E:73)

The last source of income is that of social assistance which is a major source of income for single parent mothers. For 63% of single parent mothers, this is their only source of income (National Council of Welfare, 1992D:52). When we examine the data gathered by Welfare Canada, we find that the average income for a single parent with one child was \$12,278, which was \$8,291.00 less than the poverty line in Manitoba in 1992 (National

Council of Welfare, 1993A:27). The previous information clearly situates gender as a factor in attempting to understand the relationship between women and poverty. Women, as a group, are living in poverty regardless of whether their major source of income is earned income, income from other sources, (such as child support and social assistance), or a combination of these.

Whatever the source of income considered, women are frequently likely to receive less than they need, often much less than a poverty-level income. Child support payments are, with rare exceptions, paid irregularly, frequently well below need (as well as below the absent parent's ability to pay), and are subject to premature demise. Welfare payments are below even state's own determination of need in almost half the states, leaving almost all welfare families below poverty-level cash incomes. Even earned income, largely because of occupational segregation as well as discrimination, fails to provide above-poverty-level incomes for women. (Pearce, 1986:38)

The feminization of poverty concept has the advantage of directing attention to the vast numbers of Mothers that are poor because of inadequate incomes. One such inadequate income is that of social assistance which is of particular interest to this thesis as the aim is to explore Mothers' experiences of the social assistance system.

The major drawback of the feminization of poverty concept, however, is that it offers a limited political analysis because it does not locate the issue in its historical context. Women and poverty is not a recent occurrence, in fact, history is permeated with the issue of poverty and the plight of poor people and "at least since the Industrial Revolution, women have been in a more precarious economic state than men" (Sparr, 1986:63). In addition, the feminization of poverty concept generally ignores or takes into account in a secondary or tertiary analysis the significance of race and class and their interconnection in

its analysis. As Sparr (1986) (see also: Burnham, 1986; Gimenez, 1990; Brenner, 1989)

notes:

Widespread recognition of the feminization of poverty may be a recent occurrence but widespread poverty among women is not. By ignoring the historical picture and asserting that increased poverty among women is a recent phenomenon, proponents of the feminization of poverty theory minimize the enduring plight of millions of working class women in the United States particularly women of colour. Such analyses also understate or ignore the significance of class and race in understanding women's poverty. (Sparr 1986:62)

The feminization of poverty concept places most emphasis on gender rather than class or race. Because the feminization of poverty concept stresses what is uniquely female, researchers assume that this is considered to be the fundamental problem and that class and race are considered less crucial in determining the poverty of women (Burnham, 1986:71; Gimenez, 1990:50; Sparr, 1986:66). A related problem is that the feminization of poverty concept does not adequately explain the racial stratification that exists in all classes. "The feminization of poverty analysis obscures the fact that whites, both men and women, are qualitatively less vulnerable to impoverishment than racial and national minorities" (Burnham 1986:74). An example of this is the treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada. The average income for individuals in Canada in 1985 was \$18,200 compared to \$9,900 for Status Indians (Hagey, Larocque & McBride, Part III, 1990:32). The average family income in 1985 for Canadians was \$38,700 and for Status Indians it was \$21,800 (Hagey, Larocque & McBride, Part III, 1990:33). The rates of unemployment for Aboriginal adults aged 15 and over in 1991 was almost 25%, while the Canadian average was 10% (Statistics Canada, 1994:48). In Manitoba, the low-income cut off determined that in 1986 Status Indians on reserves had a poverty level of 55.1%, while for families in the rest of the

province it was 15.7% (Oberle, 1993:5). The Aboriginal population includes Status and Non-Status Indians, Metis and Inuit. 'Status Indians' means a registered Indian within the meaning of the Indian Act and whose name appears on the Indian Register which is maintained by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. 'Non-status Indians' are not entitled to be on the Indian Register; for example a person who marries a Status Indian is not entitled. 'Metis' refers to any persons who proclaim Indian ancestry. 'Inuit' refers to any person who proclaims Inuit ancestry.

Regarding class, in Canada the rich are continuing to become richer while the working class and lower class are becoming poorer. In 1991, the richest families received 40 cents of every dollar of family income in the country, while the poorest families received 6 cents.

In the past decade, the richest families have received an increasingly larger share of the dollar at the expense of middle and lower-income families (Campaign 2000 Pamphlet).

Research also indicates that children in poor neighbourhoods have a life expectancy of 3.7 years less than that of children in rich neighbourhoods. In addition, poor children are more likely to be born prematurely and with low birth weights (Campaign 2000 Pamphlet).

Being poor also impacts on the amount of education that one will obtain. An estimated 27% of all students aged 15 to 19 drop out of school each year, while for poor children the rate is 45% (National Anti-Poverty Organization facts sheet).

Another problem with the feminization of poverty concept is that it ignores or downplays the extent of poverty among men, especially minority men (Burnham 1986:74; Brenner, 1986:497). One indicator of this is that the unemployment rate is higher for Aboriginal men than Aboriginal women: 32% and 28% respectively (Lero & Johnson,

1994:3). This is significant as the extent of minority men's poverty plays a contributing role in the increasing numbers of poor families and poor single mother families.

The determinants of race and class have been clearly outlined by researchers as important aspects to be considered along with gender in examining women and poverty (Burnham 1986; Brenner 1986; Gimenez 1990; Sparr 1986). Not only do race and class need to be included with gender, but the class and racial differences among women need to be examined as well. Aboriginal women do not share the same labour force participation rate, life expectancy, and living conditions as other Canadian women. Women of Aboriginal origin (those who declared one origin only) had a paid labour force participation rate of 40% in 1986, compared to a rate of 56% among non-aboriginal women (Lero & Johnson, 1994:3). In 1991, the life expectancy rate for Aboriginal women was 73 years, compared to 81.2 years for other Canadian women (Hagey, Larocque & McBride, Part II, 1990:20). Researchers also need to take into account the class differences among women, as 'rich' women are less likely to become poor than middle or working class women.

In the final analysis, the feminization of poverty concept seriously minimizes the dynamics shaping female poverty and misidentifies the sectors of the population most at risk of becoming poor. As Burnham concludes:

An examination of female poverty, especially Black women's poverty must proceed from a vantage point that effectively integrates class, race, and sex as simultaneously operative social factors. The difficulty of such a synthesis is reflective of the complexity of reality, but in its absence theories will continue to be concocted that fail to illuminate the dynamics behind observable social trends. (Burnham 1986:83)

Therefore, let us review some of the facts. There are three important contributing factors to poverty: gender, race and class. Women have higher poverty rates than men,

minority and ethnic communities have higher poverty rates than white communities and the wealthy are not as vulnerable to becoming poor. It is important to incorporate these statistical descriptions, but we also have to further understand the impact of poverty on women's experience. It is not sufficient to state how many women are poor, we also need to know what their experiences are and how this affects their lives.

Having a descriptive statistical picture of the composition of the poor population does not provide a theoretical analysis of the current poverty trends. While it is essential to include class, race and gender in an analysis of women and poverty, it is also equally essential to place this analysis in a political discourse or theoretical understanding that will not reinforce existing oppression.

The dominant and accepted ideology of contemporary society can be described as a liberal political discourse, or liberal ideology (Brenner, 1986; Gordon, 1990B; Gough, 1979; Macpherson, 1965). It is this ideology which most often informs discussions of the feminization of poverty. In the next section, therefore, the feminization of poverty concept will be discussed within a liberal political discourse with a view to understanding the limits of that discourse for alleviating the underlying oppression of racism, classism and sexism that women experience in society.

II. ASSUMPTIONS OF LIBERAL IDEOLOGY

As an ideology, Liberalism, in its broadest sense, aims to promote the rights of liberty, equality, and justice for all. This does not mean that everyone in society is 'equal,' as Liberalism revolves around the concept of meritocracy (Brenner, 1986:492). Institutions are organized hierarchically and the distribution of resources and labour time is allocated

differently. This means that some individuals will be in a position of greater power and prestige than others, and some individuals will possess more than others. This hierarchy is based on individual qualities such as motivation, talent, intelligence, and so on, and not on gender, race or class. "Equality is defined as equal opportunity...fairness exists when the distribution of individuals within unequal positions reflects their individual qualities" (Brenner, 1986:492).

State intervention became necessary when, over time, it became clear that the market economy left unfettered could not distribute people meritocratically. So, the state was charged with the task of maintaining equality of opportunity. Liberalism justifies government regulation to mitigate the worst effects of the market economy on business, industry and the individual in order to provide a minimum standard of living for the poor. According to Liberal theory, the essence of the welfare state is government protected minimum standards of income, nutrition, health, housing, education - assured to every individual as a political right, not as charity (Abramovitz, 1988:16). This is an attempt to 'level out' the playing field in order to provide everyone with an 'equal opportunity.'

Liberalism also "involves the issue of dependence and the related separation of the public and private spheres: liberal thought assumes that social relationships of economy and polity are created by autonomous, independently contracting individuals" (Brenner, 1986:493). Women and children are considered to be dependent individuals that belong to the private (reproductive) sphere and men are considered to be the independent individuals that belong in the economic and political arenas of the public (productive) sphere. In this framework, the importance of the family and the work that women perform within the family is ignored and unrecognized, both economically and politically. Again, Liberal

theory would justify state intervention, as the state has the obligation to care for those dependent individuals who could not care for themselves and are not being cared for within the family system. Accordingly, single Mothers, children, mentally and physically disabled persons and the elderly would be seen as dependants and eligible for state assistance.

When the feminization of poverty concept is situated in a Liberal discourse an increase in state intervention into women's lives is advocated in order to obtain the rights of equality, justice and liberty. State policies and regulations aim to compensate women in the market and at home; such policies are those that aim to "rectify men's failure to provide for their wives through refusing child support and spousal support or through life insurance" (Brenner, 1986:495). These policies are organized around the state protecting women's dependence on a male breadwinner, such that when women make claims on the state, those claims are justified because there is a lack of a male breadwinner. As a result, campaigns which operate within these ideological terms and political limits assume women's dependency rather than undermine this dependence.

A major focus has been placed on the increased standard of living of divorced men compared to the decreased standard of living generally experienced by their ex-wives (Brenner, 1986:495). The solution has been for the state to legislate enforced child support payments as a way to combat women's poverty. However, a study done in Canada (1986) found that 9% of divorced men and 30% of separated men had incomes below the poverty line (National Council of Welfare, 1990E:69). This type of intervention reinforces the idea of a male breadwinner supporting his dependants and does not undermine the structures that perpetuate women's poverty. While it is evident that these campaigns respond to real problems facing women and that men should be accountable to their obligations, women's

poverty needs to be situated in a broader social and economic program that would lay claim to economic independence and citizenship for everyone.

The radical alternative to these Liberal assumptions is that each individual is capable of making a valuable contribution to society and of participating collectively in governing it, and that the community will meet the physical and emotional needs of each individual.

One such alternative is that of socialist feminism. "Socialist feminists have envisioned a society in which the right to contribute and the right to be cared for are equally shared by women and men" (Brenner, 1986:494). Brenner contends that:

a radical framework contests these assumptions, challenges the hierarchical organization of work and the privatization of care-giving and generates a more inclusive set of claims...to include the rights to contribute one's best efforts, to do work that enriches, and to receive in return a decent standard of living. It can also include the right of children to care from their community and the right of parents to economic and social support in carrying out their responsibilities to their children. (Brenner, 1986:504)

The feminization of poverty concept is potentially radical but its impact will depend on the political discourse that it is situated in, and how the policies are conceptualized as well as how they are implemented. As indicated, the welfare state serves to perpetuate the idea of men's independence and women's dependence/subordination. The policy implications of Liberal ideology, as embodied in the welfare state, maintain and reinforce structures and ideologies which are inherently oppressive. One such mechanism of domination is the Canadian welfare system. I want to make it clear that the Canadian welfare system is only one part of the state and the state is only one part of wider structures of domination that contribute to the political and social organization of our society.

As previously mentioned, the Canadian welfare system is a calculated response by the state to a set of perceived needs. Because it is situated structurally within a Liberal ideology and political framework, it reflects the values that have developed along the tenets of that particular ideology. In the process, it also serves to perpetuate, reinforce, and legitimate that ideology. Against that backdrop of legitimacy, particular adjustments may be made to the welfare system itself, but the foundation upon which it rests escapes challenge. Therefore, what is needed is an examination of this mechanism of oppression that would situate the welfare system and the feminization of poverty concept in a political framework that would challenge the core of the present political arrangements and expose the structural inequalities and misconceptions that are present. One such alternative framework is socialist feminism, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

SOCIALIST FEMINISM

The aim of this research is to obtain a better understanding of Mothers' experiences on social assistance. But to obtain a broader view of the connections between these women's experiences and the larger social structures, an examination of social assistance is required.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical backdrop within which to situate and understand social assistance and the part it plays in establishing and sustaining women's oppression. This will require an examination of the specific form of women's oppression in a patriarchal capitalist society and the role of the state in maintaining and reproducing patriarchal capitalist relations. A framework which provides us with an analysis of patriarchal capitalism is socialist feminism.

I. PATRIARCHAL CAPITALISM

Socialist feminism provides a framework that examines women's and men's labour within both the reproductive and productive spheres with special attention to women's experiences in a patriarchal capitalist structure. In the reproductive sphere, labour is performed to satisfy the needs of procreation, socialization and daily maintenance of the population. In the productive sphere labour is performed to satisfy the population's needs of food, shelter and clothing (Ursel, 1992:5). Both of these spheres are two expressions of human labour that cannot exist without the other. They are interrelated and interconnected, as all societies must organize their labour to reproduce the population and to produce the necessary resources to maintain that population. Analyzing these two systems of

production and reproduction gives us a more thorough understanding of the specific location of class-, gender-, and race- relations in society. Attention to class leads to an analysis of labour in both the reproductive and productive spheres. Attention to gender leads to an analysis of the ways in which men exercise power and control over women in both the productive and reproductive spheres. Attention to race leads to an analysis of the ways in which one dominant race exercises power and control over other races in both the reproductive and productive spheres.

Historically, the development of capitalism as an economic system necessitated a division of labour into that of the public realm and the private realm, and the influences of familial patriarchy demanded that women largely remain in the private realm, while men dominate the public realm (Ursel, 1992:2). Concurrent with this development was the emergence of the wage labour system and the family ethic, which became - and remains defined as - the nuclear family with a male breadwinner and a dependent female. This emergence determined that labour performed in the public realm became wage-labour which produces profit for the capitalist class while labour performed in the private realm is considered unproductive and earns no wage as this type of labour does not produce profit. The deleterious effect of this arrangement is that labour performed in the home that is done by women is unpaid labour - and as such de-valued - while labour in the market which is dominated by men is paid labour. Women then are relegated to be dependants of the male breadwinner. Due to this restructuring of the productive and reproductive spheres into that of the private and public realms, the role of the state developed to mediate the conflict between the reproductive sphere and (the costs of reproducing the labour force) and the productive sphere (to meet the needs of capitalism for the accumulation of profit). As a

result of the family ethic, the 'male breadwinner' was responsible for his dependants in the family unit, but in the absence of a 'male breadwinner,' women and their children were often left destitute. Therefore, in order to ensure reproduction of productive labour, the state began to assume many of the responsibilities of the familial patriarch as well as the costs of the reproduction. This marked a transition from familial patriarchy to social patriarchy as Ursel notes:

as some of the patriarchal relations of the family are undermined by social and economic developments, the state, through the system of social patriarchy attempts to reinforce familial patriarchy. (Ursel, 1992:39)

The role of the state is not to replace the familial patriarch but to reinforce men's domination over women and to assume the costs for maintaining the reproductive sphere while, at the same time, maintaining women's subordination in the productive sphere.

From this perspective, the welfare state operates to uphold patriarchy and to enforce female subordination in both the spheres of production and reproduction, and to mediate the contradictory demands for women's home and market labour, and to support the nuclear family structure at the expense of all others. (Abramovitz, 1988:32)

Therefore, women are oppressed in both the public and private realms. This is illustrated by the following discussion of women's structural position in society. Along with the discussion of women's position, the importance of class and race location are also presented to provide a more comprehensive understanding of society.

II. WOMEN'S STRUCTURAL POSITION: Gender, Class and Race

The following is an elaboration of the nature of the labour that women perform in both the public and private realm and the disadvantaged position women experience in both of

these realms. This may assist the reader in a better understanding of women's oppression and the benefits that capitalism and patriarchy reap from such a structural position.

Women, in increasingly large numbers, have entered the paid labour market in the past few decades while the number of men in the labour market has decreased. In 1975, 41% of all women aged 15 and over were employed and 74% of all men aged 15 and over were employed. By 1991, the percentages were 53% and 67% respectively (Zukewich, 1993:5).

One contributing factor to this has been the decrease in the 'family wage;' in many households one income can often no longer support a family, therefore requiring women to take on paid employment to keep their families from falling below the poverty line. In 1991, 4.1% of dual earner families had incomes that fell below Statistics Canada's low income cut-off points. Without the contribution of the wife's earnings, the low-income incidence among these families would have been almost 15% (Lero & Johnson, 1994:13).

Although more than half of all women (aged 15 and over) are working in the paid labour market, women are in an extremely disadvantaged position. As noted earlier, employed women earn less than employed men irrespective of their education. Further, women are allocated to 'caring' and health related professions that are similar to the types of work performed in the home (for example childcare). Women not only experience horizontal segregation but also vertical segregation in that women are practically absent in religious institutions and in top executive positions in the government and the private sector.

Women's paid employment is also affected by their responsibility for the private realm of the family; childcare problems were three times more likely to affect mothers' productivity or involvement in the work force than fathers (Lero & Johnson, 1994:28).

Because of such conflicts between women's unpaid labour and their paid labour, women occupy more part-time work than men. In 1991, 26% of all employed women worked part-time while 9% of all employed men worked part-time (Zukewich, 1993:5). Nearly 24% of women aged 25 to 44 years who were employed on a part-time basis in 1991 cited family and personal responsibilities as their reason for working fewer hours (Lero & Johnson, 1994:5). Women are even further disadvantaged in that part-time employees receive reduced pay and benefits. Part-time employees report personal incomes roughly one-third of those reported by full-time employees and few part-time employees have access to company benefits (Lero & Johnson, 1994:5). The fact that the majority of part-time workers are female is used by employers to justify reduced pay and benefits. Moreover, "it is primarily as part-time workers that many women constitute a flexible pool of labour, a floating reserve," (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990:86) that employers can take advantage of. Capitalism maintains women as a reserve pool of labour and rationalizes their lower pay, temporary work and reduced benefits on the basis that women's productive labour is secondary to their responsibility for the reproductive sphere. All of this serves capitalist interests by lowering production costs to obtain greater accumulation of profit, maintaining men's domination in the work force (public realm) and encouraging women to remain in the private realm or at least remain responsible for it even if they are working in the public realm. This economically disadvantaged position that women experience enforces women's dependence on men, "necessitates entrance into marriage, and locks women into their subordinate domestic roles. When women work without pay, doing household and childcare tasks that assure the daily and generational renewal of the labour force, their labour benefits both men and capital" (Abramovitz, 1988:29).

Women's position in the private realm has also been well documented with the onset of feminist research placing women's experiences at the centre of that research. Although the majority of women are employed, their family responsibilities do not cease to exist. In 1991, 57% of employed women had a youngest child under 6 years old compared to 42% in 1981 (Zukewich, 1993:5). These children still need to be socialized and cared for, and as most men are not taking on equal responsibility in the private realm, women are performing 'double duty.' The following data demonstrate the patriarchal benefits reaped in the reproductive sphere. First, women are largely responsible for childcare:

In Canada, 70% of mothers with children under age 19 are involved in primary child-care activities on a daily basis compared to 46% of fathers. 95% of women with children under age 5 provide primary child care on a daily basis compared to 69% of men. Averaged over a 7-day week, women spend 2.3 hours per day on primary child care compared to 1.6 hours for men. (Lero & Johnson, 1994:8)

Second, the vast majority of housework is performed by the wife. In 1992, women aged 15 and over spent 29 hours per week on housework, compared to 15.6 hours for men. Women employed outside the home spent 23 hours per week, compared to 14.2 hours for men (Lero & Johnson, 1994:21). In 1986, employed women with a partner and children under 5 spent 4.9 hours per day doing unpaid household chores compared with 2.4 hours per day spent by their male counterparts (Barr, 1993:24). Third, women spend more than 8 hours a week in additional housework due to the presence of a husband. An average of 3.5 hours per day were spent on unpaid household work by employed female lone parents with children under 5 compared with 4.9 hours spent by their counterparts with a partner. This also held true for women whose main activity was managing the household (Barr, 1993:25).

Women's unpaid labour in the home supports both capitalism and patriarchy. It benefits capitalism as women are reproducing, socializing and maintaining daily living for the next generation of labourers in the market; all of this is unpaid labour which benefits men. This also contributes to women's disadvantaged position in the marketplace as their allocation has been to the private realm. Therefore, women's work in the market place can more readily be less valued, as it may be perceived as secondary to their role in the home. As noted above, women's economic vulnerability reinforces women's dependence on men and the traditional family. "The process is circular for the idea that women belong in the home in turn rationalizes the conditions producing the low economic status that keeps them there" (Abramovitz, 1988:9).

Just as gender is important for a theoretical understanding of women's experiences in society, so too is women's class and race location, as this also affects women's power relations. As such, poor women and non-white women experience another disadvantaged position. For example, as noted in the discussion of the feminization of poverty above, 'rich'-white women in our society are privileged compared to 'working-class' people and persons of other colour than white. For example:

between 1984 and 1991, total income taxes will have risen to 60.2% for a working poor family with 2 children while a similar high income family will see their income taxes fall by 6.4%...a 2-earner family with 2 children and an income of 26,000 (1988) paid 38.7% more in total taxes in 1988 over 1984 while a similar family with an income of 100,000 saw their tax bill increase by just 11.2%. (Morrison, *The Womanist*, 1991:16)

Another example of the privilege that 'white' women experience compared to women and men of other colour is illustrated by the fact that, in 1986, 62% of registered Status Indian women aged 15 or older were not in the labour force, compared to 40% of Canadian

women (McBride & Bobet, 1990:17). As well, Status Indian women have one of the lowest average individual incomes in Canada: \$8,800 in 1985 compared to \$10,400 for Indian men and \$12,600 for Canadian women (McBride & Bobet, 1990:18). This is an indicator of the importance of considering race in discussions so that the experiences of 'white' people are not considered universal and generalized to all people. We must include the experiences of those situated on the margin to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of our own reality and the realities of those around us.

The best example for an examination of the impact of racism in Canada is the treatment of Aboriginal people. Only very recently has statistical information been gathered about Aboriginal people in Canada. The most current information available to date is from the 1986 Canadian Census and from Indian and Northern Affairs. Forthcoming is information from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey conducted in 1991. It is beyond debate that, generally speaking, most Aboriginal people live in appalling conditions and are discriminated against in our society. The following data highlights the extent of the differences between the Aboriginal communities and the national Canadian average and the importance that race plays in a capitalist patriarchal structure. Aboriginal communities experience greater number of lone parent families, 19.34%, compared to Canadian families, 12.67% and female Status Indians had the highest percentage, 22% of single parent families, compared to the Canadian rate of 10.42% for female single parent families (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, II, 1990:27). Aboriginal communities also experience lower levels of education, as 37% of all Status Indians have less than Grade 9 education which is two times higher than the Canadian rate of 17% (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, III, 1990:3). As well as the above disadvantaged position of Aboriginal communities, they also

experience more violence. The overall rate of violent deaths for Status Indians in 1986 was 157 per 100,000 which was just under three times the national rate of 54 per 100,000 (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, II, 1990:6). The suicide rate for Status Indians was 34 per 100,000 which was well over twice as high as the Canadian rate which was 14.5 per 100,000 (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, II, 1990:5,22). Plus, the infant mortality rate for Status Indians was twice that of the Canadian population, 17 per 1,000 for Indians compared to 8 per 1,000 for Canada (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, II, 1990:4). In addition to the violence that these communities experience, they also experience greater depths of poverty, as noted earlier in the discussion of incomes, and this is indicative of the fact that 19.2% of Status Indians on reserves were social assistance recipients while 7.2% of non-Aboriginals were social assistance recipients (Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions, III, 1990:31). These descriptive statistics draw to attention the significance of race and the extent of the disadvantaged position that Aboriginal people experience.

All of the preceding statistical descriptions illustrate the sexist, racist and classist nature of Canadian society. These examples raise the issue of the role of the state and the discrimination that exists within the structure/system of the state. Of importance, then, is an understanding of the role that the state plays in maintaining and reproducing capitalism and patriarchy. In particular, the social assistance system will be examined to exemplify the oppressive nature of the state.

III. THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The following discussion of the state is premised on an understanding of the state as a network of institutions and ideologies; it is an on-going constant process which is in a constant state of change and attempts to respond to diverse struggles and conflicts (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990; Franzway, Court & Connell, 1989; Gordon, 1990B).

The state is continuously involved in the creation and reproduction of the conditions necessary for the profitable accumulation of capital and for the legitimization of a social structure based on unequal race, class and gender relations. The state has at its disposal a range of agencies (ultimately police/military force) to maintain and reproduce the conditions for the perpetuation of capitalism and patriarchy. The welfare state arose in the context of the conflict between accumulation of profit and the cost of reproduction:

The role of the state is as mediator, intervening in both spheres to co-ordinate the exchange of income and labour resources between them. However, state mediation is bound by its dual commitment to the wage-labour system and patriarchy, resulting in policies that simultaneously mediate and perpetuate the contradictory structures of production and reproduction. This dual allegiance implicates the state in a process of escalating and divergent intervention strategies, as policies that ameliorate the symptoms of conflict are at best an incomplete and inconsistent response to the underlying structural contradiction. (Ursel, 1992:6)

The central function of the state is to maintain and reproduce the general social conditions necessary for the continued existence of capitalism and patriarchy. The state not only takes on the responsibility for maintaining the conditions for production, but also attends to the needs of reproduction as well. The state's ideological and material activity in maintaining and reproducing capitalism and patriarchy is located/situated in a network of institutions including the family, justice/law, police/military, education, media, and

government. "Each of the different institutional sites will have a different character or function...that is, they may be coercive, educative, symbolic, repressive and the like" (Comack, 1993:11). Accordingly, the Welfare System - and specifically, the social assistance system - is one of these sites of power. For example, marriage laws exist which uphold the family ethic of heterosexual couples; only these couples are eligible for insurance benefits, pensions, and adoption rights.

The state is also concerned with regulation of the productive sphere through, for example, tax incentives for corporations, legislation which regulates minimum wage, length of the work day/week, parental leave, maternity leave, overtime pay, holidays, vacations, dismissals and so on.

Through material and ideological activity, the state mediates specific claims and conflicts, and marginalizes any discourse or conflict that could radically threaten capitalism or patriarchy. Snider offers a compelling view of the state. She sees the state as a terrain, yet:

...the terrain is by no means a "level playing field", equally open to all forces and agents. Its shape...reflects earlier struggles, and each new struggle is interpreted and resolved in light of the resolutions or compromises which preceded it...the interests of non-dominant groups are reflected but not represented; the state attempts to contain counter-hegemonic views by organizing and privileging dominant ones at the expense of non-dominant...(Snider, 1991:10)

While various groups and social movements can and do have an influence on the state, Gordon cautions that: "this acknowledgement of the power of social movements should not diminish understanding of the powerful weapons of domination that welfare programmes put in the hands of controlling groups" (Gordon, 1990A:193).

The state's central function of maintenance and reproduction of capitalism and patriarchy serves to marginalize and de-legitimize any radical challenge to the underlying structures/ideologies of capitalism and patriarchy. Even though the state evolves and changes over time, this very process of mediation and change in most instances legitimates the state's on-going power and does not threaten the underlying oppression of capitalism and patriarchy.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will use the social assistance system to demonstrate how the state operates and mediates conflict and change, through material and ideological activity which perpetuates capitalist and patriarchal relations. Central to this project is the welfare system and, in particular, the social assistance system, created by the state in response to the developing contradictions of capitalism and patriarchy, production and reproduction. The welfare system was and is a response to very complex institutional and ideological changes and of the complex and conflictual politics associated with these changes (Piven, 1986:335). Even though the welfare system is continuously changing, this change is not always beneficial, as noted earlier by the inadequate amounts of social assistance payments. It is my view that the welfare system serves to uphold female oppression in both the public and private realms. What is of interest then is the material and ideological dimensions that the social assistance system uses to maintain this oppression. Therefore, what follows is a description of the emergence of Mothers' Allowance and the current Canadian social assistance system. This description allows for an expanded understanding of the complexities of - and the many facets that affected and continue to affect - the social assistance system. The material dimensions, including rules, regulations and policies, are outlined followed by a discussion of the ideological dimensions,

specifically the ideology of Motherhood. These divisions are dealt with separately, for analytical purposes. However, it is obvious that, in actuality, they interact and support each other. As such, they do not exist as separate, but rather are fully interconnected.

CHAPTER III
EMERGENCE OF THE MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE ACT
AND THE
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM

Prior to 1897, Manitoba welfare law consisted of two statutes, the Apprentices and Minors Act (SM c.26) and the Charity Aid Act (SM c.16). These statutes were based on the 16th century Elizabethan Poor Laws of England to support the destitute and children who had no family wage to survive. The basic premise of these Acts was that people were not entitled to financial support as a human right, and only when all normal channels of family support failed would government organizations provide some support. The types of government organizations that existed at the turn of the century were hospitals and institutions for the destitute. The years 1897, 1898, and 1899 (Child Immigration Act SM c.60, Child Protection Act SM c.6, Maternity Boarding Homes SM c.21) marked the onset of welfare legislation in Manitoba. This legislation was specifically aimed towards children and the responsibilities that families had in rearing them. It was this legislation that later formed the framework for The Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg (1900 SM c.6). These early welfare policies indicate an ever increasing government regulation of the family life and the targeting of women as mothers, not as workers. These policies also reflect the achievement of middle-class women's political views and of social reformers, who at the time were concerned with the quality of motherhood which:

clearly had a one dimensional definition of womanhood - woman as mother. In this sense, the legislation can be understood as a form of legal recognition of the value of women's reproductive role, since it protected women, as active or potential reproducers, from being totally consumed in the productive process. The legislation introduced limitations on the hours that women could work, the places in which they could work and the quality of the environment....The frame of reference for this legislation was the presumed needs of women as reproducers. (Ursel, 1992:93)

This frame of reference - along with increased state intervention into women's lives in the public and private realms - helped to determine the basis for the Mothers' Allowance Act.

Manitoba was the first province to introduce the Mothers' Allowance Act in 1916 (SM c.69) and established the criteria that only those Mothers without any economic support due to death or permanent incapacitation of their husbands would be eligible for aid. The Mothers' Allowance Act reveals the patriarchal nature of the state and the development of fundamental welfare philosophies which still remain intact: first, the conviction that state financial support conferred the state's right to control and; second, the belief that support of dependants was properly the responsibility of family and should only be assumed by others in cases of crises when all existing familial support was depleted (Ursel, 1992:157).

Indeed, the Mothers' Allowance Act was a significant mark in the transition from familial patriarchy to social patriarchy. One of the "defining feature[s] of social patriarchy [was] the particular combination of state support and state control, which shift[ed] the locus of power in patriarchy from the head of the household to the state" (Ursel, 1992:151).

The Mothers' Allowance Act was a recognition that women frequently could not support their children in the absence of a male breadwinner in the family. It also was an attempt to maintain women as reproducers, to encourage and protect a 'better' standard of Motherhood and family life according to the standards of white middle class values, and to

enforce these values. Mothers' Allowance did indeed provide financial support, nevertheless, the support was inadequate and it was conceived of not as charity but rather as a salary. "The concept of salary was used by administrators of the program to justify their selectivity in accepting applicants and the close supervision of recipients" (Ursel, 1992:158).

The criteria for eligibility categorized Mothers as either 'deserving' or 'undeserving.' Mothers were considered deserving of Mothers' Allowance if they had more than one child and were widowed or if their husbands were confined to mental hospitals as these families could not be supported by a male because of a 'crisis' beyond their control. Even though "the law was broad in its definition, all children born out of wedlock, even of stable common-law unions, and mothers whose morality was questioned were excluded" (Stubbins, 1947:10). So, Mothers were undeserving of Mothers' Allowance if they were unwed or if their husbands had deserted them. In the former case, Mothers were unworthy by virtue of their condition and, in the latter, husbands were deemed responsible for their families. As state support conferred the state's right to control, applicants were closely supervised, as in Manitoba, a 'visiting housekeeper' was appointed:

to instruct mothers, arguing that when the contract of employment between the mothers and the Province is signed, and the mother in receipt of her salary that the Province should satisfy itself that the services rendered for the salary are accomplishing what was intended. (Strong-Boag, 1986:97-8)

The administration of Mothers' Allowance determined who was 'worthy' or 'unworthy' and then scrutinized these 'worthy' families to ensure 'proper' moral standards. This required a growing bureaucracy and increasing expenditures on the part of the provincial governments. Mothers' Allowance attempted to support and reinforce the family unit (male

breadwinner, female dependant) in order to ensure that women's labour was for the most part limited to the reproductive sphere of procreation, socialization and daily maintenance of the next generation of labourers.

The intervention of the Mothers' Allowance Act was only deemed necessary in the 'legitimate' absence of the male breadwinner and then the state would assume the role of traditional familial patriarch. The Government of Manitoba continued its ever increasing regulation of family life and was the first province in Canada to establish a comprehensive child-welfare act.

In 1922, the Child Welfare Act (SM c.2) consolidated all of the old welfare and family laws into a new statute concerning all matters of state involvement in child welfare. Then, in 1924, the Mothers' Allowance Act (SM c.30) was changed and was placed under the Child Welfare Act in Part III - Bereaved and Dependent Child. The Department of Public Works was responsible for the Child Welfare Division which administered the Child Welfare Act. This meant that financial support would be provided to a child of fourteen years of age and under who, because of death of both parents, or death of the father, or confinement of the father in a hospital for mental diseases, or total and permanent physical disability of the father, is likely to suffer because of the lack of adequate means to supply proper care for such child (1924 SM c.30). In these situations allowances for the maintenance of such a child could be granted to the Mother, which was still referred to as Mothers' Allowance. Mothers who were unwed, divorced or deserted by their husbands were not entitled to any assistance. In 1944, the Department of Health and Public Welfare decentralized services to local districts throughout Manitoba. At this point in time there were six supervisors, each with a definite territory and each with their own staff. But only

two of these supervisors were located in rural Manitoba (in Flin Flon and Dauphin), while the remaining four were located in Winnipeg (Annual Report, 1945:221).

Subsequently, in 1947, Mothers with one child were now eligible for Mothers' Allowance if they had been widowed or if the father was permanently disabled. The year 1949 was significant as this marked the beginning of the Social Assistance Act (SM c.55) - an act that provided for the granting of aid to municipalities for financial assistance. The Department of Health and Public Welfare provided financial assistance to cover the costs of social assistance granted by municipalities under the Child Welfare Act which was Mothers' Allowance allotted on behalf of a bereaved and dependent child.

In 1952, Mothers deserted by the father for four years or more were eligible for social assistance. In 1959 (SM c.57) the enactment of new legislation created "the Social Allowances Act." This was an act concerning social security for residents of Manitoba and provided for the Minister to enter into agreements with the federal government for a cost-sharing arrangement. This legislation attempted to cover all types of persons in financial need and to provide for all the basic necessities of such persons. At the same time, Part III of the Child Welfare Act was repealed (which was the Mothers' Allowance Program) and this program was integrated under section 5(1)(b) of the Social Allowances Act. Under that legislation those persons who were physically or mentally disabled, widowed with a dependent child, a Mother of one or more dependent children and i) had been deserted by her husband for one year or more, or ii) was the wife of a man who had been sentenced to imprisonment for more than one year, and iii) an unmarried Mother who was caring for two or more of her children in her home, were entitled to social assistance. At this time,

single fathers, unwed Mothers and Mothers with one child were not eligible for social assistance.

The exception for social assistance was with respect to Aboriginal people. Status Indians remained the responsibility of the Federal Government (Annual Report, 1966-67:18). Currently, in 1994, social assistance for Status Indians on a reserve is financed by the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Status Indians off a reserve were and still are entitled to benefits through the Municipal assistance program or the Provincial social allowances program.

During the years the Social Allowances Act was amended numerous times. The most significant changes are those affecting the criteria for eligibility. In 1966, the government finally implemented the part of the Social Allowances Act that allowed Mothers that had been deserted for more than one year to be eligible for the Provincial social allowances program. In 1967, Mothers, where the father was sentenced to imprisonment for one year or more, and unmarried Mothers caring for two or more of their children in their home, were included. Prior to this, assistance was only provided to widows and Mothers when the breadwinner had deserted them for four or more years. However, an unmarried woman with one child was not eligible for any social assistance. By 1970 (SM c.60), unmarried Mothers with one child and female-headed families in which the husband had been jailed or had deserted for three or more months were added to the criteria of eligibility for Provincial social allowances program. For the first 90 days one would have to apply to the Municipal assistance program for aid and then after the 90 days apply to the provincial social allowances program.

In 1982-83-84 (SM c.93 Sec.28) the entitlement to Legal Aid as a benefit was included in the Social Allowances Act. This meant that recipients of social assistance were entitled to legal protection and this extended to any Manitoban that did not have the financial resources to legal counsel. In 1984-85, the Social Allowances Act was amended (SM c.17 sec.29) to change the term 'mother' to 'parent' which entitled sole support fathers to be eligible for social assistance. This meant that if a parent with a dependent child or children had been deserted by or was living separate and apart from his/her spouse for more than 90 days or who was sentenced to and was serving more than 90 days or was not married or was divorced was eligible for the Provincial social allowances program. In January of 1990 (SM c.21), the sole support parent no longer had to apply for Municipal assistance for the first 90 days, instead they applied directly to Provincial social allowances program.

The criteria for eligibility for social assistance has changed significantly over the past 90 years. At the turn of the century only those married Mothers who had been widowed or where the husband was incapacitated were entitled to social assistance. But today, all single parents, whether they are male or female and who are in financial need would be eligible for the Provincial social allowances program regardless of marital status. The government has attempted in many ways to meet the needs of Manitoban citizens during the changing times. This is indicated by including unwed single Mothers and single fathers to the criteria for eligibility. The government also implemented a significant program that affected the quality of life for families receiving social assistance. In 1960, under the Department of Health and Public Welfare, the Social Allowance Medicare Plan came into effect. This plan provided medical, dental and optical care and prescription drugs to families eligible for the Provincial social allowances program. Currently this program is called the Social

Allowances Health Services Program. But even though there has been many changes implemented to the social assistance system, the payments still remain inadequate and the earning exemption rate has not changed since the onset of the Federal Canada Assistance Plan.

I. FEDERAL JURISDICTION

The Mothers' Allowance Act was only one piece of legislation among the many different programs of the welfare system. It was a representation, though, of the ideology and regulation that our system is founded upon and that permeates much of the welfare system today. Our present welfare system has been a patchwork of legislation enacted over nearly 100 years, in an attempt to meet various needs of capital (production) and the family (reproduction). Originally, programs were governed and paid for by provincial governments and municipalities but because of factors such as increased expenditure, liberalization of social-welfare policies, the baby boom, increased longevity and economic change, costs and responsibilities were transferred to the Federal Government which passed four statutes that laid the ground work for our current welfare system. These statutes were: the Unemployment Insurance Act 1940, the Family Allowances Act 1944, the National Health and Welfare Act 1944 and the National Housing Act 1944 (Ursel, 1992:216-217). In 1966, The federal Department of Health and Welfare Canada created the Canada Assistance Plan which provided for consolidated and Federal/Provincial cost shared social assistance programs.

Both the Federal Government and the provincial governments share in the financial costs, however it is the provincial governments that determine the design and administration

of the social assistance systems. This has created a great deal of variation in regulations in the criteria of eligibility and the rate of assistance between provinces but, overall, most provinces have a single assistance program which provides benefits both to dependent individuals who require social assistance on a long-term basis and to those persons who are unemployed but are capable of working (National Council of Welfare, 1987F:4).

This, however, is not the case in Manitoba (and Nova Scotia), which has a 'two-tier' system. This means that, depending on the categorization of the applicant, they will either receive social assistance from the Province of Manitoba or the Municipality/City in which they reside. Individuals who require social assistance on a long-term basis receive social assistance from the Province and individuals who are unemployed but capable of working receive short-term social assistance from their local Municipality (City/Town). There are 202 municipalities in Manitoba and each of these previously established their own eligibility criteria and social assistance rates that governed their social assistance programs.

A significant change was made with respect to the variations amongst municipalities in April of 1993 which regulated rates to provide some consistency across municipalities. But, each municipality still determines the earned income exemption and allowable assets.

The biggest municipality in Manitoba is the City of Winnipeg, which accounted for 91% of the total municipal assistance caseload (Manitoba Family Services Annual Report, 1992-93:36). For the purposes of this research, when municipal assistance programs and regulations are discussed, it will refer to those of the municipality of the City of Winnipeg as this is the municipality of the women whom I interviewed.

II. THE CURRENT SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM 1989 - 1994

The Department of Family Services was created in 1989, as part of reorganizing the departmental structures and responsibilities in a number of areas of the Manitoba Government. This new Department of Family Services is responsible for the Income Security & Regional Operations Divisions. The Income Security division is responsible for the overall management, budgeting and administration of the Income Maintenance Programs of concern to this project. The Regional Operations is responsible for 14 district Income Security offices (social assistance offices) throughout Manitoba. Four of these offices are in Winnipeg. According to this department the Income Maintenance Programs provide "financial assistance to ensure that no Manitoban lacks the goods and services essential to his or her health and well-being" (Manitoba Family Services Annual Report, 1992-93:29). There are three programs under the Income Maintenance Programs:

- i) The Social Allowances Program - operates under the Social Allowances Act (see: Appendix A), the Social Allowances Regulation (see: Appendix B) and the Income Security Administrative Manual ('rule book'). The objective of this program, according the Provincial Government is to provide essential financial assistance to ensure that persons likely to be in need of long-term assistance do not lack those goods and services essential to their health and well-being. This program is cost shared between the federal and provincial governments.
- ii) Municipal Assistance Program - provides financial assistance to programs administered by municipalities in Manitoba, in accordance with the Social Allowance Act and The Municipal Assistance Regulation. The municipalities are responsible for providing assistance to persons in need within their municipal boundaries who are not eligible for

provincial social allowances benefits. These are primarily persons in need of short-term assistance, such as unemployed employable persons or persons with disabilities likely to last 90 days or less. This program is funded by the three levels of government, Federal, Provincial, and Municipal.

iii) Social Allowances Health Services Program - provides essential drug, dental and optical supplies and services to social allowances recipients and wards of the province. Long-term recipients are issued a Social Allowances Health Services card, which allows them to receive basic drug, dental and optical supplies and services without further authorization. Recipients who are not eligible for a health services card apply for approval for their health needs on an item-by-item basis. In 1993, some changes occurred which reduced services in this program. Recipients of Provincial social allowances now have a three month waiting period for dental and optical benefits and recipients of Municipal social assistance now have a six month waiting period for benefits. There were specific limits placed on dental work, over-the-counter medicines, and coverage of prescription drugs which further reduced services (Paul, 1993:B1).

The criteria for receiving social assistance from the Provincial social allowances program is granted to applicants who are unlikely to be self-supporting and therefore are perceived to be 'dependent' and 'unemployable.' This would include persons over 65 years of age, the physically and mentally disabled, single parents raising children, dependent children whose parents are dead, women staying in a women's crisis shelter and people who live in an area where there is no municipal government. All other people would receive social assistance from the Municipal assistance program as they would be considered 'employable.' The former are considered acceptable as they cannot support

themselves and, therefore, deserve assistance. The latter, however, are viewed as less deserving because they do not work and, as such, receive a lower rate of social assistance and fewer items of special assistance. The other important feature of the Municipal/City assistance program is that it was and is seen as temporary aid to help individuals through a 'crisis' period in their lives. As such, individuals may only receive assistance for up to 90 days, with the possibility of extension. This structure of the social assistance system upholds the traditional family ethic of male breadwinner and female dependant in that families who are in financial need apply to their Municipality for aid as the male is viewed as responsible for his family and able to work, but is currently unemployed. This also assumes that:

Employability is designated according to personal rather than social or economic criteria. An applicant not assessed as meeting eligibility criteria for provincial social allowance is classed as employable. No reference is made to the availability of labour market opportunities in the assessment process. Thus, in times of high unemployment the municipal tier experiences much more caseload growth than the provincial tier. The result for recipients for whom there is no work is that they continue to be treated worse than those who cannot work because of a disability. (Ryant, 1983:45)

This criteria determines that single Mothers go directly to the Provincial social allowances program and married Mothers would apply to the Municipal assistance program.

One feature that permeates all of the welfare legislation, past or present, is that eligibility for social assistance is based on 'need' and determined by a 'needs test.' 'Need' is calculated on a detailed and complex set of criteria that take into account an applicant's basic necessities and some special requirements and subtracts from that any source of income and assets to determine the level of assistance. Assistance is provided when basic needs exceeds the person's financial resources. With respect to the Provincial social

allowances program, there is a predetermined basic needs set out in the Social Allowances Regulation. The calculation of basic needs includes: food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies; shelter allowance; and supplementary benefits. The expenses of food, clothing, personal needs, and household supplies (Schedule A 1(1)) varies by household composition and ages of the children. For example:

- i) a single Mother with one child (who is from 0-6 years) is entitled to \$356.40 per month and
- ii) a single Mother with two children (who are from 0-6 years) is entitled to \$467.00 per month.

The shelter allowance is determined by the number of persons in the household and whether or not utilities are included in the rent. For example, if utilities are not included, for the above households, the shelter allowance per month would be \$285.00 and \$310.00, respectively. If utilities are included the shelter allowance per month would be \$387.00 and 430.00, respectively.

The Supplementary benefits are divided into basic and additional Supplementary Benefits to which most recipients are entitled. In the above situations, these households would be entitled to a basic supplementary benefit of \$48.80 per month (Social Allowances Regulation, Schedule A clause 1(2)(a)(i)). These families would also be entitled to the additional supplementary benefit of \$10.80 per month (Social Allowances Regulation, Schedule A clause 1(2)(b)(ii)).

The total cost of basic necessities determined by the Social Allowances Regulation for:

i) a single Mother with one child (0-6 years) is \$803.00 per month.

food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies	\$356.40
shelter allowance, utilities included	387.00
basic supplementary benefit	48.80
additional supplementary benefit	<u>10.80</u>
total	<u>\$ 803.00</u>

ii) a single Mother with two children (0-6 years) is \$956.60 per month.

food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies	\$467.00
shelter allowance, utilities included	430.00
basic supplementary benefit	48.80
additional supplementary benefit	<u>10.80</u>
total	<u>\$ 956.60</u>

The Municipal assistance program determines basic needs by adding the sums of: food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies, shelter allowance, and additional moneys for children according to their age. There are also different rates for the first 6 months of receiving municipal assistance and after the first 6 months of receiving municipal assistance. For example, a family with two adult persons and three children (ages 2, 5 & 7) would be entitled per month, during the first six months of receiving municipal assistance, to:

food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies	\$ 745.60
shelter allowance, utilities included	488.00
additional money for children	
2 year old	5.50
5 year old	40.50
7 year old	<u>23.30</u>
total	<u>\$ 1302.90</u>

After the first six months of receiving social assistance, the above family (two adult persons and three children, ages 2, 5 & 7) would be entitled per month to:

food, clothing, personal needs and household supplies		\$ 805.60
shelter allowance, utilities included		488.00
additional money for children	2 year old	5.50
	5 year old	40.50
	7 year old	<u>23.30</u>
total		<u>\$ 1362.90</u>

The previous examples illustrate the complexities of the social assistance system and the substantially inadequate social assistance payments. Obviously, the amount of \$5.50 that this family would receive in additional money for a 2 year old child is a token amount compared to the actual cost of raising that children.

Two other programs connected with the social assistance system are the work incentive program and the single parent job access program. However, this work incentive program is not actually a program but an earning exemption that recipients are entitled to if they work (Social Assistance Regulations 8(1)(b)(ix)). The purpose of such programs is to encourage social assistance recipients to obtain employment. A social assistance recipient is allowed to retain from earned income the greater of \$50 per month or 70 cents for each hour worked or 30% of gross monthly earnings. One's social allowances benefits would be reduced dollar for dollar after earning more than \$50 a month. This earning exemption rate has remained the same since 1978. From 1981 to 1993, between 7% and 14% respectively, of social allowances recipients made use of this earning exemption (Annual Reports, 1981-1993). The paradox is that, currently, Mothers receive more money by receiving social assistance than working full-time for minimum wage. In Manitoba, a single parent with one two year old child on provincial social assistance would receive \$46.00 more than working full-time at a minimum wage job (National Council of Welfare,

1993B:34). This is not to say that women are 'better off' receiving social assistance than working, as both of these options are exploitative and neither provide an adequate income to support a family. Not only do Mothers face these barriers but also the discrimination that women experience in the labour market and the difficulties of having sole responsibility for their families. In order for single Mothers on social assistance to support themselves and their families, they need well paying, permanent occupations with flexible hours to meet responsibilities of dependants, a multitude of day-care options and so on, little of which is provided within the current labour market. The ideology of these 'work incentive programs' and the aggressive push to 'get off' social assistance de-value the role of Mother and the labour performed in the reproductive sphere as well as serving to discriminate against women in the productive sphere. These programs channel Mothers into low paying and temporary work rather than increasing their income or their work skills.

The single parent job access program was created in 1987 by the Department of Manitoba Employment Services and The Department of Economic Security with financial assistance from the Federal Government of Canada. This initiative was intended to provide support to single parents in receipt of social assistance in order to prepare for their entry/re-entry into the labour market with the objective of long-term financial independence. This program provides integrated counselling, pre-employment preparation, skills training, work experience, and financial support for training or work-related costs, including child care. This program was delivered through seven Human Resources Opportunity Centres throughout the province. In 1993, these centres were renamed Employment Development Centres and were transferred to the Department of Education and Training. Part of the criteria for participating in this program is that applicants must be

referred to the program by a social assistance worker and need to be a single parent either on social assistance or eligible for social assistance.

There are three programs under the Single Parent Job Access Program:

1) Pre-employment Program , 2) Skills Training Program, and 3) Work Experience Program. The programs under each of these vary from year to year depending on the needs of the labour market and single parent's needs. For example, computer courses are offered to single parents with clerical experience, in order to upgrade their skills. There are additional monetary allowances that are provided when a single parent is enrolled in these programs. With respect to the Pre-employment program, single parents are entitled to a Volunteer Incentive Allowance of \$180.00 a month to purchase necessary transportation and costs associated with attending this program. This allowance is not deducted from the single parent's social assistance. With respect to the other two programs, single parents are paid at minimum wage (\$5.20 an hour) and this wage must be declared every month to social assistance in order that the earnings exemption be applied. This means that single parents are allowed to keep the greater of up to \$50.00 per month or 70 cents for each hour worked or 30% of gross monthly earnings (Social Allowances Regulation 8(1)(b)(ix)).

As stated earlier, the earning exemption is actually a disincentive to work as single parents receive more money on the Provincial social assistance program than by working full-time at a minimum wage job, or in this case, the skills training program or the work experience program.

I want to stress at this point that the social assistance system is only one component of the income security programs that make up the welfare system provided by the federal and

provincial governments. Unemployment Insurance, Worker's Compensation, Old Age Security and the Child Tax Credit are other programs provided by the Federal Government.

Each provincial government has other forms of assistance as well. In Manitoba there is the Child Related Income Support Program (CRISP) and the Shelter Allowance for Family Renters Program which assists families. However, there is a clear distinction between these programs, in that financial support is based on whether individuals are 'productive' (in the paid labour force) or 'non-productive' (not in the paid labour force). For example, social assistance is not related to previous employment but whether a recipient is either categorized as being 'dependent' or 'employable'. While unemployment insurance benefits is a universal federal program based on previous labour force status and is totally independent of definitions of parental or marital status. Also, the unemployment insurance payments depend on the previous level of earnings of the individual and not on a 'needs test' of the family for social assistance. Nevertheless, by no means do any of these programs provide adequate financial assistance in order to meet basic needs and all of these programs are heavily regulated and scrutinized. Indeed, the very inadequacies of these income maintenance programs encourage women to stay within the traditional family. The fact that when women leave their husbands the alternative might be that of social assistance and poverty sometimes deters Mothers from leaving relationships that they no longer desire. Needless to say, the social assistance system is complicated and difficult to comprehend, especially when applicants on welfare "rarely have information regarding how administrative decisions affecting their particular case have been made. They cannot easily verify that they are receiving the entitlements for which they are eligible under the various rules and policy directives" (National Council of Welfare, 1987F:26). This is further

illustrated by the fact that financial assistance programs have been implemented by many different departments of the Provincial Government over the years (see: Appendix C).

The implications of this type of social assistance system on women is that women who are able-bodied and employable, but temporarily unemployed and have exhausted all their financial resources, would apply for the Municipal assistance program. This would be short-term assistance. However, women who have dependent children and who are either widowed, divorced, never been married, deserted, separated from their legal or common law spouses or spouses of persons who have been jailed, are eligible for Provincial social allowances program (long-term social assistance). Again, there is the element that single, able-bodied, employable women are seen as 'undeserving' and receive lower and fewer benefits for a shorter term. Furthermore, single parent women are seen as 'dependent' and in lieu of 'male' support; the state will provide long term assistance only as long as Mothers have dependent children. Women who are married or live in common-law unions, whether their partners contribute monetarily or not, are not eligible for social assistance as they are seen to be 'dependent' on the able-bodied, male bread winner who should provide for his family. In this respect, the social assistance system attempts to uphold familial patriarchy to ensure that the costs of reproducing the following generations of labourers remains within the traditional family unit.

Regardless of the many changes to the criteria of eligibility for social assistance and changes to programs, for the most part the social assistance system and the welfare system have remained relatively unchallenged since the conception of the Canada Assistance Plan of 1966. But recently, governments have been extremely vocal about reducing the federal and provincial deficits and both levels attempt to accomplish this through off-loading the

increasingly weighty responsibilities and increased expenditures of the welfare system back on to the family. Placing costs of reproduction back onto the family justifies government cut-backs to social services. For example, in April 1993 there was a 2% reduction to Provincial social assistance rates due to changes in tax credit rules (Teichroeb, 1993:B2). In March of 1993 the Provincial government increased parent fees for subsidized day-care spaces from \$1.00 a day to \$2.40 a day (Teichroeb, 1993:B2). This directly affects families on social assistance as they are entitled to subsidized day-care due to their low-income. They now have to pay \$48.00 a month, out of their total social assistance, to maintain one child in day-care. In Feb. 1993 the government reduced some of the health benefits coverage for welfare recipients (Teichroeb, 1993:B2). In June 1993, the government slashed a student social allowance program that encouraged adult students to return to school to upgrade their education and obtain their High School Degree (Teichroeb, 1993:B2). In July 1994, the Manitoba Government launched a media campaign promoting fellow citizens to call and report anyone that they suspect of welfare fraud. It is astonishing that governments would spend a substantial amount of money on an insignificant number of people who commit fraud when there are so many people living in the depths of poverty. This current media campaign serves to reinforce the ideology that most people on welfare are cheating the system and are not deserving of assistance. This fuels the hysteria that welfare recipients are 'bums' and for the most part do not want to work. These campaigns serve to further isolate individuals and families receiving social assistance, working against a sharing of information of one's rights and entitlements to benefits, deterring any sense of community, and creating a paranoia between neighbours instead of creating a sense of collectivity. This enhances the stigmatization and

stereotyping of social assistance recipients and increases feelings of embarrassment and humiliation. There have been a multitude of changes to the social assistance system, so many that it becomes difficult to keep track, and with the lack of updated regulations it is difficult to provide accurate policies and regulations. The material presented here could conceivably soon be outdated as the present Federal Liberal Government is proposing to 'overhaul' the Canadian welfare system. It is doubtful, however, that the changes will have any profound affect on those families and individuals who are the poorest in our community, much less challenge the underlying oppression of capitalism and patriarchy.

Current policies and regulations of the welfare system have been determined by evolving ideologies and changing needs in the reproductive and productive spheres. Regardless of changes to the welfare system, the social assistance system in particular, still maintains and encourages women's oppression in both the reproductive and productive spheres and it "does this mainly by propping up the patriarchal family and providing minimal services where the family and wage system between them are manifestly inadequate" (Frenzway, Court, & Connell, 1989:22). The social assistance system subscribes to the model of the traditional nuclear family and upholds patriarchal attitudes about women's roles. This model consists of the heterosexual relations of the male breadwinner, whose role is seen as being financially responsible for the private realm, and the woman's role of the financially dependent Mother who is responsible for rearing the next generation of labourers. The social assistance system at the same time serves the interests of capitalism by removing responsibility for the social conditions of workers from capital, as this becomes the responsibility of the state, resulting in greater accumulation of profit for capitalists.

The following is a discussion of the ideological dimension of Motherhood. The values and beliefs that society shares about Motherhood reinforce the traditional family ethic. These same values and beliefs are also reinforced by and affect the social assistance system.

III. IDEOLOGY OF MOTHERHOOD

It is important to examine not only the material dimensions of social assistance but also the ideological dimensions, the ideas, beliefs and values that a group holds to make sense out of their world. An important ideological dimension in shaping social assistance programs is that of the dominant ideology of Motherhood. "Indeed for most of the 20th century an idealized model of Motherhood, derived from the situation of the white, American, middle-class (family) has been projected as universal" (Glen, Chang & Forcey, 1993:3). Women are portrayed as dependent Mothers in a nuclear family who are completely responsible for the private, reproductive sphere. Mothers are to provide a loving and caring home for their family and the man of the household will provide support and protection. Not only has this idealized model of Motherhood been projected as universal, but Motherhood is also been viewed as 'natural' and 'right.' The biological differences between the sexes has been used to justify the allocation of women to the private sphere and to interpret this biological predeterminism as natural and right. These views are embodied and maintained in all societal institutions, such as the educational systems, judicial and policing systems, and media systems.

In our patriarchal culture the dominant ideology of motherhood has been philosophically and materially oppressive to women. It mandates to women exclusive responsibility for the emotional and physical work of caring, while it simultaneously marginalizes and distorts this work. Sentimentalized tropes of ideal mothering - endlessly loving, serenely healing, emotionally rewarding - have no counterpart in a political and social reality where the labour of caring is devalued, unsupported, and unseen, and where mothers are more likely to be endlessly burdened, anxious, and blamed. Biological motherhood, as a discreet and exemplary feminine event, is elevated, providing of course it occurs within the prescribed cultural scenario. However, the ensuing tasks of nurturing regardless of the relational, familial, or cultural status of the women who perform them, or the structures within which they take place, proceed within a system of power profoundly ignorant or indifferent to their stresses, isolation and duration. (O'Barr, Pope, & Wyer, 1990:14)

This dominant norm of Motherhood is also reinforced by the regulations and laws that govern the social assistance system. Indeed, the very foundation of social assistance is based on the belief that women's role is that of Mother and, as such, women make their claim to social assistance as Mothers and unpaid workers. The social assistance system assesses women in terms of conforming to the ideal of Motherhood and the traditional family. The Provincial social allowances program will only provide assistance in the absence of a male head of the household. The perception of these single parent families is that of 'failures' and the inadequate amount of social assistance penalizes Mothers for being out of their role. In return for financial support, the social assistance system is entitled to supervise Mothers and ensure, through home visits, 'proper' living conditions and health of the children according to "middle-class" values. The social assistance system upholds familial patriarchy, in that, if there is a male living in the household, it is assumed that he shall provide for the family; whether he is contributing financially or not is irrelevant. Also, the social assistance system requires that fathers of these children pay child support

and, if they are negligent, the state will pursue the father for financial reimbursement. The ideology of Mothers' roles helps to keep them subordinate in both the public and the private spheres. Women's allocation and responsibility for the reproductive realm affects women's paid employment as it is viewed as secondary to their family responsibility and this is reinforced by the discrimination that women experience in the paid labour market. Thus, we must examine the ideology of Motherhood and the dominant ideology of our society as these serve to reinforce both male domination and capitalism. But it is equally important to include the ideologies of Mothering from other perspectives and experiences, specifically those ideologies that are not white nor middle-class. What may be needed to expand "the social base of mothering is attending to the variation rather than searching for the universal and to shift what has been on the margins to the centre" (Glenn, Chang, & Forcey, 1994:5).

To emphasize the power and control of the state does not mean that the state is a monolithic entity under which subordinate groups cannot make progress/headway. Actual policies are the results of contestation, not only between organized political forces but also between individuals. While radical change is rare, women of many social groups have sometimes been able to use the state in their own interest against more personal oppression. These gains are significant because they can result in improvements in the status and material conditions of women and minorities. Nevertheless, change is difficult as the state is situated inside the dominant ideologies of capitalism and patriarchy. Not only do specific policies need to be changed but a common/shared goal for a different kind of overall structure and ideology is required.

What is important in this discussion is the way that the state has organized social life to create and maintain a gender split between the private and public spheres of human life. This split developed historically and the boundaries of this split are ever changing to meet the demands of capitalism, patriarchy and social movements. The social assistance system developed as a direct result of this social arrangement and, as such, has a special meaning for women living in this social system. Because of women's disadvantaged position in this capitalist patriarchal system, women are the primary recipients of social assistance and so are the central concern of this project.

The purpose of this research is to understand the role of the state in maintaining capitalism and patriarchy and specifically the role the social assistance system plays in regulating Mothers' and their children's lives. This research examines the everyday and personal experiences of Mothers on social assistance in an attempt to fill in part of the gap in understanding the impact social assistance has on their lives, as well as their insights and suggestions for change. It is of crucial importance for Mothers' voices to have a forum so that they may identify some of their needs rather than having their needs being interpreted by 'expert' opinions. It is important:

to bring into scholarship the actual experience of welfare recipients. This is especially important because of the domination of welfare scholarship by technocratic experts who not only narrow their focus to microeconomic questions but who usually exclude all but quantitative questions. (Gordon, 1990:193)

Therefore, this research is informed by feminist methodology and uses qualitative data gathered from interviews with Mothers who have experienced the social assistance system.

In the next chapter the principles of feminist methodology are outlined along with a detailed description of the research process.

CHAPTER IV

FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

Feminist methodology is rooted in the central and common belief that women live in a state of oppression. The oppression of women is not seen as inevitable, therefore, there is the potential for change. For change to occur, though, we need to investigate and understand women's experiences. Further, we need to examine how our lives are organized by society so that proposed changes will be liberating for women. Feminist methodology values the everyday experiences of women. By examining these personal experiences we begin to understand how their connections to systems and structures in our society affect our everyday lives. Feminist methodology:

argues that power and its use can be examined within personal life and, indeed, in some sense that the political must be examined in this way. It also emphasizes that 'the system' is experienced in everyday life, and isn't separate from it. And so feminism argues that systems and social structures, whether concerned with the economy, the family, or the oppression of women more generally, can best be examined and understood through an exploration of relationships and experiences within everyday life. (Stanley & Wise, 1983:53)

Of crucial importance in examining everyday experiences is that we, as researchers, do not see ourselves as experts in other people's lives, and that we reject the idea that there is one true reality. Knowledge is socially constructed, so the knowledge that we have gained through our experience of reality is understood as different from other people's knowledge, based on their experiences of reality. Therefore, it is critical that our focus be on describing reality from the perspective of those being researched and not to devalue their experiences. This creates an opportunity to re-define and re-name our own experiences in

order to advance knowledge that will challenge the status quo (Stanley & Wise, 1983; Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

I. PRINCIPLES OF FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

Following these basic assumptions of feminist research, this research is further informed by the five principles of feminist methodology outlined by Cook & Fonow (1990). The following is a description of these principles:

1) The first and one of the most important principles - as it differentiates feminist research from other types of research - is that women are to be central to the research. Men have held the central place in most sociological analysis and to understand women's reality we must have research that is based on women's experiences (Cook & Fonow, 1990:73).

Feminist research methodology is not only research about women and their experiences of reality, it is research FOR women. Feminist methodology is meant to produce research that aims to be liberating for women, to challenge the oppressive structures and the traditional values and beliefs of women in our society.

2) Feminist methodology is also different from other forms of methodology in that it by and large rejects positivism: the object/subject separation, the resulting objectification of women and the tendency to equate quantification with objectivity (Cook & Fonow, 1990:76). Traditional positivist methodology attempts to claim objectivity on the part of the researcher and of the data that are collected. In contrast, feminist methodology rejects objectivity at all stages of the research process and claims that subjectivity is unavoidable, and actually beneficial. For example, feminist researchers accept that who the researcher is - her/his class, sex and race, and her/his knowledge, beliefs and behaviours - affects how

the research process will be carried out. Our experience as researchers must be included so that:

...the research process becomes a dialogue between the researcher and researched, an effort to explore and clarify the topic under discussion, to clarify and expand understanding; both are assumed to be individuals who reflect upon their experience and who can communicate those reflections. This is inherent in the situation; neither the subjectivity of the researcher nor the subjectivity of the researched can be eliminated in the process. (Fonow & Cook, 1991:140)

Unequal power relations continue to exist between researcher and interviewer despite the rejection of the object/subject dichotomy. However, these relations are generally made more overt and some effort is made to equalize the power relations wherever possible. At many points during the research process, the researcher holds more power than the researched and does objectify their experiences - during analysis, writing reports, and in presenting the information.

Ultimately the researcher must objectify the experience of the researched, must translate that experience into more abstract and general terms if an analysis that links the individual to processes outside her immediate social world is to be achieved....The impossibility of eliminating all objectification exists in all social research, and the problem cannot be solved by creating the illusion that no relationship exists between the researcher and her research object. (Fonow & Cook, 1991:136)

This does not mean that, since all research does objectify the researched in some way, all unequal power relations are acceptable. Feminist researchers must be aware and sensitive to unequal power relations and must not use this power differential in an abusive or oppressive manner.

3) Feminist methodology is also concerned with "ethical issues that arise when feminists participate in the research process. These include the use of language as a means of

subordination, the fairness of gatekeeping practices, interventions into people's lives and withholding needed information from women subjects" (Cook & Fonow, 1990:79).

Feminist methodology claims to be centred around examining the oppression of women and aims to liberate women from such oppression. Therefore, it is essential that researchers do not make the research process an exploitative one. As mentioned earlier, researchers must not impose their definition of reality on those being researched; we need to minimize the objectification of those being researched and to ensure that our research does not become another mode of oppression (Fonow & Cook, 1991:136).

4) The theme of consciousness-raising is a central tenet of feminist methodology.

Consciousness-raising may occur in a variety of different forms (Cook & Fonow, 1990:75). The researcher's and subject's knowledge can be a source of information that may contribute to consciousness-raising and later action. Researchers need to pay attention to the consciousness-raising effects of research on themselves, as well as paying attention to ways in which the research process influences the subjects of the inquiry.

5) Finally, feminist methodology places an emphasis on empowerment and change. The purpose of research and subsequent knowledge is to bring about some change for the advancement of women and, for the research participants in particular.

Feminist methodology calls attention to the process by which the research is undertaken and the active role of the researcher in that process. By including the researcher in the research, the researcher obtains a more intimate feel and knowledge of the entire research process and of the experiences of those being researched. Research methodology must be an on-going process developing in conjunction with the conceptual framework and in response to the interaction of the researcher and the people being studied. Discussion of

the research process itself is a significant part of the on-going work. The difficulties encountered can be important sources of insight concerning the subject being studied and the research methodology (Tomm, 1989:189-190). This inclusion to the research process, then, allows the researcher to include her/his own experiences and to use these as a source of information to provide a more accurate description and analysis of the research focus.

II. THE RESEARCH PROCESS

My interest in doing this research developed as I listened to Mothers speaking about their many different experiences in dealing with the social assistance system. I feel strongly about this topic as social assistance permeates through many aspects of Mothers' everyday lives. Most of our discussions revolved around living in poverty due to the inadequate monetary amounts that the social assistance system provides. Also of interest to me was the lack of respect and value that many of these Mothers felt. Therefore, I have capitalized 'Mother' in this study to express my great respect and appreciation of Mothers and I use the term 'Motherwork' to describe the vast amount and varying types of work that Mothers perform. It is my respect for these women that brought me to a point where I wanted to know more about their experiences.

The central purpose of this research project was to explore Mothers' experiences on social assistance. I decided to use the qualitative methodology of interactive interviews for the data collection as this was best suited for obtaining information given the complexity of such a topic as Mothers' experiences on social assistance. Interactive interviews were also best suited to my skills as a researcher and allowed me to work within the principles of feminist methodology.

The interactive interview permits the researcher to include herself in the research process and to reject the object/subject dichotomy. The interview then allows for some dialogue and a sharing of information between myself and the Mothers being interviewed. There is a sharing of ideas, philosophies, experiences and a sharing of one's self, including myself. It is a dialogue that encourages women to provide input about the research questions, and the research process, and for them to ask any questions about the research or of myself. This allows for a better and more personal rapport, greater flexibility to ask questions, and to explore a range of experiences, as well as opportunities for me to clarify and understand their experiences. Therefore, the interview is more like a focused conversation based on mutual respect.

This study is based on five interviews as it is a pilot study and is considered to be preliminary work about Mothers' experiences on social assistance. Due to the small number of interviews saturation of the data was not achieved and therefore the conclusions drawn are tentative. The concluding remarks are valid because of the content of the interviews, along with all the other data obtained and the attention given to representing the Mothers' voices.

The Mothers that participated in this study were five Mothers that I had met during my employment at Fort Garry Women's Resource Centre. All five of the Mothers are on social assistance or have been off of social assistance for no more than one year and all of them reside in the Winnipeg area. These Mothers were chosen because they had expressed an interest and availability to be interviewed and were Mothers with whom I had a good rapport. I felt that my history with these Mothers and the egalitarian relationship that we

have established would allow for a greater level of trust and sharing of information. The other important criterion was that we all shared the same language, English.

The research focus of Mothers' experiences on social assistance was transformed into specific questions which provided a loose outline for the interview process. These questions were formed from the preliminary information that I had gathered in formal (theoretical perspective, previous reading) and informal (previous experiences, discussion sessions with committee members and friends) ways. What was produced was the interview guide (see: Appendix D). The interview was guided by specific questions but it was also a conversation with myself sharing experiences about the social assistance system.

Upon calling these women to set up the interviews, I described the research focus, discussed with them how I would like the interview to be conducted, the procedure of tape recording and transcribing the interview that I was going to do, and how the information would be used and documented. None of the Mothers had any concerns or questions about this process and were very co-operative with respect to making arrangements to be interviewed. It was important that everyone was fully informed of the research so that each Mother could make an informed choice about their participation in this research project. During the call, it was also essential that I discussed confidentiality and anonymity with each Mother. Interviews were scheduled at a mutually agreed upon time and all of the interviews took place at each of the Mothers' respective homes because of child-care related duties. All of the interviews were conducted over a three week period from May 09, 1994 to May 30, 1994.

At the time of our first meeting an agreement was signed by the Mother and myself (see: Appendix E). This agreement outlined the purpose of the research and my

responsibility with respect to the guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity. At this time, I requested their permission to tape record and make notes during the interview and for the interview to be transcribed and documented. A copy of this agreement was given to each Mother for her records. None of the Mothers had concerns with respect to speaking about their experiences on social assistance and each of them trusted that I would keep all of the information confidential and anonymous. Two Mothers did express feeling self-conscious about the sound of their voice on the tape-recorder, but I assured them that no one would hear the tape except me. I also expressed my own discomfort with hearing my voice on the tape-recorder.

Two of the interviews were held during the day when the school-aged children were away and three of the interviews were held in the evening because of work or school responsibilities. The interviews ranged from 60 minutes to 90 minutes. Most interviews had a number of interruptions, the most number of breaks during one interview was eight with the breaks ranging from just a few seconds to five minutes depending on the children's needs. There was only one interview in which no breaks were needed as the interview was at 9:30 in the evening and the children were sleeping. These interruptions were not problematic as these Mothers juggled the duties of taking care of their children and yet were able to carry on with the interview. In one situation, the child continuously crawled over the Mother during the interview. In many situations, Mothers would hear and answer their children while simultaneously speaking to me. The Mothers amazed me in the number of tasks that they could do at the same time and not become distracted.

Of the five Mothers, four were single and one was married. The number of children in each family varied: two Mothers had one child each, two Mothers had two children each,

and one Mother had three children. The children's ages varied from nine months to seven years of age; out of the nine children only three were school age.

I personally enjoyed the interview process and found this experience to be the most fulfilling aspect of the entire thesis process. The interviews allowed me to be privileged in hearing about these Mothers' experiences with social assistance. The interview process was an exchange of information between the Mothers and myself. They also assisted in reworking the interview guideline and many of the questions, and I was of some assistance in providing information about social assistance to the Mothers. For example, I was able to share that social assistance would subsidize the cost of child-care and transportation to counselling sessions and the process needed to obtain this benefit.

Initially, the interview was designed to obtain an overall and chronological description of Mothers' experiences on social assistance and then to discuss how Mothers felt about each of the experiences. During the first interview, this turned out to be a problem as it was difficult not to talk about feelings and personal thoughts about the experience that she was describing. The other problem that arose very quickly in the interview process was the difficulty in remembering the chronological order of events. Therefore, we changed the process and would discuss each of the experiences in its entirety, and would then move on to the next experience. This proved to be more beneficial as each experience usually triggered a memory of another experience which we would then discuss. Slowly, over the entire interview, each of the experiences would be placed in order (for example, by asking: did this happen before or after the last situation?). Another problem was that the question about their experiences on social assistance was too vague. I needed to ask more specific and direct questions (for example: Were you ever involved with the Work Incentive

Program? Did you try to further your education while on social assistance?). All of the Mothers were quick to remember salient positive or negative experiences or their feelings about the experiences. During the first interview, the question aiming at class position was a problem as the Mother stated: "Do you want to know the class that I came from or that I am in now?" We decided that both perspectives would be of interest so I asked what class position they were in now and what class position did they come from. But during the second interview, the Mother had responded, "I feel like I am middle class" which developed into the question of which class do you feel most associated with. This resulted in all five Mothers replying "lower class" and "lowest of the low" with respect to the class position they were in when on social assistance. When asked which class position they felt most associated with, the responses varied from "working class" to "upper-middle class."

Immediately after each interview, I recorded my reflections on the discussion which had transpired. Each interview was transcribed and briefly examined before proceeding to the next interview. Transcribing the interview before proceeding to the next allowed me to become more familiar with the data and to make note of any important insights, thoughts or feelings about the data and address any questions, concerns or changes that should be reworked, omitted or added before proceeding to the next interview. This meant that the research process was continually changing in response to feedback and new information. Mothers were given the choice to receive a copy of their transcript to read for accuracy, provide clarification, interpretation and analysis of the data, depending on their desired level of involvement. None of the Mothers desired a copy of their transcripts but they all expressed an interest in knowing the final results of the analysis. All of the Mothers were willing to participate in further questioning or clarification. I subsequently called upon four

of the Mothers for further questions and I did this by phone as this was least time consuming.

III. DATA MANAGEMENT

The data were obtained by completing interactive interviews with each Mother about their experiences and how these experiences affected them. The data consisted of the transcripts, personal notes and reflections, newspaper articles, information gathered by phone calls, trips to the social assistance offices, and from a meeting with a Policy Analyst from the social assistance system, observations and documents (such as the Social Assistance Act, Social Assistance and Municipal Regulations, Social Assistance brochures and the Income Security Administrative Manual - 'rule book'). The volume of data initially transcribed from the interviews was overwhelming. Once transcribed, each interview was between 8 and 12 singled-spaced pages, producing a total of 50 pages of data. These data were organized and analyzed using the constant comparative method, whereby the data was organized according to emergent similarities and differences among experiences, so that data items that 'went together' made up the categories that are described in the next chapter (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). These data were also informed by the theoretical framework of socialist feminism. As the interview outline was based on a framework of socialist feminism, certain categories were already prevalent, such as Mothers' prior knowledge of the social assistance system, Mothers' experiences with social assistance workers, which then was later divided into emergent categories such as, experiences with home visits, workers attitudes and treatment towards the Mothers, and experiences with the work incentive program. To make sense out of this much data,

highlighting was done to accent certain categories, for example, all experiences with workers would be highlighted in the same colour, then these were cut, sorted, and catalogued into groups of emergent categories, for example, workers being disrespectful and condescending and positive experiences with workers.

Then came the process of attempting to make sense out of the categories and describing the themes that emerged from the categories. An important element of examination was the substantive category of Mothers' experiences of the social assistance system as a social patriarch. All of the data and separate categories in which the social assistance system had controlled and regulated the Mothers' lives such as, the monitoring system, experiences with home visits, child support payments, information barriers and the health services provided formed the substantive category of the state as a social patriarch. This category, for example, contributed to the themes of negative stereotypes, invasion of privacy, and powerlessness. Underlying all of the sections is the function of the social assistance system to prop up the role of the familial patriarch to maintain the conditions of patriarchy and capitalism. Since the aim is to better understand Mothers' experiences on social assistance, priority is given to the Mothers' voices in the analysis, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The analysis of data reveals five major sections. The first section provides a profile of the Mothers that participated in this study and a description of what brought them to their experience with the social assistance system. The next section discusses the structure of the social assistance system. This includes the Mothers' knowledge and perceptions of the social assistance system prior to applying, the structural environment of the social assistance offices and the criteria for eligibility. Section III discusses the Mothers' experiences with attitudes of the workers and the social reality that they have encountered. This section describes many of the problematic attitudes that the Mothers experienced, as well as the positive. Next, the Mothers' recommendations to workers is presented. The fourth section discusses the social assistance system as social patriarch and the methods used to scrutinize and regulate Mothers' lives. This section includes a discussion of experiences with the monitoring system, home visits, information barriers, the work incentive program and the social allowances health services program. The fifth section addresses how the social assistance personally system affects the Mothers, Mothers' supports and coping methods, and their recommendations for changes.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the most significant difference between the Municipal assistance program and the Provincial social allowance program is with respect to whom may apply for financial assistance. The Provincial social allowances program is designed to assist people with a mental or physical illness or disability that is likely to last more than 90 days, people 65 years of age and older, single parents raising children, dependent

children whose parents are dead, women staying in a women's crisis shelter, and people who live in an area where there is no municipal government. If an individual does not belong to one of these groups, then they may receive assistance from the Municipality that they live in. Under the Municipal jurisdiction, one has the right to apply if one is 18 years of age or older. Financial need is the basis for both of these assistance programs and this is determined by examining one's basic needs and financial resources.

As outlined below in the Profiles of the Mothers, four Mothers' experiences were with the Provincial social allowances program, as they qualified as single parents raising children, while the fifth Mother qualified for the Municipal assistance program. Both social assistance programs use similar forms and the same criteria to determine financial resources. However, the amount of money that is received through the Municipal assistance program is significantly less than that provided by the Provincial social allowances program. Also, the Municipal assistance program is considered short-term assistance, usually no longer than 90 days, while the Provincial social allowances program is considered long-term.

I. PROFILES OF THE MOTHERS

To begin the data analysis I will provide a profile of the Mothers that I interviewed. This will provide a description of some of the basic demographics of age, sex, marital status, educational level, the class they feel most associated with and a description of why these Mothers had to resort to social assistance. The names have been changed in order to maintain the Mothers' anonymity and confidentiality, but the quotes and information

presented are those of the Mothers. Also included are some of my experiences as a researcher in attempting to inquire about information for this thesis.

LYNN

Lynn is 29 years old and has two daughters: Elizabeth, who is 5 years old and Helen, who is almost 2 years old. Lynn is Caucasian and most associates herself with "upper-middle class." After Lynn had graduated from high school she married Paul. Lynn's first experience with provincial social assistance "was because my husband suddenly left town and I was left with a 2 year old." Lynn was on social assistance for one year and then reconciled with her husband. "The second time I was on assistance was because I left my husband and I had two kids. I left just a few days after Helen was born and have been on assistance since then."

BARBARA

Barbara is a 27 year old Caucasian with one daughter, Kate, who is 4 years old. Barbara has a Bachelor of Arts degree and a secretarial certificate from Red River Community College. With respect to class, Barbara stated that "I've always been middle class but recently I'm lower class cause (sic) I'm in poverty." Barbara said that her first experience with provincial social assistance was when "I threw my common-law husband out and I had no source of income." Barbara first applied for social assistance in 1990 and received benefits until January of 1991, when she was accepted into a one year training program through Employment and Immigration Canada. At the end of this period, Barbara reconciled with her common-law husband; "... I moved in with Dale in January 1992, so I

was off welfare for a year and a few more months until I kicked him out in March, so I've been on it now since March of 92."

KELLY

Kelly is 26 years old and has been married for 8 years to Larry. They have three children, Jaik, who is 6 years old, John, who is 5 years old and Rachelle, who is 27 months old. Kelly and Larry are an inter-racial couple as Kelly is Aboriginal and Larry is Caucasian. Kelly has completed her grade 10 education and considers her family as "working class" but when they are on city social assistance she states "I feel lower than low class." Kelly's first experience with social assistance was when she was 8 months pregnant. Larry's unemployment insurance benefits had expired and there was no source of income so they had to apply for city social assistance because they were a two parent family. Kelly's family has been on city social assistance eight times, and as Kelly describes it:

... our cycle is Larry works right through summer and he's on unemployment right through winter. But then there is always that two months or month that unemployment runs out and we have nothing, so then we're forced to go back to welfare. We never had to go on for a very long time, so it was more or less just for emergencies.

DIANE

Diane is a 32 year old Caucasian and has a nine month old daughter, Angel. Diane considers herself to be "working class now" but her up-bringing was more "middle class." Diane stated that she had "some grade 12 and then I have post secondary for a 6 month

computer course and then 1 1/2 years of drafting at a technical school." Diane said that her first experience with social assistance was when:

I moved to Winnipeg when I was 6 months pregnant. I quit my job in Calgary to move here to be closer to my family and to get away from my ex-husband, so I had a waiting period for unemployment so I went on social assistance. ... it was just a matter of a month or two, the first time but it was confusing, I phoned the province social assistance first and they said to go to the city social assistance. So I made an appointment at city and I went in and after waiting there for an hour and a half and then talking to somebody they said 'oh no you shouldn't even be here. You should be going to the province because after a certain period in your pregnancy the province gets you.' So, single women go to the city, but after 6 or 7 months of being pregnant then you go to the province.

So Diane was on provincial social assistance for a couple of months until her unemployment insurance benefits started. She collected these benefits for 17 weeks until, shortly after she had her baby, her Unemployment Insurance benefits ran out. Diane was confused as to why her benefits had expired as she was under the understanding that she was receiving regular Unemployment Insurance benefits and would be able to now collect maternity benefits. But, in actuality she had been receiving maternity benefits all along and now was not entitled to receive any further Unemployment Insurance benefits as she was now unavailable for work. Diane contacted social assistance for a second time and collected provincial social assistance for five months until she found employment.

KAREN

Karen is 31 years old and has two daughters, Sally, who is 4 years old and Allison, who is 17 months old. Karen is Caucasian and has completed a Masters of Education degree.

Karen considers herself to be "middle class." Karen stated that her first experience with social assistance:

...was when Nick went out of town for 5 days and I had Sally as a new born baby and there was no milk, no juice and I didn't have a dime and basically it was 'fuck you.' I was sitting there and I was unemployed and I had no access to any of the money, nothing. So, I approached provincial welfare and said I need some food for my kid and they turned me away. I told them he has taken off and I don't know when he'll be back I have no milk or apple juice, I have no money. I need to have some basic necessities for my kid and they said 'no.'

The next time Karen approached provincial social assistance was when "all of a sudden Nick could not pay his child support as he was out of money. So I went to welfare because I only had a little money coming in, and that was not enough to survive on." Karen was on social assistance for a few months until she found a full time job and Nick resumed paying child support.

In sum, these five Mothers all had experiences with the social assistance system. The amount of time that each of these Mothers was on social assistance varied from a few months to a few years. The one common element that all of these Mothers had experienced was that they did not have any source of income to support themselves and their families and therefore had to resort to the social assistance system. The reasons that brought them to this experience are varied. Two Mothers had recently left their husbands, one Mother had left her husband and quit her job to move back to Winnipeg in order to be with a supportive family, one Mother's husband defaulted on the child support payments and one Mother's husband was temporarily unemployed. Two Mothers had a significantly longer experience on social assistance, while a third Mother had many repeated experiences with

social assistance over eight years and two Mothers experiences with social assistance were for only a few months.

II. STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM

All five of the Mothers reported that they knew nothing about social assistance prior to applying and none of them had ever expected to find themselves in a position of having to receive social assistance. These sentiments are succinctly expressed by Kelly: "I had never known about welfare, never knew anybody on it, my parents were never even on unemployment, so I never even thought about being on assistance." None of the Mothers had any previous experiences with social assistance and only one Mother had any contact with a person who had experience with social assistance. That experience was very limited; Barbara said that her friend "hadn't been on it that long either so I didn't hear a whole lot, I just knew that they didn't give you much money and that workers could be kind of ignorant." Another element that was brought up during the interviews was the prevalence of the ideology of the traditional family and of Motherhood. Kelly said that "I never thought that when I got married this is where I would end up...on social assistance." The belief that marriages will endure and that husbands will be financially responsible for their families still seems to be upheld. The expectation remains that men will support their families' economic needs while women remain responsible for the domestic domain. As Lynn reported:

I blame him for where I am. He made promises to me. He wanted a wife to stay at home and raise his children and I was totally agreeable to that when we were married. Then for him to say "I made a mistake" so he doesn't want a family. It was his fault that I got stuck in this place not mine.

The social assistance system also seems to reflect this attitude. The system is designed such that two parent families apply to the Municipal assistance program as the assumption is that the father will work and provide for "his" family and the Mother will remain at home. For example, in Kelly's situation, the Municipal assistance workers "got Larry working through the City of Winnipeg but they never even attempted to find me work."

Even though these Mothers had practically no experience with the social assistance system prior to these experiences some of the Mothers did mention the stigma of social assistance. Whether the knowledge of the stigma was present before they applied or after was difficult to determine. Diane stated that she knew that being on social assistance really "bothered" her Mother and specifically it was, "the stigma attached to it, like people are lazy, don't want to work, just sit around all day and so they go on welfare." Also Lynn mentioned that she was nervous about applying for social assistance because, "you go in there and they right away look down at you. So I was nervous but I didn't know anything about the set up other than knowing that they'd look down at me, so that's how I felt." Even before entering the social assistance office, some Mothers felt nervous and apprehensive and were aware that they might have to contend with the stigma of welfare.

II(a). Structural Environment that Mothers Confronted

The first step that all of these Mothers went through in applying for social assistance was confronting the feelings of the fear of entering the social assistance offices. All of the Mothers reported feelings of apprehension and nervousness as illustrated by Kelly's comment:

I remember my legs stopping, like I couldn't walk in, my heart was really, really pounding and not being able to talk cause (sic) I had never ever known anything about welfare.

Upon entering the four Provincial and one Municipal social assistance offices, I invariably found a stark waiting room and a receptionist seated behind plexiglass. The Mothers interviewed did not like the physical settings, commenting that this made them feel like diseased persons or like they were in a "jail cell". Kelly stated that she felt:

...like a diseased person, you know, like you might have a disease and if you get past the glass then you get to sit in their little cubby hole of a room to give them your papers and explain your situation.

Lynn felt exposed and somewhat alienated by the setting. She said:

...when you go down to the office they have this cubicle and everyone's standing there next to each other in the waiting room. And while they stand on one side, you stand on the other like a jail cell. And then they pass things underneath the glass to you and they talk about your personal business in the waiting room right in front of everyone.

In the offices I visited, there were no resource sections for pamphlets, and at the City office they didn't even have chairs in the waiting room. In order to see a worker the Mothers had to divulge personal business to a receptionist who recorded this information and then asked the Mothers to sit and wait. After waiting up to 45 minutes or longer, the Mothers were admitted through locked security doors into a room where social assistance workers' desks were located. In one of the Provincial social allowances offices, there were four small rooms constructed of plexiglass allowing all workers and social assistance recipients to see each other. These Mothers saw this as a lack of privacy. The social assistance system's rationale behind this physical arrangement was for security reasons and worker safety.

The physical layout of the social assistance offices was quite telling. As I entered, I was immediately confronted with a visible barrier between myself and the inner workings of the office; a large plexiglass barrier. I sat in a crowded waiting-room on one side of this imposing barrier with the support staff and workers on the other side. This dramatically reinforced the notion of "us" and "them." Prior to speaking with a worker one must speak with a receptionist who may ask very personal and private questions. For example, I was asked to provide my name and the reason for my visit. To make matters worse, I was forced to speak very loudly, as there were only tiny holes cut through the plexiglass through which to speak. This completely precludes the possibility of a "private" conversation between the individual requesting service and the receptionist. As I sat in the waiting room many people had to speak to the receptionist and I could hear very clearly people's names, addresses, their phone numbers (or indication of a lack of a phone) and personal information about their situations. This further creates a situation of public humiliation. When I was allowed to move from the waiting-room into the plexiglass cubicles to speak with the worker, the complete visibility of the room and of myself added to my feelings of being "on display." I could glance around and see others in a similar position.

Having likely arrived already experiencing confusion, fear and humiliation, these added physical conditions only serve to lessen the Mothers' sense of esteem or control. During my four visits to these offices, I experienced a very real sense of anger, embarrassment, and intimidation. Clearly, these responses were not unique, nor limited to myself; they were shared by the Mothers I interviewed. As Lynn states, "its like, Oh well, everyone here is for social assistance so who gives a shit. They should do away with those cubicles."

These Mothers stated that having to apply for social assistance meant that they were already under significant stress and feeling pretty 'low' prior to their arrival at the social assistance offices. Having to confront the lack of privacy and confidentiality inherent in the physical environments only served to further humiliate these Mothers.

II(b). Criteria for Eligibility

Social assistance is regarded as a last resort program and Mothers must have practically no other sources of income or assets before receiving social assistance. Financial assets include job earnings, maintenance payments, allowances, pensions, injury settlements, insurance benefits, bonds, bank accounts, and gifts. In calculating financial resources, recipients are allowed to have up to \$2,000.00 for a single person with one dependent and \$500.00 for the second and each additional dependent up to a maximum of \$3,000.00. If the Mother is working or receives any moneys or gifts, she is obliged to report these immediately and recipients are allowed to have earnings at the rate of up to \$50.00 per month or, at the discretion of the director, up to \$600.00 in any fiscal year. Recipients are also allowed gifts of a non-recurring nature of a value up to \$100.00 each (Social Allowances Regulation, Section 8(1)).

To determine eligibility, the applicant must divulge personal information about their financial and personal situation. There were two social assistance workers that these Mothers had to deal with. The first worker that these Mothers had contact with was the counsellor, the second worker was the financial worker assigned to their case. In the first contact with the counsellor information was collected regarding the applicant and spouse's employment and educational history and their future plans with respect to these. In filling

out the application form, the applicant also signed an authorization for information form which gave the social assistance workers permission to verify information pertaining to marital status, employment income, assets and resources, medical or family conditions and benefits received under other programs. Barbara's statement captures the sentiments expressed in some way by all of the Mothers, when she said:

There are a million forms to fill out and it took an hour just to fill out the forms. And the worker drilled me about why I was here, about my husband and how much money he made. And I had to get into all this personal stuff. And he wrote everything down and I had to tell him the history with my husband and of my child support.

A sense of personal intrusion, of mistrust by the workers and of intimidation were common themes when these Mothers talked of being in the social assistance offices.

Once all the information was gathered and all the necessary forms were filled out, the claim was processed. The social assistance system was quick to process forms as the Mothers did state that it was not long before they began to receive money. Also, on one occasion, the municipal social assistance program provided emergency moneys to Diane. She stated that "they were actually quite good because they gave me cash for the weekend to buy food to tide me over until I got to the province". Lynn also made the comment that "there is no question that you are going to be put on assistance and given money and given a rental, there is no question that will happen...its just going through it." So, these Mothers were aware that they would receive money and that it would not be a long waiting period before they received any money. The difficulty arose in dealing with the structure of the social assistance offices, the intrusiveness of the application process and the general attitudes of workers and society.

III. ATTITUDES OF WORKERS AND SOCIETY

All five Mothers had many 'bad' experiences with social assistance workers but each Mother also had 'good' experiences with workers. The Mothers described the relationship between themselves and their workers as one of an extreme power imbalance. In order to determine an applicant's eligibility the workers knew a great deal about the Mothers' lives and the Mothers reported that this made them feel as if they were stripped of their identity and scrutinized by the workers. As Karen states, "You're stripped of your whole identity. You go in there and sign your life away and somebody is going to scrutinize this and they're making an assessment of you." All of the Mothers felt that the nature of the relationship between themselves and their workers determined whether they would be awarded the optimum level of benefits or the basic subsistence level. As Barbara stated, "there are ways they can help you, it's just if they don't feel like it they don't and it shouldn't be like that." Workers have a good deal of discretionary power in allocating funds; for example, under special circumstances, workers may approve payments for child care, housekeeper or attendant services and for expenses such as the cost of a telephone. But these Mothers reported that it was difficult to access this information and at times they were not receiving benefits that they were entitled to receive.

III(a). Disrespectful and Condescending Attitudes Experienced by the Mothers

The Provincial social allowances program assigns two workers to each Mother, a financial worker and a counsellor. The Mothers' first contact with a worker is the counsellor, who is responsible for the application process, home visit and any follow up that is required. The financial worker prepares the budget and oversees the expenditures

for the Mothers' case. This worker is also responsible for any questions regarding any money matters. The municipal social assistance program required Kelly to apply downtown at the central office, where all applications for the Municipal assistance program are processed. She was then assigned a worker from the regional social assistance office, who would be responsible for her case. So, these Mothers would have only have had contact with two workers if they continued to live in the same place and their workers remained in those positions. However, this is not the case. Due to life circumstances, people move on and these Mothers had many experiences with many different workers and for three of these Mothers their experiences spanned many years.

These Mothers reported they felt that many of their workers did not respect them and displayed this disrespect by failing to cancel appointments, not returning phone calls, and being tardy for appointments. Lynn stated that:

...they also don't have any respect for you. They make appointments at 1:00 and you come at 10 minutes to 1:00 and then they don't take you till 1:30. And by then your baby is finished being there....That's not right. And they also don't answer their phones. You have to leave a message and they never return your calls.

Barbara's experience with her worker was that, "she never showed up and didn't phone or nothing. And it was a Friday and I'm waiting for her all afternoon." The Mothers were aware that the workers had heavy caseloads and that emergency situations did arise but felt that they warranted a phone call regarding any changes to their appointments.

These Mothers also reported that some of their workers were also very condescending towards them and the Mothers felt that they could not risk saying anything for fear of workers causing 'trouble' in their lives. Lynn's experience was that:

they make you feel like a low person because of the way they talk down to you. They talk to me like I'm in grade 6. I have an education, I have an intellectual mind and I can carry on a conversation. But they talk to you like you're in elementary school. But you just have to take it and you don't say anything cause they control your livelihood and you don't want any trouble or for them to start looking around into your life.

The mothers felt that workers viewed them as being 'stupid' or as a 'fucking moron,' leaving the Mothers feeling horrible and worthless.

During the interviews, Mothers were asked why they felt workers would behave in such a manner, and if the behaviour had anything to do with the worker's or Mothers' race, sex, or class. None of the Mothers reported any significance with respect to race, but this is probably because only one Mother and one worker belonged to a race other than Caucasian. With respect to sex, the majority of these Mothers' workers were female, except in five situations and then three male workers were reported to be unsupportive. As Karen reported, "he talked to me in a very slow, very condescending and very drawn out manner." Diane reported that the first time she went on social assistance she "had a guy social worker and he was horrible, no personality, like he was just this and this and he didn't tell me anything, he just asked me a bunch of questions and that was it." Also Barbara reported that her worker during her first visit to social assistance was "not very pleasant, he didn't make me feel very good about it. I felt bad enough to begin with like I was brought up like you don't go on welfare and so I felt really humiliated." This does not mean that the female workers were more supportive than these male workers as there were many 'bad' experiences with female workers. As Kelly reported, her worker "was really rank, absolutely impossible. She sits on this pedestal and she thinks that it's her money that she is giving you."

This is not to say that all workers behave in this manner. Karen also had another experience with a male worker and "he was really busy but he got back to me that same day with all the information that I needed. We were able to process the stuff really fast and he got things done." These relationships with individual workers are also not stagnant: Barbara's experiences with her worker changed over a three year period and eventually, "he was actually pretty nice...but that's very unusual with that worker because I've heard so many bad things about that guy...but for some reason he liked me." Barbara stated that maybe the change in his attitude towards her was because she had confided in him, which had helped him gain a better understanding of what brought her to that point in her life. Class seemed to have some relevance to three of the Mothers who thought that the fact the workers themselves had jobs seemed to be a factor in explaining the 'bad' treatment that these Mothers received during their experiences. As Lynn reported:

just know that your chances of getting somebody nice is slim. They are going to talk down to you and they're going to treat you like garbage. Basically you just take it and get your money...they're so 'uppity' as they have a job and you don't.

Barbara shared this same sentiment but also thought that the 'bad' treatment may be in part because of 'burnout' and that:

workers are trained to give you as little as possible. And after a while maybe they're just burnt out, cause some of them have a real bad attitude. Plus they are all making a lot of money and we're not, so they look down on us.

The other Mothers also mentioned that they thought workers were trained or told to provide only the 'basic' subsistence level in order for the government to save money. The financial workers were there as Barbara stated:

to save themselves [social assistance system] money, they don't care, I feel like they don't care. Most of them are not social workers they're just the financial worker so they don't know anything about any of this stuff, the social work part of it, and they're overwhelmed maybe by all the problems and they just get this cold attitude.

The Mothers felt that they were being 'set-up' by the social assistance system in that the system states that certain benefits exist in order to provide services to people with little or no income yet the process required to receive these benefits is very complicated, bureaucratic and time consuming. The Mothers felt that this was a deliberate attempt to deter them from requesting certain benefits in order to save the social assistance system some money. The Mothers felt powerless with respect to the bureaucracy of the system itself and 'just lived with' the ramification of the rules. They felt that their experiences were directly affected by the workers' attitudes and these experiences could be drastically altered by how the Mothers were treated. The Mothers understood that their workers had to follow certain limits and rules, that the worker's had very heavy caseloads and understood the difficult nature of the worker's job. For example, Barbara stated that:

I don't think anybody could be prepared for how they're going to feel but if they get a good worker then you walk away feeling not too bad about yourself. I mean, you still feel bad cause (sic) you've had to do what you've had to do. But if you get a really crappy worker then you feel almost suicidal cause you feel so rotten and then this person mistreats you, you feel as low as you can go.

All of the Mothers agreed that the kind of treatment that they received from their workers affected how they felt. The Mothers felt that little could be done regarding the rules and limits that workers had to enforce and understood this to be the worker's role. However, the feeling remained that the workers had control and power over how they presented themselves and how they treated the Mothers. All of the Mothers felt that they were at a

'low' point when having to apply for social assistance and as Kelly stated, "it took every resource just to get there and ask for help." But then to be treated 'really rotten' only exacerbated the situation and did nothing to empower the Mothers.

This disrespectful and condescending treatment is also replicated by society at large and these Mothers reported feeling that there was a stigma attached to being on social assistance and felt that this was unfounded. This is reflected in Lynn's comments:

I don't like the attitude society has about us. They automatically think I am a bad parent and that I must be boozing and playing bingo because I am a welfare mother. The thing is and in most cases and at least in mine, my money goes first to the kids - their needs and their food and what they need, entertainment for them. I get nothing for me. There is never anything left, you know, so just that whole attitude of society that I am a bad mother and a low life and whatever cause I am on welfare. I work very hard but society doesn't view it as that. I get no breaks and I work 7 days a week and 24 hours a day. Who else has a job like that and gets paid pennies?

The Mothers would go to many lengths in order not to be identified by people as 'welfare Moms' and experience people's reactions. Mothers would do all their banking through the banking machine instead of seeing a teller personally. Karen told people that she was a student in order to avoid their reaction regarding social assistance recipients. These Mothers were very aware of the perceived stigma from society and made significant and conscious efforts to avoid being identified as such. This however, was not the case for all the Mothers, as Diane reported that, "under the circumstances it didn't bother me much because there wasn't anything I could do about it." Mothers did not always feel humiliated or embarrassed receiving social assistance and, on occasion, the Mothers would have a positive experience with people from the community. These Mothers also had positive experiences with some of their social assistance workers.

III(b). Positive Experiences with Workers

All of the Mothers reported some positive experiences with social assistance workers and the Mothers were quick to remember such experiences with appreciation. They described these workers as helpful individuals who explained things to them in a pleasant manner. Other positive experiences involved workers who informed the Mothers of financial resources that they were not aware of, including example special needs money, baby-sitting expenses if a Mother had to attend a medical appointment, and laundry expenses. A significant positive experience for Barbara was when:

I wanted to go to a weekend workshop, so I went to assistance and told them I wanted to go and asked for \$150.00. I had to explain why this would help me. They gave me the money, and they paid for me to go to a counsellor. And other people had never even heard of this happening.

It is these positive experiences that made a difference in how these Mothers felt about themselves. As Barbara stated earlier, "if you get a good worker then you walk away feeling not too bad about yourself." Because the social assistance experience is inherently unnerving, the pleasant disposition of a kind worker made a lasting impression on the Mothers.

III(c). Mothers' Recommendations to Workers

The most salient recommendation that Mothers offered, was the desire for workers to treat them with respect. The Mothers were well aware that the workers had large caseloads and were also regulated by the system but believed that this did not give the workers the right to be disrespectful or condescending towards them. These Mothers recommended that the workers should have to attend training sessions that would enhance their communication

skills. Further, sensitivity towards the value of Motherwork should be promoted. Lynn expressed that:

I think they should give training to their workers on treating people with respect, valuing the person that comes in as a working mother rather than a mother that is doing nothing. And just to realize that they are dealing with intelligent people. They should have some etiquette courses for these people.

Kelly felt that the social assistance workers:

all need to go back to school to learn communication skills and to have not only their communication skills but just how to be nice. How to look someone in the eye and be of equal value because they know that they can intimidate you much easier as they're the one with the job and you're not.

These Mothers thought that workers should play more of an advocacy role that would assist Mothers in the application process, explain how welfare works, as well as the potential entitlements available through social assistance. Barbara also felt it would be helpful if the counsellor was more knowledgeable about the issues that these Mothers faced. Diane stated that she wanted the social assistance workers to recognize that social assistance is:

not something people want and people don't say O.K. I'm going to go on assistance. Everybody's situation is different and you have to take into account everyone's individual situation and realize that people do not choose to be on assistance. A lot of people that I talk to, if they had a way out, they'd take it, a job with decent pay, they'd get off of assistance. Stop being down on all of us. We're not all drunk and gambling.

The major point that these Mothers expressed is a desire to be treated respectfully.

Understandably, the social assistance system is very complicated and the Mothers feel overwhelmed by the rules and regulations. Therefore, the Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system are most directly represented by their interactions with the social assistance workers. It is this human interaction that can make a difference to these

Mothers, especially in light of the fact that receiving social assistance already carries with it a heavy stigma that these Mothers have had to endure. Social assistance workers need to be respectful and nonjudgemental, to provide clear and accurate information and to use their power to empower and not to control.

IV. THE STATE AS SOCIAL PATRIARCH

All of the Mothers expressed that they felt the social assistance system functioned like a parent. Lynn's comment reflects this when she stated that social assistance was like "having a parent as everything that you want to purchase has to be approved by them." The Mothers also mentioned that they felt at the mercy of the social assistance system and felt afraid to stand up for their rights. Barbara stated that:

I feel like it's a big scary parent, like I'm scared to stand up to them because they'll retaliate against you. It's just like a big parent and one time the worker even lectured me about how women go back to their abusive husbands and you shouldn't go back, 'tsk tsk, silly women that go back.'

The Mothers stated that the social assistance system was very threatening. Furthermore, throughout the entire Municipal and Provincial Regulations and the Social Assistance Act, it is clearly stated that the municipality or director may deny, reduce, suspend or discontinue assistance. Not only is this threatening, it clearly indicates that when the social assistance system provides financial support, it confers the right to control many aspects of these Mothers' lives. This control as identified by the Mothers includes the monitoring system, home visits, child support payments and information barriers.

IV(a). Monitoring System

The monitoring system is extensive and it includes such things as: home visits, monthly reports and yearly reviews (which are to claim all moneys an individual and their spouse or children 16 years and over receive from working), and access to all necessary documents to verify any information (for example, bank accounts, income tax returns and so on). This type of monitoring serves several functions including maintaining organizational effectiveness and providing information for evaluating program effectiveness. But this kind of scrutiny and invasion into one's privacy left these Mothers feeling very intimidated and at the mercy of the workers. As Lynn reported:

You have to know that when you go to assistance that they have the right to look into every part of your life, your bank accounts, your assets and they can come to your home and then can look around and see if you're living with someone. You've given up your right to privacy.

Not only do the Mothers have little privacy but this extensive monitoring created the underlying element of suspicion. This was further reinforced by the fact that it is the Mothers' obligation to immediately report any changes in address, marital or family status, employment or financial situation and "If you [recipient] do not, your benefits may be stopped. You may also be charged with a criminal offence" (Social Allowances Program Pamphlet). This kind of monitoring clearly reminded these Mothers that they do not have the same privileges as paid labourers. Also this scrutinizing is more extensive than for persons collecting other benefits under different government programs (for example, Unemployment Insurance benefits are not based on marital status or 'need' but previous employment earnings and home visits are not required).

The Mothers understood that the social assistance system needed to gather information for the application process and required a method for tracking the information but felt that some of the monitoring, especially home visits, was intrusive and seemed like a violation of their rights.

IV(b). Experiences with Home Visits

Workers are required to do home visits once every two years. The purpose, as seen by these Mothers, was to be 'spied' upon, in order to examine their standard of living, the health and well being of the children and to check for any signs of a male living on the premises etc. The Mothers reported feeling intimidated and extremely powerless as a result of the home visit. Workers are required to notify the recipient and set up an agreeable time to meet. However, this does not seem to be the case in regard to these Mothers' experiences, as expressed by Lynn's statement that:

My worker showed up unannounced not too long ago, which they are not allowed to do. But I mean, you have to let them in and I didn't like that. And it was really intimidating as she started asking me: 'What are your plans? What are you going to do? What's your future?'

These experiences are not specific to these Mothers alone. As the Winnipeg Free Press (Redekop, 1993:A1) reported, six full-time staff of the Provincial Social Assistance program have been hired to investigate welfare fraud and insist that they are not spying on or harassing people. But, a provincial home support worker accused the province on behalf of one Mother who was accused of being a prostitute because of a number of people dropping by, maintaining that the province spied on this woman's residence. This puts people through tremendous stress and as Joe Ryant, a University of Manitoba social work

professor stated, he: doubted the welfare investigators will find much fraud and it will have nuisance value for the poor. It won't have a lot of economic value for the taxpayer....The people on social assistance are already heavily administrated, and that makes them fearful, meaning they are generally careful. (Redekop, 1993:A1)

Along with the invasion of privacy and workers "snooping around," there is the attitude that because an individual is receiving social assistance they are not entitled to have 'nice' furniture or housing. Kelly's comments reflect this attitude.

I remember when we were living in regional housing and she had to right away do a home study to see what kind of living conditions you're living in. So she walked into our house and she checked everything around and when she was checking she says, 'you know welfare's supposed to be the very last resort don't you?' And I said "yes" and "we would never go to welfare unless it was our last resort," she goes, 'well the standard of living that you're living is quite well and I can't believe that you're applying for social assistance.' And I turned around and said, "when you don't drink and when you don't smoke maybe you have a little bit more money left over to buy nice things. "I always felt really intimidated by her."

Kelly felt that she had to justify having 'nice' things and to reassure the worker that she was not a stereotypical 'welfare recipient' nor the stereotypical 'aboriginal person.'

Diane was the only Mother that did not receive a home visit. Diane stated that she felt that this was because "the worker kind of looked around when she came here to get the information for me to apply, because I could not go down to the office so they sent a worker out." So in this situation, it was not necessary for the worker to do a home visit, as she inspected the home while completing the application forms. Diane did feel "kind of nervous having her in the house though, you know, it's like, what is she looking for, what are they doing?"

The Mothers felt that the home visit was extremely intrusive as the social assistance workers were invading their private homes. But the Mothers also felt their rights infringed upon with respect to handling of child support payments and maintenance enforcement.

IV(c). Child Support Payments

Another element of the social assistance system's control is in the handling of child support payments. In many situations, fathers are not paying their child support payments and, if this is the case, social assistance expects that:

A recipient and their spouse shall make all reasonable efforts to obtain the maximum amount of compensation, benefits or contribution to support and maintenance that may be available under another Act or program. Where social assistance is paid pending receipt of funds described above, the director may require that the person entitled to the funds assign to the department the right to receive a portion of the funds sufficient to recover any assistance that would not have been paid if the funds had been available. (Social Allowances Regulation, Section 9(2)(3))

Lynn, Barbara and Karen were requested by workers to sign legal documents giving Maintenance Enforcement the right to pursue the respective fathers for child support payments. If and when child support payments were made that money would go directly to Social Assistance. As Lynn stated:

You have no choice but to sign the legal rights over to them or you lose the money because they'll deduct the money from your social assistance and then you have to try to obtain the money from your husband.

As noted, Mothers are not really given a choice about signing this document. Karen did not want to sign, but was told that if she did not she might not receive any benefits. She signed the forms and now there is an arrest warrant for her ex-husband, as he did not cooperate with Maintenance Enforcement. They garnisheed his wages, leaving him with

very little income to survive. But now "I have to go down and sign this thing excusing him from the warrant as he has been paying his support payments regularly now." A common means used to pressure Mothers to take their partners to court is to deny them eligibility for social assistance. This pressure is built into the application process and Mothers risk not being considered eligible if they do not sign the Maintenance Enforcement agreement. The social assistance system then takes on the responsibility of pursuing the father to provide support regardless of the wishes of the Mother. Husbands should be responsible to their children, but as noted earlier, many fathers are not earning an income with which they can support their family or do not accept their responsibility. If the father is the latter then enforced child support payments may be effective but, this response does not resolve the underlying oppression of poverty and the economic disadvantages that women experience in the labour market. Nor does it challenge the underlying assumption that support of dependants is properly the responsibility of the male breadwinner. Therefore, child support payments and maintenance enforcement should not be used to justify cutbacks nor should potential providers be pursued against the Mothers' wishes.

IV(d). Mothers Feeling Threatened by Workers

The control exercised by the state was seen, in some cases, even more directly than home visits, in that the Mothers thought some workers were actually threatening them. The Mothers thought that some of their workers used their positions of power to intimidate and control these Mothers. For instance, Lynn was told by a worker: "'I don't have to approve your move', they hold all the power, without them there is no money. Kelly reported, "I remember just coming home in tears and I remember her threatening us one

time and saying 'we know what you guys are doing and we will catch you guys doing it.' I think she thought we were trying to rip her off, rip welfare like doing a welfare scam. Karen felt threatened when she asked, "Well what if I don't want to sign (Maintenance Enforcement Act) this, 'well then you run the risk of not receiving welfare.'" All of these statements reflect the powerful and intimidating methods that some workers use.

IV(e). Information Barriers

The social assistance system is extremely complicated and bureaucratic and to make matters worse, the Mothers felt that there were barriers to accessing information about the social assistance system.

Barbara had difficulties getting her phone expenses covered by social assistance. After experiencing much confusion, she wrote social assistance a letter stating: "I don't know what exactly constitutes a medical need but I think me getting killed is a medical need and my daughter has bronchial problems and the doctor already sent you a note two months ago so here's another damn note and leave me alone." The final outcome was that her phone expenses were covered, but it was a long and difficult process.

Lynn had a very difficult time obtaining approval to move into a Co-op Housing Project.

You can't just up and move either, you have to get it approved by social assistance. So I had to get it approved and I had a really hard time as my worker was not too thrilled with the idea of me moving. So I had to bring my father down to social assistance and then with the President of the Co-op calling, like bringing in the top guns, and I agreed to cover my own moving expenses and the downpayment, then the worker finally approved my move.

The difficulties the recipients experience with the social assistance system actually deters some Mothers from applying for certain benefits to which they are entitled. As Diane reported, "I know a girl who won't deal with them even if she could get a bit more money cause (sic) she can't be bothered with the red tape and you don't want them (workers) poking around your life."

Another feature of the social assistance system is that the system is shrouded in an air of secrecy. As Karen stated:

...trying to get information from them is like pulling teeth. To find out what qualifies you, you have to come into the office for an appointment and we'll assess you from there. And there was no hints or anything about this whole process.

One reason that Karen gave for this secrecy was that she felt:

...welfare is really the extreme as far as being tight lipped. Maybe the workers don't even know. Maybe it's just so tight lipped that they don't know and it's like, if we don't know then there's no way you can know.

This lack of access to information was also demonstrated when I attempted to acquire information about the social assistance system 'rule book' of the policies and procedures that workers had to follow, which is properly called the Income Security Administrative Manual. During my four visits to the offices, I asked for general information and about acquiring a copy of the 'rule book.' I was told at all four offices that the receptionist could not help me and all the information was in the pamphlets. The receptionist provided me with the pamphlets and then stated that, if I needed further information, I would have to give my name, address and phone number to her and she would schedule me an appointment to see a worker. Once I had clarified that I was not there to apply for social assistance but to gather information, I was not allowed to even see a worker at two of the

offices. At the Provincial office I spoke to a worker who was not of much assistance, but did provide me with an application form, even though the workers are not allowed to give these forms out. All forms are to be filled out by the workers and claimants sign the filled out forms.

After realizing that I was not going to obtain any information through this process, I began calling the Department of Family Services, as they are responsible for the administering of the social assistance system. Again, they were of no help in providing information about social assistance, but I was told that because of the Freedom of Information Act, a copy of the 'rule book' could be viewed at the Reading Room in the Legislative Building. When I approached the librarian about this document, he claimed he had never heard of it and it was not catalogued. With persistence, I found someone who knew where it was shelved. This is a brief summary of my adventures during this process but it was, in fact, more difficult than it appears. I had made many phone calls and was sent on many a 'wild goose chase' to obtain the information that I required. Once I accessed the 'rule book,' I discovered that it was not current. Many changes had been implemented to the social assistance system and this copy had not been up-dated. This whole process was very time-consuming, confusing, frustrating and expensive for me. I can well imagine how difficult it would have been for other people under considerably more stressful situations than myself. My last visit to a Provincial office (Central Directorate) which is responsible for the administration of the social assistance system proved informative. Here, I spoke with a Policy Analyst and was told that the 'rule book' has not been updated as a new 'rule book' is scheduled for release because of the many changes that are being implemented. She also stressed that each regional office implements this

'rule book' according to the needs of each office. For example, in some offices, home visits are no longer required due to worker safety and other arrangements are made, yet in some offices home visits are still carried out.

Nevertheless, the social assistance system is complicated and it is difficult to access information. The Mothers felt that this was a deliberate attempt to further control them and save the social assistance system some money from Mothers who did not know of entitlements or didn't bother to access these benefits because it was too complicated. This, combined with the air of secrecy, lends credence to the Mothers' belief that the social assistance system can be oppressive. This is reflected by Kelly's statement that, "recognize this fact, the social assistance system has all the power." Even though the social assistance system is largely perceived as being oppressive and all powerful, there were some beneficial aspects of the system. For example, Barbara was able to leave an abusive relationship and receive social assistance and all of the Mothers agreed that receiving social assistance allowed them to stay at home with their children which was extremely important to them.

IV(f). Beneficial Programs of the Social Assistance System

To balance the picture about the social assistance system, two programs were identified by the Mothers as beneficial. These were the work incentive program (earnings exemption) and the Social Allowance Medicare Plan.

Two Mothers had experiences with the work incentive program and they thought this earning exemption was beneficial as it did provide supports to enable the Mothers to obtain employment. As Barbara stated:

they give you a percentage of what you make every month to keep above your welfare rate...and then your child-care and if I couldn't get a licensed day-care then they'd pay my baby-sitting...transportation and clothing....but if you get a minimum wage job it's not worth it, you only get \$100.00 extra to work full time and drag your kid out.

However, all of the Mothers stated that this earning exemption was not worth the hassle or headache if they did not earn a lot more than minimum wage. Also, being involved in the work incentive program meant that every month you had to complete a form and as Karen described, "it asks whether you've found a job, about your money, you are essentially applying all over again at the end of each month before you get your next cheque." The irony is that even though this work incentive program is designed to encourage Mothers to work, in actuality, they receive more money on social assistance than working at a minimum wage job.

All of the Mothers thought that the Social Allowance Medicare Plan was beneficial. This plan covers the cost of medical, dental and optical care and prescribed drugs to recipients of the Provincial social allowances program. Therefore Kelly's family was not entitled to this benefit because they receive Municipal assistance, but because of her Aboriginal status, her children and herself are entitled to those same benefits under the Northern and Indian Affairs Department. As Kelly states, "We're very fortunate because Indian Affairs takes care of the kids and me." Four of the other Mothers had used the health card and were appreciative of this benefit. This was expressed by Diane when she stated, "the best part was the medical card, prescriptions and stuff like that and I actually went to the dentist, which is something we can't afford to do now and I haven't been

since." Only Karen did not access the health card as she did not receive social assistance for any substantial period of time and did not require any of those health services.

According to the Mothers the social assistance system is very controlling of their lives and they felt scrutinized and regulated by this system. The social assistance system affects all aspects of these Mothers' lives such as shelter, food and clothing and this impacts on the quality of their lives. These Mothers were very creative in attempting to maintain a higher standard of quality of life for their children than that even determined by social assistance, which in 1992 was 60% of the poverty line (National Council of Welfare 1993A:27).

V. SURVIVING ON THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM

In this last section, Mothers' experiences of how social assistance affects them, the supports available to them, their methods of coping with the system and their recommendations for change were discussed.

Social assistance does affect every aspect of these Mothers' everyday existence. The social assistance system determines the amount of money that one receives and, as such, has an impact on such things as housing conditions, entertainment, clothing, nutrition and health conditions. As Lynn stated:

You don't have any money to do anything, you can't just go ahead and do something. You have to count every dime, how much gas, how much to do the activity - what about food and drinks. You have to think about all that before and plan it with money saved. The kids don't get new clothes. It's always used cause the clothing allowance automatically gets moved to the food budget every month because you use a lot more food than they allow.

All of these Mothers stated that they lived really strapped, from 'cheque to cheque' and did not buy expensive food, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, and lean hamburger. They ate

a lot of bread and pasta because that went a long way in the budget. These Mothers also juggled all of the bills and would not pay some of them in order to cover other expenses.

All of this control that the social assistance system had over these Mothers' lives affected how they felt and thought about themselves. As reflected by Barbara's statement that:

It doesn't help your self esteem or to help you get off welfare at all. So many women I've talked to just give up after awhile because every time they try and do something they don't help you or they're (workers) ignorant and they make you feel worse about yourself. Going on welfare is bad enough, never mind getting talked to like that.

These Mothers felt that the social assistance system contributed to them feeling worse than they already felt, especially if they encountered an unsupportive social assistance worker.

V(a). Sources of Support and Methods of Coping

An important element in surviving while on social assistance was the help and support from families and friends. These people were wonderful resources that provided a variety of supports such as money for transportation and bills, purchased food, diapers and clothing, and provided emotional and financial support where possible. An important support to these Mothers from families and friends the provision of baby-sitting. There was no money in the budget to pay for a baby-sitter and these Mothers very rarely got a break from their children. As Lynn stated:

I wouldn't be doing as well if I didn't have my parents. Most of my family, my Mom and Dad and my sister are great. They baby-sit, buy us food, diapers, it's great.

Along with these supports from their families and friends, there was also the support and information sharing amongst Mothers who were receiving social assistance. These Mothers identified this as important in attempting to cope with the social assistance system.

These Mothers needed to share their experiences with other Mothers in order to obtain information about their rights and what they were entitled to receive in benefits. As

Barbara explained:

They denied somebody I know, they said, 'Oh no we don't pay for moving.' And I told my friend that I got it paid for and she told them, 'I know someone who got paid for it.' And then they covered her moving expenses. So they're sneaky. It really helps to know somebody that knows all the ins and outs.

So, this information sharing is one way in which these Mothers find information about the social assistance system. The advice from these Mothers, to other Mothers, was to speak to one another and share information, to take things in stride, accept that much of this is not in your control and, therefore, you will not feel so incredibly helpless and powerless. As

Kelly remarked:

I would suggest to just kind of take things in stride, don't get so worked up, kind of be prepared for them to be in your lives. Your privacy is gone cause they're able to come into your home and they have the right to know everything about you.

These Mothers were also very creative in coping with the barriers that they faced on a regular basis. Due to the heavily scrutinized nature of the social assistance system, it was difficult to challenge or confront any aspect of this system but these Mothers did find ways in which to play a more active role. The Mothers found that they were treated differently if they brought their child/children into the social assistance office. A piece of information that Lynn wanted other Mothers to know was:

The first time I went in I took a little three week old baby and they were really nice cause (sic) I had the little baby with me so I knew that they would treat me better and the girl was very nice, very helpful and very sympathetic...But that was also luck that I got a very nice lady but the baby helped cause (sic) its three weeks old so they all came to see the baby. You never go see your worker without your kids, one or all of them, you bring your kids it also hurries them along a bit.

Also these Mothers were conscious of the need to dress appropriately for the role of 'Mother on social assistance' when meeting with workers. As Diane reported, "when I went down to the office I didn't dress like a slob but I didn't put on my fanciest dress or sweater either. You dress for the part - poor but clean."

These Mothers also participated in more blatant methods of maintaining control by gathering as much information as possible to ensure their rights and also ensure that they were receiving all that they were entitled. As Karen expressed:

You have to keep on top of everything, and figure it all out because it can be just crazy and lots of mistakes are made, don't rely on your worker to make sure everything is accurate.

These Mothers accessed information from resource centres in the Winnipeg area, such as Fort Garry Women's Resource Centre and the Manitoba Anti-Poverty Organization. These resources were very supportive and also provided referrals to other organizations that are of assistance to Mothers.

A very important element of coping with the stereotypes and hardships of being a Mother on social assistance was valuing the work that they performed. Of significance to these Mothers was society's attitude and undervaluing of the role of Motherhood. These Mothers love their children and want to be able to provide them with loving, caring and nurturing homes. They stressed the difficulties in doing this work such as, the isolation,

the poverty, and continuous 24 hour supervision of children, but none of this compared to the frustration and demoralizing affect the idealized ideology of Motherhood - in combination with the stereotypes of social assistance recipients - had on these Mothers. On the one hand, if a Mother is supported by a male breadwinner it is accepted and respected that her role is to socialize her children as the costs remain in the family. On the other hand, if a Mother is performing that same work and receiving social assistance, then it is devalued as the costs are incurred on the social assistance system. What these Mothers hope for is for society to recognize the importance of this work and to value this work, regardless of who is paying the costs. As Lynn stated:

Start valuing what we're doing, teach people to value the role of motherhood. Why is it now that it's bad to stay home with your kids? Why is there such a push to get out there and get into the work world? It's as if when you stay at home they assume that you're not working.

Lynn also commented on the assumption that receiving social assistance support conferred the right for the social assistance system to regulate her life:

...if they consider this to be a paycheque, then they have no right to tell me how to spend my money and come back and say, 'where is this and this?' And I deserve a lot more money for raising good productive citizens.

The fact that these Mothers value the work that they performed and referred to this type of reproductive labour as work presents a challenge to some of the stereotypes and assumptions of Mothers on social assistance in this capitalist patriarchal society.

V(b). Recommendation for Change

All of the Mothers had very few comments or recommendations with respect to making material changes to the social assistance system. The consensus was that the social

assistance system was a disaster and it needed to be overhauled in its entirety. Their overall feeling was that it was far too complicated and confusing to even begin to mention specific elements that could be changed.

There were a number of other points though that were raised by the Mothers throughout the interviews which showed that they had done a fair amount of thinking about what needed to be changed to make the social assistance system better. Such suggestions were to teach social assistance workers to respect the Mothers, to change the physical layout of the offices and remove the cubicles, cease home visits and begin a campaign to value Motherwork. Karen's suggestion for change was the most radical and went even further than that of altering the social assistance system. She stated that it is "fucked, the whole thing is fucked. Throw away the money system, people are starving because they don't have paper [money]. It's the root of everything that is evil." Karen's sentiments seem to reflect the form of radical change promoted by socialist feminist theorists, who call for a move away from capitalism and patriarchy. Karen implies that the social assistance system must operate under the same set of rules that drive capitalism and patriarchy. She senses that alterations to the social assistance system without also altering the larger socio-political system will only result in superficial change. The overall impression remains, however, that collectively and individually the Mothers felt powerless to do anything about the social assistance system.

The above description of the categories is what was learned from all of the data gathered. What follows is a discussion of the major themes which have emerged from the connections between the categories.

VI. ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES AND EMERGENT THEMES

VI(a). "I had no idea about the social assistance system."

All five of the research participants said they had no prior knowledge or previous experience with the social assistance system. Only one had contact with someone with experience with this system before her own involvements. All participants were the first in their families to have any experience with the social assistance system. These factors may be a reflection of the Mothers' ideology and values as a result of their "working" or "middle" class backgrounds and perhaps also a belief that "this could not happen to me." The social assistance system provides no advertising or promotion of its programs and when the Mothers made an effort to find out about the programs, they were generally met with barriers. For example, in many situations the Mothers did not receive certain benefits to which they were entitled. The Mothers' lack of knowledge of the social assistance system worked against them as they struggled to make sense of this system.

VI(b). "I am intelligent and I am performing valuable work."

Another theme that was prevalent throughout many of the Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system was that of the stereotypes of 'welfare Moms' and the undervaluing of Motherwork. The Mothers were very aware of the negative stereotypes and in the Mothers' views, the abuse, intimidation, and condescension they experienced through some of their workers was due to the fact that the workers viewed these Mothers through negative stereotyping. There were clear examples here of workers treating the Mothers as "second class citizens"; workers were sometimes suspicious, antagonistic, and threatening.

When a worker stated, "we know what you guys are doing and we will catch you doing it," this exemplifies the general attitude of suspicion and loftiness that the Mothers reported as the most common attitude of workers. Also, all the Mothers indicated that they had to wait a significant period of time in the social assistance offices after their actual meetings were scheduled. This delay in appointment times appears to demonstrate the power imbalance between the workers and the Mothers, with the workers holding the power. The Mother is on 'social assistance's turf' and following 'their rules;' they are in charge. The poor treatment through unreturned calls and lack of notification of cancelled meetings points towards a power relationship which contributes to the Mothers feeling unimportant.

The Mothers' understanding of these worker's attitudes is that the workers view themselves as job holders, while the Mothers are jobless. It appears that the workers undervalue the Mothers and their Motherwork because they did not earn a wage. The Mothers feel that the worker's view their own income as a legitimate salary, while they see the Mothers' income (social assistance) as a government handout. The argument could be made that these are in fact parallel. The maintenance of these negative stereotypes and undervaluing Mothers and Motherwork seems to be, at least from the Mothers' perspectives, one of the goals of the social assistance system.

But not all experiences were similar to the above. These Mothers did report positive feelings about meetings with some of their workers that were informative and helpful. This was significant as this respectful treatment left these Mothers feeling empowered.

The structural forces of the social assistance system also perpetuates the negative stereotypes and the undervaluing of Motherwork that the Mothers experienced. The inadequate financial aid that these Mothers received on social assistance served to reinforce

the stereotypes and the stigma attached to the social assistance system. Granted, there are some benefits of the health services program, but, the actual amounts for dental, optical and prescriptions are dismal. Many prescription drugs are not covered and no over-the-counter drugs are paid for by the health services program. For example, if a Mother or her children needed cough medicine or antihistamines she would have to pay for this out of an already penny-pinched budget. This affects one's quality of life and it seems that the state no longer views this as important for its citizens. Along with these factors is the structural environment of the social assistance offices, which also contributes to the Mothers feeling undervalued and promotes a stereotypical view of these Mothers. The lack of privacy, the cubicles and plexiglass contributed to the Mothers feeling as if they were undeserving of privacy and confidentiality. The information barriers serve to keep individuals confused; the Mothers could not easily verify whether or not they were entitled to certain benefits. Also, the bureaucratic 'red tape' serves to deter individuals from receiving the maximum amount of money that they may be entitled to receive. The underlying message is that Mothers are not deserving of social assistance and that what they are receiving is sufficient enough. The lack of privacy of the monitoring system and the intrusive nature of the home visits reinforces the stereotypical view that these Mothers are 'liars' and 'shifty cheats' and therefore require home visits to verify the information that the Mother has provided and to ensure 'proper' living standards, according to 'white, middle class' values. This emphasizes that when Mothers are receiving social assistance that the state has the right to regulate the Mothers' lives. All of these factors not only perpetuate negative stereotypes but also serve to reinforce the attitude that Motherwork is not important nor valued in society.

The types of programming that the social assistance system provides reinforces the undervaluing of Motherwork and upholds the misconception that Motherwork is 'natural.' All programming appears designed to get Mothers employed. There are no programs or supports specifically for parenting or respite from parenting. Groups or programs for women on social assistance for the purpose of understanding social assistance or surviving on social assistance are not encouraged by the social assistance system. The social assistance workers and the social assistance system itself did very little to challenge these stereotypes and stigma but, rather, tended to reinforce them through word and action.

These Mothers on social assistance believed that the stereotypes about them were reinforced by a general societal attitude; one who requires such help does so because of personal inadequacies, such as lack of motivation and inability to apply oneself to work, rather than because of social forces which keep certain groups in underprivileged positions and situations. These Mothers did give attention to the stigma of being a 'welfare Mom' as two of the Mothers did not want people to know that they were on social assistance and these Mothers took precautions in order to avoid being categorized and labelled. This view fits in with the larger liberal orientation of the society as a whole, wherein equal opportunities exist throughout the society, and those who do not take advantage of them and rise individually beyond their station must lack in personal motivation and desire. The stereotypes suggests that these Mothers are 'losers' and have no one to blame but themselves, for it is clear that in the 'land of opportunity,' those that work diligently will get ahead, while those that lack the ambition will stagnate.

There are many societal forces at work maintaining these negative stereotypes of Mothers on social assistance and the undervaluing of Motherwork. As previously

mentioned the widely held liberal ideology in conjunction with the invisibility and lack of respect Mothers receive for Motherwork contribute to Mothers feeling as if they are 'second class' citizens. These Mothers even feel further undervalued as the first to suffer in a capitalist structure are the poor and this is reflected in the recent government cutbacks to social programs. These factors serve to maintain the patriarchal nature of society and the already oppressed and disadvantaged position of women.

VI(c). "To be dependent on a male or be dependent on the state?"

In conjunction with themes of the negative stereotypes and the undervaluing of Motherwork, the social assistance system encourages the Mothers to be dependent. The ideology of the traditional role of Motherhood is replicated by the state in that it expects Mothers to stay at home with their children and be supported by the male breadwinner. The social assistance system continues to uphold this ideology as in the absence of a male breadwinner the state takes on this patriarchal role and encourages dependence on the state. For example, single parents of children are seen as long-term 'dependants' and receive social assistance from the Province. The state will not 'take over' the role of familial patriarch in the presence of a male breadwinner. This is illustrated by the fact that Kelly's family had to apply to the Municipal assistance program, which provides short term assistance. The male is expected to support his family and the state makes the effort to acquire employment for the male breadwinners. Dependence is further encouraged because single parents receiving social assistance are not required (forced) by the social assistance system to participate in any of the training, work incentive programs, or single parent job access programs. Even though the Mothers are not required to participate in any of these

programs the state only provides programs that strongly encourage Mothers to obtain some income in order to 'get off' of social assistance. But, all of the Mothers stated that it was not worth it to work if they did not have a good paying job as they would receive more money and were entitled to benefits (dentist, prescriptions) on social assistance than working 40 hours a week at a minimum wage job. Dependence is encouraged for Mothers, whether that dependence be on a male breadwinner or on the state. The state replaces the male breadwinner, determines the rules and regulations, and attempts to enforce child support payments regardless of the Mothers' wishes. The social assistance system may seem supportive as it ensures that 'no Manitoban lacks the goods and services essential to his or health and well being.' But the Mothers and their Motherwork are generally undervalued, as social allowances payments are woefully inadequate and poor and disrespectful treatment by social assistance workers and society continues. The conflicting nature of patriarchy and capitalism is demonstrated when in some situations the Mothers may be "better off" with the state as the social patriarch than an individual as the familial patriarch. Access to social assistance provides an option for Mothers to leave relationships that they no longer desire.

VI(d). "Accept that your privacy is gone."

All of the Mothers expressed great alarm at the rights of the social assistance system with regard to the application process and the methods of monitoring recipients. The depth and breadth of the questions asked, the wide range of additional information allowed access to, and the very intrusive (and often unannounced) action of the home visit caused humiliation, fear and anger among all of the Mothers. They felt that their privacy had been

exceedingly violated on all counts and, further, in some situations were too intimidated to be able to launch any objections. They were equally offended by the implications of the home visit, and felt a need to justify their possessions in the presence of the worker. Clearly, they felt that the purpose of the home visit was antagonistic, with the worker trying to 'catch' them at something. Lynn's statement that "you have to let them in" reinforces the feeling of powerlessness and the extent of the control that the social assistance system has in regulating these Mothers' lives. The home visit makes real the feeling that the Mothers' lives becomes open to scrutiny when they are receiving social assistance. The visit itself suggests that the Mother's disclosures of personal finances and details of their lives was insufficient - a worker can physically 'see' for him/herself if the information that the Mother has given is correct. This inherent suspicion tends to reinforce the stereotype that the Mothers are less than honest and have something to hide. This type of scrutinizing reinforces the assumption that when an individual is receiving social assistance, the social assistance system has the right to regulate and control that individual's life.

VI(e). "Recognize this fact; social assistance has all the power."

The discussion of information barriers, in conjunction with the above discussion of the stereotypes, disrespectful treatment by social assistance workers and society, and the intrusive nature of the social assistance system, indicates that the social assistance system is one of power imbalance and creates feelings of powerlessness and helplessness for the Mothers. The information barriers serve to keep the Mothers confused and unaware of their rights, which places the Mothers in a less powerful position to assert themselves. If information is indeed power, then the social assistance system does a great deal to

maximize its power - and minimize that of the Mothers. Virtually no information was dispensed over the phone. Rather, an appointment was required, wherein the Mothers were forced to be subjected to the rigorous and formalized procedures in an official and highly structured setting. Once in that setting, a minimum amount of information was offered. The Mothers were often made to inquire about benefits they had come to hear about through peers, rather than being given a full list of benefits available through their workers. My quest for the 'rule book,' as previously outlined, gives a startling example of the secrecy and information protection that operates within the social assistance system. Is this tendency to withhold information merely coincidental? This would hardly appear to be the case. Maintaining an atmosphere of confusion (in many cases, extending to workers) serves to keep the Mothers in a powerless position, unable to gain the knowledge required to fully receive their rights under the system. It appears to be a calculated tactic on the part of the system, and results in the Mothers becoming confused and frustrated to the point where they, in effect, 'give up' and simply accept the nature of the power imbalance between themselves, the workers and the system. The lack of information about changes in policies and regulations also serves to diffuse any collective challenges to the social assistance system.

The above themes all have focused on those factors of the social assistance system that contribute to the Mothers feeling undervalued, powerless and that they are not in control of their lives. While this is true, the Mothers did not present themselves as helpless victims of the social assistance system as they felt angered by how they were treated and were very creative in managing to maintain some control over their lives.

VI(f). "It's not my fault"

The description of how the Mothers survived and coped with the social assistance system provided Mothers with a sense of control and power in such a powerless position. One important resource for these Mothers was other Mothers on social assistance. This support and sharing of information provided an opportunity for Mothers' experiences to be validated and normalized; they are not the only ones that are abused by such a system and this abuse is no fault of their own. It also provided an opportunity to find out about financial entitlements. The supports that these Mothers experienced from their families and friends, contributed to these Mothers feeling that they were performing productive work, but it is difficult to maintain this attitude when Mothers are isolated from one another and continuously face a bombardment of attitudes that do not hold them in esteem. Their creative methods when dealing with the social assistance system provided these Mothers with a sense of control and power in these situations and assisted in making this process a somewhat more tolerable one.

VII. DATA ANALYSIS CONCLUSION**"Get a campaign going to value Motherwork."**

These themes speak to the massive inadequacies and conflicting nature of the social assistance system which in turn speaks to the larger structures of capitalism and patriarchy. The data presented and analyzed seems to reflect that the social assistance system acts as a social patriarch replacing the familial patriarch and concurrently acts to reinforce the undervaluing of Mothers and Motherwork.

Important is the examination of the tools of power that the social assistance system uses to do this. There were the more obvious and expected controls the Mothers experienced such as the rules and regulations that uphold the familial patriarchy and the family ethic of male breadwinner and female dependent, including perceived threats of ineligibility, encouraging the male breadwinner to assume the responsibility for maintaining his family through enforced child support payments, intrusive home visits, inadequate money to maintain subsistence, work incentive programs that are actually for the most part disincentives, but there were also the more subtle, yet equally effective forms of control such as the information barriers and the structure of the social assistance offices, all programs are centered around employment and there are no programs or groups that value parenting. The underlying notion is that the Mothers on social assistance should obtain employment in order to become self reliant but as previously demonstrated women are also discriminated against in the labour force which makes it difficult to obtain well paying employment that would support themselves and their families.

Furthermore, there were the ideological dimensions that needed to be contended with. The social assistance system itself carries with it a stigma that undervalues and humiliates these Mothers and the stereotypes of 'welfare Moms' reinforces the misconceptions surrounding the poor. It is clear from examining the experiences of these Mothers on social assistance that the Mothers are motivated, view themselves as responsible parents and economic support is crucial to their survival. These Mothers expend a great deal of time and energy on attempting to provide their families with the basics for life. A significant level of motivation is required to do this with extremely limited funds and the frustration involved is staggering. Also, raising children in a safe, healthy and stimulating

environment is always a difficult task. It becomes much more so when Mothers lack proper housing, yards, toys, adequate clothing, and nutritional food. These Mothers were quite expert in budgeting, preparing inexpensive foods and stretching their available resources to provide the most that they could with the limited amounts that they were allocated. Some of the Mothers are well educated and have good work histories. Therefore, the stigma and the stereotypes simply do not match the reality of these Mothers' lives.

The 'white middle class' ideology of Motherhood is also upheld by the social assistance system in that Motherwork is valued only when supported by a male breadwinner and Motherwork is not valued when Mothers are poor and receiving social assistance. This also speaks to the issue of class and the liberal ideology that suggests that those who are poor are not deserving and are discriminated against because there is something inadequate about this group of people. This ideology is also upheld by the fact that the social assistance system enforces heterosexuality as homosexual relations are not acknowledged by the social assistance system.

The data also seemed to reveal that the social assistance system is in some circumstances in conflict with capitalism and patriarchy. This is demonstrated when the Mothers reported that it was not worth it financially nor worth the hassle or the headache to work full-time at a minimum wage job. The Mothers felt that they were better off to receive social assistance than take on employment. Both of which, however, would provide incomes that would be below the poverty level. Even though the social assistance system encourages that the costs of reproduction remain within the family, this very system also

provides an option for Mothers to leave the familial patriarch, but of course withstanding the financial loss and the negative stereotyping.

The social assistance system is a constant process and in a constant state of change. Currently, the government is calling for social reform with respect to the social assistance system as the state is struggling with the economic expense of the social assistance system, the dire number of families living in poverty, especially single Mothers and the fact that social assistance is providing more social assistance and health benefits than a full-time minimum wage job.

The social assistance system continues to legitimate a social structure based on unequal race, class and gender relations. Although race was not accounted for in this study, the data on Mothers' experiences with stereotypes, disrespectful treatment by workers, and the unwelcoming environment of the social assistance offices suggest that poor Mothers are badly treated simply because of their class and gender.

The Mothers' experiences indicates that the Mothers and the reproductive labour that they perform is clearly not valued, economically or politically, in such a capitalist patriarchal structure.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the purpose of this thesis was to understand Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system in Manitoba. The feminization of poverty chapter provided the statistical picture of women and poverty in Canada and stressed that regardless of what the source of income was, many women were living in poverty, especially Mothers on social assistance. This discussion formed the critical backdrop to the experiences of five Mothers struggling with poverty and the social assistance system. It was argued that having a descriptive picture of the composition of the poor population and the demographic variables of women's increased longevity, divorce rates and 'out of wedlock births' and women's decline in economic status was not sufficient in attempting to explain current poverty trends. It was suggested that the feminization of poverty concept had the potential to be radical if gender, race and class were understood within a theoretical framework that would challenge the oppression of women. Liberal ideology was critiqued for perpetuating women's dependency on men and for ignoring, economically and politically, the work that women perform within the family. The alternative that was presented was that of socialist feminism. Socialist feminism provided the backdrop within which to situate the state and specifically, Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system.

The social assistance system was created by the state in response to the ever changing and often conflicting demands of capitalism and patriarchy. As the conflict between greater accumulation of profit and the costs of reproducing the next generation of labourers increased, the state began to take on the role of social patriarch. It became the function of

the state to provide minimal subsistence in the absence of the familial patriarch, yet uphold the role of the familial patriarch and the family ethic in order to ensure that the costs for the reproductive sphere remain within the family whenever possible. These inherent conflicts and contradictions between the reproductive sphere and the productive sphere have tended to erode family income and have contributed to women's disadvantaged position in the labour force. This has contributed to increasingly large numbers of women and their children being forced to live in poverty and to rely on social assistance. Because of the increase in power of multinational corporations along with the expansion of production to a global/international level, the restructuring of production has forced the state to lessen its direct control of women's labour; hence, the increasing number of women in the present labour market. However, the state in no way abandons its support of patriarchy because employers benefit greatly from the patriarchal structuring of the labour market, in terms of part-time workers, fewer benefits, lower wages and so on (Ursel, 1992:291). As a result of these fundamental changes and shifts in the organization of production and reproduction, the social assistance system finds itself in an expenditure crisis and is placing more of the costs of reproduction back on the family, or in this case, the Mothers I interviewed. The state's actions in pursuing potential providers as well as cutbacks to social assistance recipients and programs are indicative of a movement towards the dismantling of the modern welfare system, as we presently know it. The data presented provided many examples of how the state and the social assistance system in particular, uphold familial patriarchy with the traditional family ethic of male breadwinner and female dependent. The state remains diligent in upholding familial patriarchy, so that the costs of reproducing

labourers remains primarily in the home, thereby keeping those costs largely privatized (Ursel 1992:292).

The theoretical backdrop which informed this study has been that the social assistance system must be understood within the broader framework of the state, which in turn must be understood within the context of the social systems of capitalism and patriarchy. However, all theory, no matter how complex or straightforward, must ultimately be evaluated in terms of the social reality that it attempts to describe. As such, perhaps, the most significant and important focus in this study lies with an examination of the reality that is tangible, actual and the foundation upon which all theoretical discussion arises. That reality is, of course, the experiences of this group of Mothers on social assistance.

The data presented a range of themes from the stereotypes and powerlessness that the social assistance system perpetuates to individual efforts by the Mothers to confront such a system. This system represents the complexities and conflicting nature of the state. For example, the fact that individual Mothers may benefit from the state but yet the state is collectively oppressive to Mothers. These data and analysis suggests that the social assistance system is indeed part of the state that reinforces and perpetuates the disadvantaged position that Mothers experience in the labour force and in the home. Mothers and Motherwork are, for the most part, undervalued in our society and the costs of reproduction are considered to be the responsibility of the family.

The results from this study are tentative as this study was a pilot study and based on five interviews. A greater number of interviews would have meant that there may have been saturation of the data and a greater certainty about the conclusions drawn. A pilot interview with a Mother would have also been beneficial to work through any initial problems.

Another consideration would be to have conducted repeated interviews over a few months, especially with Mothers currently involved with the social assistance system; this may have contributed to different results and a greater certainty about the results. It is also important to include more Mothers from non-white backgrounds in order to consider race in the analysis. Class was limited in this analysis and in future research, Mothers from other class backgrounds and families that had previous experiences with the social assistance system should be included. It would also be beneficial to interview Lesbian Mothers in order that those voices from the margins be heard. This may provide more variation of Mothers' experiences with the social assistance system. Also of importance is single women's experiences with the social assistance system. But without a doubt, more research needs to be conducted based on women's experiences from the margins.

I found that the Mothers I interviewed possess incredible emotional strength and persistence in the face of so many social odds. Day after day, Mothers on social assistance suffer the stigmatization of society, the physical and emotional hardships of poverty, and the consistent devaluation of the work they perform. They are creative with the limited resources they possess, and are extremely skilful in budgeting those resources to obtain the simple necessities for themselves and their children. These Mothers also remain forever hopeful that "things will be different," and that their children will live a better, more prosperous life. All of the Mothers that I interviewed shared a common hope. This hope is best summarized by Baxter (1988:199), who argues for a society with "a decent standard of living, a society without poverty, not one where our best hope is to learn how to cope with poverty." This calls for a society that is based on the collective good, with each member contributing according to their ability, and receiving according to their need. This, of

course, challenges the very heart of the capitalist/patriarchal social order. Therefore, any real change that is to occur will have to involve challenging the fundamental beliefs and structures of that social order. Without such change, however, the lot of the Mothers on social assistance will not improve, in actuality, it will become worse.

People need to acknowledge that poverty kills. Poverty kills women, poverty kills children...I think what needs to be acknowledged is that poverty over a long period of time is like a slow form of death.
(Baxter, 1988:220)

Appendix A

CHAPTER S160

THE SOCIAL ALLOWANCES ACT

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CHAPTER S160

THE SOCIAL ALLOWANCES ACT

HER MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, enacts as follows:

Definitions

1 In this Act,

"agency" means a child caring agency as defined in The Child and Family Services Act; (« office »)

"appeal board" means The Social Services Advisory Committee for which provision is made in The Social Services Administration Act; (« Comité d'appel »)

"applicant" means a person who applies for a social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, as the case may be; (« requérant »)

"assistance" means assistance as defined in The Social Services Administration Act; (« aide »)

"basic necessities" means the things and services to which reference is made in section 2; (« besoins essentiels »)

"child" means a boy or girl actually or apparently under 18 years of age; (« enfant »)

CHAPITRE S160

LOI SUR L'AIDE SOCIALE

SA MAJESTÉ, sur l'avis et du consentement de l'Assemblée législative du Manitoba, édicte :

Définitions

1 Les définitions qui suivent s'appliquent à la présente loi :

« aide » L'aide au sens de la Loi sur l'administration des services sociaux; ("assistance")

« aide générale » Aide que le directeur fournit à une personne visée à l'article 5.1 ou relativement à celle-ci; ("general assistance")

« aide municipale » Aide qu'une municipalité fournit à une personne visée à l'article 5.2 ou relativement à celle-ci; ("municipal assistance")

« allocation d'aide sociale » Montant alloué à une personne en application de l'article 5; ("social allowance")

« bénéficiaire » Personne qui reçoit ou qui a reçu, selon le cas, une allocation d'aide sociale, une aide générale ou une aide municipale; ("recipient")

« besoins essentiels » Les biens et les services visés à l'article 2; ("basic necessities")

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"cost of the basic necessities" or **"cost of his basic necessities"** means the cost, as established in the regulations, of those basic necessities with respect to which a regulation is made under section 6; (« coût des besoins essentiels »)

"crisis intervention facility" means a facility approved by the minister for providing shelter and protection to persons who have been abused by other persons; (« établissement d'intervention d'urgence »)

"dependant", with respect to any person, means the person's spouse and includes any child who is dependant upon the person for support but does not include the spouse of any child to whom this definition applies; (« personne à charge »)

"director" means the Executive Director for whom provision is made in The Social Services Administration Act and includes the director of any district office and one other person from each district office designated by the minister; (« directeur »)

"financial resources" means, with the exception of the exemptions specified in the regulations, any one or more of the following things:

(a) all the real and personal property of an applicant, a recipient or a dependant of the applicant or recipient, including the net income from any such property,

(b) allowances, pensions, insurance benefits, and income from business farming or any other source received by an applicant, recipient or a dependant of the applicant or recipient,

(c) gifts and gratuities whether in cash or in kind received by an applicant, recipient or a dependent of the applicant or recipient on a one time basis or otherwise, and

(d) the value attributed by the director to free shelter, free board or free lodging, received by an applicant, recipient or a dependant of the applicant or recipient; (« ressources financières »)

« Comité d'appel » Le Comité consultatif sur les services sociaux prévu à la Loi sur l'administration des services sociaux; ("appeal board")

« coût des besoins essentiels » Le coût, établi par les règlements, des besoins essentiels concernant lesquels un règlement a été pris en application de l'article 6; ("cost of basic necessities")

« directeur » Le directeur général visé à la Loi sur les services sociaux, ce qui comprend le directeur d'un bureau régional et une autre personne choisie par le ministre à chaque bureau régional; ("director")

« enfant » Garçon ou fille réellement ou apparemment âgé de moins de 18 ans; ("child")

« établissement d'intervention d'urgence » Établissement approuvé par le ministre aux fins de l'hébergement et de la protection des personnes victimes d'abus par d'autres personnes; ("crisis intervention facility")

« hôpital » Hôpital au sens de la Loi sur les hôpitaux ou la Loi sur la santé mentale, ou une institution administrée par la Commission des sanatoriums du Manitoba; ("hospital")

« ministre » Le membre du Conseil exécutif chargé par le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil de l'administration de la présente loi; ("minister")

« office » Office de services à l'enfant et à la famille défini à la Loi sur les services à l'enfant et à la famille; ("agency")

« personne à charge » S'entend, relativement à toute personne, de son conjoint ainsi que tout enfant qui est à sa charge. La présente définition ne vise cependant pas le conjoint d'un enfant auquel elle s'applique; ("dependant")

« requérant » Personne qui demande, selon le cas, une allocation d'aide sociale, une aide générale ou une aide municipale; ("applicant")

« ressources financières » S'entend, à l'exception des exemptions énoncées aux règlements, d'un ou de plusieurs des objets suivants :

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"general assistance" means assistance provided by the director to or in respect of a person referred to in section 5.1; (« aide générale »)

"hospital" means a hospital as defined in The Hospitals Act or The Mental Health Act or an institution operated by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba; (« hôpital »)

"minister" means the member of the Executive Council charged by the Lieutenant Governor in Council with the administration of this Act; (« ministre »)

"municipal assistance" means assistance provided by a municipality to or in respect of a person referred to in section 5.2; (« aide municipale »)

"recipient" means a person to whom a social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, as the case may be, is being, or has been, provided; (« bénéficiaire »)

"social allowance" means an amount paid to any person pursuant to section 5; (« allocation d'aide sociale »)

"social services" means services having as their object the lessening, removal or prevention of the causes and effects of poverty, child neglect or dependence on social allowance, and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, includes

- (a) rehabilitation services,
- (b) case work, counselling, assessment and referral services,
- (c) adoption services,
- (d) homemaker, day care and similar services,
- (e) community development services,
- (f) consulting, research and evaluation services with respect to social programs, and

a) tous les biens réels et personnels d'un requérant, d'un bénéficiaire ou d'une personne qui est à la charge du requérant ou du bénéficiaire, y compris les revenus nets provenant de tels biens;

b) les allocations, pensions, prestations d'assurance, et revenus provenant de l'agriculture commerciale ou de toute autre source, reçus par un requérant ou un bénéficiaire, ou par une personne qui est à la charge du requérant ou du bénéficiaire;

c) les dons et gratifications en argent ou en nature reçus par un requérant ou un bénéficiaire, ou par une personne qui est à la charge du requérant ou du bénéficiaire;

d) la valeur attribuée par le directeur au gîte gratuit ou à la pension gratuite reçu par un requérant ou un bénéficiaire, ou par une personne qui est à la charge du requérant ou du bénéficiaire; ("financial resources")

« services sociaux » Services ayant pour but la diminution, la suppression ou la prévention des causes et des effets de la pauvreté, des mauvais traitements à l'enfance ou encore des causes et des effets des situations où des personnes dépendent des allocations d'aide sociale. S'entend notamment :

- a) des services de réadaptation;
- b) des services d'étude cas par cas, de consultation, d'évaluation et d'orientation;
- c) des services d'adoption;
- d) des services d'aide ménagère, des services de garderie et autres services du même genre;
- e) des services d'action communautaire;
- f) des services de consultation, de recherche et d'évaluation qui ont trait aux programmes de services sociaux;

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(g) administrative, secretarial and clerical services, including staff training, relating to the provision of any of the foregoing services or provision of social allowances or indigent relief. (« services sociaux »)

R.S.M. 1987 Supp., c. 4, s. 21; R.S.M. 1987 Supp., c. 31, s. 17; S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 2.

Provision of essential supplies services, and care

2 Subject as herein provided, the Government of Manitoba and each of the several municipalities in the province may take such measures as are necessary for the purpose of ensuring that no resident of Manitoba, lacks

(a) such things, goods, and services as are essential to his health and well-being, including food, clothing, shelter, and essential surgical, medical, optical, dental, and other remedial treatment, care, and attention; and

(b) an adequate funeral upon his death.

Moneys payable from Consolidated Fund

3 Amounts expended by the government for the purposes mentioned in section 2 may be paid from the Consolidated Fund with moneys authorized by an Act of the Legislature to be so paid and applied.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 3.

4 Repealed.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 4.

Persons to whom social allowances are payable

5(1) A social allowance shall be paid only to, or in respect of, a person who resides in Manitoba and who, if the social allowance were not paid, would, in the opinion of the director, be likely to lack the basic necessities and

(a) who, by reason of age or by reason of physical or mental ill health, or physical or mental incapacity or disorder that is likely to continue for more than 90 days

g) des services administratifs, de secrétariat et de bureau, y compris la formation du personnel, se rattachant à la prestation des services ci-dessus mentionnés, des allocations d'aide sociale ou des secours aux indigents. ("social services")

Suppl. L.R.M. 1987, c. 4, art. 21; Suppl. L.R.M. 1987, c. 31, art. 17; L.R.M. 1987, corr.; L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 2.

Fourniture des provisions, services et soins essentiels

2 Sous réserve des autres dispositions de la présente loi, le gouvernement du Manitoba et chacune des municipalités de la province peuvent prendre les mesures nécessaires dans le but d'assurer qu'il ne manque à aucun habitant du Manitoba :

a) les objets, biens et services essentiels à sa santé et à son bien-être, y compris la nourriture, les vêtements, l'hébergement, et les soins chirurgicaux, médicaux, dentaires et oculaires essentiels, ainsi que les autres traitements ou soins correctifs;

b) un service funéraire convenable à son décès.

Fonds provenant du Trésor

3 Les dépenses engagées par le gouvernement aux fin prévues à l'article 2 peuvent être faites sur le Trésor, à l'aide de fonds qu'une loi de la province affecte à cette fin.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 3.

4 Abrogé.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 4.

Bénéficiaires

5(1) Une allocation d'aide sociale est payable à une personne ou pour son compte uniquement si elle habite le Manitoba, si elle ne peut subvenir à ses besoins essentiels sans cette aide et si, selon le cas, cette personne :

a) en raison de son âge, de sa mauvaise santé physique ou mentale, ou de son incapacité ou de troubles physiques ou mentaux d'une durée probable de plus de 90 jours :

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(i) is unable to earn an income sufficient to meet the basic necessities of himself and his dependants, if any; or

(ii) is unable to care for himself and requires to be cared for by another person or in an institution or home for the aged or the infirm; or

(b) who is a widow or widower with a dependant child or dependant children; or

(c) who is a parent with a dependant child or children and

(i) is deserted by, or is living separate and apart from, his or her spouse, or

(ii) is the spouse of a person who is sentenced to and is serving a prison term, or

(iii) is not married, or

(iv) is divorced; or

(d) who is a child that has been placed temporarily by the director or an agency without the transfer of guardianship in a foster home, group foster home or in an institution, in accordance with the provisions of The Child and Family Services Act; or

(e) who has been apprehended as a child in need of protection under The Child and Family Services Act and

(i) is in the charge of an agency during the period before the investigation by the judge under that Act, or

(ii) has been committed under that Act to the care and custody of an agency, or

(iii) having been committed, as described in sub-clause (ii), is admitted to a hospital and is in receipt of hospital care and treatment in respect of which he is not an insured person under The Health Services Insurance Act; or

(i) était incapable de gagner un revenu suffisant pour subvenir à ses besoins essentiels et à ceux des personnes à sa charge, le cas échéant,

(ii) elle était incapable de subvenir à ses propres besoins et devait obtenir les soins d'une autre personne, d'un établissement ou d'un foyer pour personnes âgées ou infirmes;

b) est une veuve ou un veuf avec un ou plusieurs enfants à charge;

c) est un parent seul avec un ou plusieurs enfants à charge, et qui, selon le cas :

(i) a été abandonné par son conjoint,

(ii) est le conjoint d'une personne contre laquelle a été prononcée une sentence d'emprisonnement,

(iii) est célibataire,

(iv) est divorcé;

d) est un enfant que le directeur ou une agence a placé temporairement et sans transfert de la garde légale, dans un foyer nourricier, un foyer nourricier collectif ou un établissement, conformément à la Loi sur les services à l'enfant et à la famille;

e) a été appréhendé, conformément à la Loi sur les services à l'enfant et à la famille, comme étant un enfant ayant besoin de protection, et qui, selon le cas :

(i) est confié aux soins d'un office durant la période qui précède l'enquête du juge qui a lieu conformément à cette loi,

(ii) a été confié, conformément à cette loi, aux soins et à la garde d'un office,

(iii) ayant été ainsi confié aux termes de l'alinéa (ii), est admis à un hôpital et reçoit des soins et traitements hospitaliers relativement auxquels il n'est pas un assuré en vertu de la Loi sur l'assurance-maladie;

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(f) who is a child both of whose parents are dead or in the opinion of the director are unable to contribute to his maintenance and who is wholly dependent on another person for his basic necessities; or

(g) who has one or more dependants in need of special care as that expression is defined in the regulations; or

(h) repealed, S.M. 1993, c. 31, s. 2;

(i) who is a person requiring the protection of and residing in a crisis intervention facility.

5(2) Repealed, S.M. 1993, c. 31, s. 2.

Social allowance to employed persons

5(3) In the case of a person who

(a) is employed, or has any other source of income;

(b) has one or more dependants in need of special care; and

(c) is not otherwise eligible for social allowance;

the social allowance may be granted only for the purpose of meeting the costs of the special care.

Special care defined

5(4) For the purposes of this section "special care" means care provided to a dependant of an applicant or recipient in a residential welfare institution that has been approved by the minister, or in a day nursery that has been approved by the minister, or care approved by the director and provided to a dependant by a nurse, housekeeper, or homemaker in the home of the applicant or recipient or in a foster home.

f) est un enfant dont les deux parents sont morts ou sont, de l'avis du directeur, incapables de contribuer à son entretien, et qui dépend entièrement d'une autre personne pour la satisfaction de ses besoins essentiels;

g) a une ou plusieurs personnes à charge qui ont besoin de soins spéciaux, au sens des règlements;

h) abrogé, L.M. 1993, c. 31, art. 2;

i) requiert la protection d'un établissement d'intervention d'urgence et y réside.

5(2) Abrogé, L.M. 1993, c. 31, art. 2.

Allocations sociales aux personnes employées

5(3) L'allocation d'aide sociale peut être accordée uniquement dans le but de défrayer le coût des soins spéciaux, dans le cas d'une personne qui :

a) détient un emploi ou a une autre source de revenus;

b) a une ou plusieurs personnes à charge qui ont besoin de soins spéciaux;

c) n'a pas le droit de recevoir une allocation d'aide sociale à un autre titre.

Définition de soins spéciaux

5(4) Aux fins du présent article, « soins spéciaux » s'entend des soins accordés à la personne qui est à la charge d'un requérant ou d'un bénéficiaire, dans un établissement résidentiel pour assistés sociaux ou dans une garderie, lorsque ce foyer ou cette garderie a reçu l'approbation du ministre. Y sont assimilés les soins approuvés par le directeur et fournis à une personne à charge par une infirmière, domestique ou ménagère, à la résidence du requérant ou du bénéficiaire ou dans un foyer nourricier.

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Common law relationships

5(5) Where a man and a woman who are not legally married to each other are living together under circumstances that indicate to the director that they are living together as if they were married to each other, they shall, for the purposes of this Act and the regulations, be considered as legally married to one another and any application by either or both of them for assistance or social allowances shall be dealt with in every respect as though they were married to one another.

R.S.M. 1987 Supp., c. 31, s. 17; R.S.M. 1987 Corr.; S.M. 1989-90, c. 21, s. 2; S.M. 1993, c. 31, s. 2.

General assistance**5.1** Where a person

- (a) is within a local government district or an unorganized territory;
- (b) is not a person described in section 5; and
- (c) applies to the director for general assistance;

the director shall provide general assistance to or in respect of that person in accordance with this Act and the regulations.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 5.

Municipal assistance**5.2** Where a person

- (a) is within a municipality;
- (b) is not a person described in section 5; and
- (c) applies to the municipality for municipal assistance;

the municipality shall provide municipal assistance to or in respect of that person in accordance with this Act, the regulations and The Municipal Act.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 5.

Relations maritales

5(5) Lorsqu'un homme et une femme qui ne sont pas mariés l'un à l'autre vivent ensemble dans des circonstances qui laissent croire au directeur qu'ils vivent ensemble comme s'ils étaient mariés l'un à l'autre, ils sont considérés, aux fins de la présente loi et des règlements, comme étant mariés l'un à l'autre, et une demande d'aide ou d'allocation d'aide sociale présentée par l'un d'eux, ou par les deux, doit être traitée en tous points comme s'ils étaient mariés l'un à l'autre.

Suppl. L.R.M. 1987, c. 31, art. 17; L.R.M. 1987, corr.; L.M. 1989-90, c. 21, art. 2; L.M. 1993, c. 31, art. 2.

Aide générale

5.1 Le directeur accorde une aide générale, conformément à la présente loi et à ses règlements d'application, à une personne ou à l'égard de celle-ci, si elle remplit les conditions suivantes :

- a) elle se trouve dans un district d'administration locale ou un territoire non organisé;
- b) elle n'est pas visée à l'article 5;
- c) elle lui présente une demande d'aide générale.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 5.

Aide municipale

5.2 Une municipalité fournit de l'aide municipale, conformément à la présente loi, à ses règlements d'application et à la Loi sur les municipalités, à une personne ou à l'égard de celle-ci, si elle remplit les conditions suivantes :

- a) elle se trouve dans la municipalité;
- b) elle n'est pas visée à l'article 5;
- c) elle lui présente une demande d'aide municipale.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 5.

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Considerations re eligibility and amount payable**5.3(1) Where**

(a) the financial resources of an applicant or a recipient are less than the cost of basic necessities; and

(b) the applicant or the recipient complies with the requirements of this Act and the regulations;

the director or the municipality, as the case may be, shall in accordance with this Act and the regulations

(c) in writing, fix an amount to be paid as a social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, as the case may be, that is sufficient to enable the applicant or the recipient to obtain the basic necessities for himself or herself and dependents, if any; and

(d) pay that amount to or in respect of the applicant or the recipient monthly or more frequently.

Municipal by-laws re financial resources and basic necessities

5.3(2) In the case of municipal assistance, if a municipality has made a by-law under subsection 451(2) of The Municipal Act, the financial resources and cost of basic necessities of the applicant or the recipient shall be determined in accordance with that by-law and not as provided in the definitions of those terms in section 1.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 5.

Establishment of cost of basic necessities

6 The Lieutenant Governor in Council may, by regulation made by order in council, establish, for the purpose of this Act and as at the time of the making of the regulation, the cost of the several basic necessities or of those the cost of which should, in his opinion, be established from time to time.

7(1) to 7(4) Repealed, S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 6.

Montant admissible

5.3(1) Le directeur ou la municipalité, selon le cas, conformément à la présente loi et à ses règlements d'application, fixe par écrit le montant de l'aide générale, de l'aide municipale ou de l'allocation d'aide sociale permettant à un requérant ou à un bénéficiaire de couvrir les coûts de ses besoins essentiels et de ceux des personnes à sa charge, le cas échéant, et verse le montant fixé au requérant ou au bénéficiaire ou à son égard, au moins une fois par mois, si les conditions suivantes sont remplies :

a) les ressources financières du requérant ou du bénéficiaire sont inférieures au coût des besoins essentiels;

b) le requérant ou le bénéficiaire se conforme aux exigences de la présente loi et de ses règlements d'application.

Arrêtés — ressources et besoins essentiels

5.3(2) Si une municipalité a pris un arrêté en vertu du paragraphe 451(2) de la Loi sur les municipalités, les ressources financières et le coût des besoins essentiels du requérant ou du bénéficiaire d'aide municipale sont déterminés conformément à l'arrêté plutôt que conformément aux définitions de ces termes prévues à l'article 1.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 5.

Détermination du coût des besoins essentiels

6 Le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil peut, par règlement pris par décret, établir, aux fins de la présente loi et à compter de la date de la prise du règlement, le coût des divers besoins essentiels, ou de ceux parmi eux dont le coût devrait, de l'avis du lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil, être établi à l'occasion.

7(1) à 7(4) Abrogés, L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 6.

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Bringing an action on behalf of recipient

7(5) Where a recipient has a right to bring an action against a person who is or might be indebted or liable to that recipient for payment of money and the recipient has not done so at the time that assistance is granted, the director or any person acting under the authority of the director may bring action in the name and on behalf of the recipient.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 6.

Establishment of legal aid as a benefit

8(1) Payment of the cost of legal aid in civil matters, where furnished under The Legal Aid Services Society of Manitoba Act to persons who while the legal aid is being so furnished are receiving or are eligible to receive social allowances under this Act, is established as a class of benefits under this Act.

Legal aid an additional benefit

8(2) The class of benefits established under subsection (1) is additional to and separate from social allowances and neither the need for that class of benefits by any person nor the provision of that class of benefits to any person shall be taken into account as a factor in determining the eligibility or the extent of the eligibility of that person for a social allowance under this Act and the regulations.

Legal aid grants deemed to be for this sec.

8(3) Such monies out of any grants paid to The Legal Aid Services Society of Manitoba under subsection 25(2) of The Legal Aid Services Society of Manitoba Act as are used under that Act to pay the cost of legal aid in a civil matter furnished to a person who, while the legal aid is being so furnished, is receiving or is eligible to receive a social allowance under this Act are deemed to be monies paid and used for the purposes of this section.

Action intentée au nom du bénéficiaire

7(5) Lorsqu'un bénéficiaire a un droit d'action contre une personne qui est ou pourrait être endettée envers lui ou qui lui est ou pourrait lui être redevable du versement d'une somme d'argent, le directeur, ou une personne autorisée par celui-ci, peut intenter une action pour le bénéficiaire et en son nom, lorsque le bénéficiaire n'a pas encore intenté une action à la date à laquelle l'aide a été octroyée.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 6.

Aide juridique considérée comme prestation

8(1) Le versement des frais d'aide juridique relativement à des matières civiles constitue une catégorie de prestations en vertu de la présente loi, lorsque l'aide juridique est fournie en vertu de la Loi sur la Société d'aide juridique du Manitoba, à des personnes qui reçoivent, ou qui ont droit de recevoir, des allocations d'aide sociale en vertu de la présente loi, en même temps qu'ils reçoivent l'aide juridique qui leur est fournie.

Aide juridique constitue une prestation supplémentaire

8(2) La catégorie de prestations établie en vertu du paragraphe (1) s'ajoute aux allocations d'aide sociale et est distincte de celles-ci, et il n'est pas tenu compte du besoin de cette catégorie de prestations que peut avoir une personne, ni de l'octroi de cette catégorie de prestations qui lui est fait, lors de la détermination du droit, ou de l'étendue de celui-ci, que peut avoir cette personne à une allocation d'aide sociale en vertu de la présente loi et des règlements.

Subventions utilisées aux fins du présent article

8(3) Les sommes provenant des subventions accordées à la Société d'aide juridique du Manitoba en vertu du paragraphe 25(2) de la Loi sur la Société d'aide juridique du Manitoba sont réputées avoir été octroyées et utilisées aux fins du présent article lorsqu'elles sont affectées, en vertu de cette loi, au versement des frais d'aide juridique accordée relativement à une matière civile à une personne qui, durant la période à laquelle l'aide juridique lui est fournie, reçoit ou a droit de recevoir une allocation d'aide sociale en vertu de la présente loi.

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Discontinuance, reduction, suspension or increase

9(1) Where, on the basis of information received by the director or the municipality, the director or the municipality is of the opinion that the social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance being paid to a recipient

- (a) should be discontinued; or
- (b) should be reduced; or
- (c) should be suspended; or
- (d) should be increased;

the director or the municipality, may by written order direct that the social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance be discontinued, reduced, suspended or increased, as the case may require.

Notice to recipient or applicant

9(2) The director or a person acting under the authority of the director or a municipality shall forthwith notify an applicant or recipient or a person who has applied for or is or was receiving social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance in writing of any decision or order which denies, discontinues, reduces or suspends social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance to the applicant, recipient or person, stating the reasons for the decision or order and advising the applicant, recipient or person, as the case may be, that he has the right under the Act to appeal the decision or order to the appeal board and the right to be represented on appeal by counsel of his choice.

Right of appeal

9(3) An applicant or a recipient may appeal to the appeal board where he feels his treatment was unfair because

- (a) he was not allowed to apply or re-apply for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance;
- (b) his request for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or increase in social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance was not decided upon within a reasonable time;

Modification de l'allocation ou de l'aide

9(1) Le directeur ou une municipalité peut ordonner par écrit que l'allocation d'aide sociale, l'aide générale ou l'aide municipale versée à un bénéficiaire soit discontinuée, diminuée, suspendue ou augmentée s'il est d'avis, sur la foi des renseignements qu'il a reçus, que l'aide ou l'allocation devrait l'être.

Avis au bénéficiaire ou au requérant

9(2) Le directeur, une personne autorisée par celui-ci ou une municipalité doit immédiatement aviser par écrit le requérant, le bénéficiaire ou la personne qui a présenté une demande d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale, ou qui reçoit ou recevait une telle allocation ou aide, de la décision ou de l'ordre qui refuse, discontinue, diminue ou suspend l'allocation d'aide sociale, l'aide générale ou l'aide municipale à cette personne, en y indiquant les motifs de la décision ou de l'ordre et en l'avisant qu'il a le droit, en vertu de la Loi, d'interjeter appel de la décision ou de l'ordre à la Commission d'appel et que, lors d'un tel appel, il a le droit d'être représenté par l'avocat de son choix.

Droit d'appel

9(3) Le requérant ou le bénéficiaire peut interjeter appel à la Commission d'appel lorsqu'il considère qu'il a été traité injustement du fait :

- a) qu'on ne lui a pas permis de présenter une demande, ou de présenter une nouvelle demande, d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale;
- b) que la décision relative à sa demande d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale, ou relative à sa demande d'augmentation d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale, n'a pas été prise dans un délai raisonnable;

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- (c) his application for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance was denied;
- (d) his social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance was cancelled, suspended, varied or withheld; or
- (e) the amount of social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance granted is insufficient to meet his needs.

Notice of appeal

9(4) A person who receives a notice under subsection (2) and who desires to appeal a decision or order for any of the reasons set out in subsection (1), may within 15 days after receiving the notice, file a written notice of appeal with the appeal board setting out the grounds of the appeal.

Hearing of appeal

9(5) Upon receipt of a notice of appeal under subsection (4), the chairman of the appeal board shall fix a date, time and place not later than 15 days after the date of the receipt of the notice, for the hearing of the appeal and shall give at least three clear days notice of the date, time and place fixed for the hearing of the appeal to

- (a) the appellant; and
- (b) the director or municipality, as the case may require.

Respondent to provide certain documents

9(6) Upon receipt of a notice of appeal from an appellant, the board shall forward a copy thereof to the respondent and the respondent shall forthwith provide the appeal board with

- (a) a copy of the appellant's application for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance;
- (b) particulars of the financial resources of the appellant;
- (c) evidence that the requirements of subsection (2) have been met; and
- (d) a copy of any other record or document that may be relevant in determining the appeal.

c) que sa demande d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale a été rejetée;

d) que son allocation d'aide sociale, son aide générale ou son aide municipale a été annulée, suspendue, modifiée ou retenue;

e) que le montant d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale accordé n'est pas suffisant pour subvenir à ses besoins.

Avis d'appel

9(4) Une personne qui reçoit un avis en vertu du paragraphe (2) et qui a l'intention d'interjeter appel d'une décision ou d'un ordre pour un des motifs indiqués au paragraphe (1), peut, dans les 15 jours de la réception de l'avis, déposer un avis écrit d'appel auprès de la Commission d'appel, en y indiquant les motifs de l'appel.

Audition de l'appel

9(5) Dès réception d'un avis d'appel aux termes du paragraphe (4), le président de la Commission d'appel fixe les date, heure et lieu de l'audition de l'appel. L'audition doit avoir lieu au plus tard 15 jours après la date de réception de l'avis, et le président doit donner un avis d'au moins trois jours francs des date, heure et lieu fixés pour l'audition de l'appel, à la fois :

- a) à l'appellant;
- b) au directeur ou à la municipalité, selon le cas.

Présentation de certains documents

9(6) Dès réception d'un avis d'appel de la part d'un appellant, la Commission d'appel envoie une copie à l'intimé, qui doit aussitôt fournir à la Commission d'appel :

- a) une copie de la demande d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale présentée par l'appellant;
- b) des renseignements concernant les ressources financières de l'appellant;
- c) la preuve que les conditions du paragraphe (2) ont été remplies;
- d) une copie de tout autre rapport ou document pouvant être pertinent lors de la décision sur l'appel.

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Hearing of appeal

9(7) On the date, and at the time and place, stated in the notice, the appeal board shall sit and hear any evidence adduced by or on behalf of, and representations made by or on behalf of, the person appealing, and the director or the municipality, as the case may be, and upon the hearing of an appeal the parties may appear on their own behalf or may be represented by any person of their own choosing or by counsel, and at the option of the appellant, the hearing may be held in camera or may be open to the public.

Disposal of appeal

9(8) The appeal board may, by written order,

- (a) dismiss the appeal; or
- (b) dismiss the appeal and order the social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance be revoked or discontinued; or
- (c) allow it and direct that a social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance in an amount stated in the order be paid to the appellant; or
- (d) allow it and vary the order or direction made by the director or the municipality;

and if the appeal is allowed the director or the municipality shall pay a social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance to the appellant from the date of the order of the appeal board as provided in that order.

Further appeal

9(9) An appeal lies from any final order or decision of the appeal board to the Court of Appeal upon

- (a) any question involving the jurisdiction of the board; or
- (b) any point of law.

Audition de l'appel

9(7) Aux date, heure et lieu indiqués à l'avis, la Commission d'appel siège et entend la preuve présentée par l'appelant et par le directeur ou la municipalité, selon le cas, ou aux noms de ceux-ci; elle entend également les arguments présentés par les parties ou en leur nom. Lors de l'audition d'un appel, les parties peuvent comparaître en leur propre nom ou être représentées par la personne de leur choix ou par avocat, et il appartient à l'appelant de choisir entre une audience à huis clos et une audience publique.

Résolution de l'appel

9(8) La Commission d'appel peut, par ordonnance écrite :

- a) rejeter l'appel;
- b) rejeter l'appel et ordonner la cessation ou révocation de l'allocation d'aide sociale, de l'aide générale ou de l'aide municipale;
- c) accueillir l'appel et ordonner le versement à l'appelant d'une aide générale, d'une aide municipale ou d'une allocation d'aide sociale au montant indiqué dans l'ordonnance;
- d) accueillir l'appel et modifier l'ordre ou la directive du directeur ou de la municipalité.

Si l'appel est accueilli, le directeur ou la municipalité verse à l'appelant une allocation d'aide sociale, une aide générale ou une aide municipale à compter de la date de l'ordonnance de la Commission d'appel et conformément aux dispositions de celle-ci.

Appel supplémentaire

9(9) Un appel est recevable devant la Cour d'appel d'une ordonnance ou d'une décision définitive de la Commission d'appel concernant :

- a) soit une question relative à la juridiction de la Commission d'appel;
- b) soit une question de droit.

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Leave for further appeal

9(10) The appeal shall be taken only by leave of a judge of the Court of Appeal, within one month after the making of the order or decision sought to be appealed from, or within such further time as the judge under special circumstances shall allow, and after notice to the other parties stating the grounds of appeal.

9(11) Repealed, S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 7.

Rules of practice

9(12) The Court of Appeal may make rules of practice respecting appeals under this section, but until such rules are made the rules and practice applicable to appeals from a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench in civil matters to the Court of Appeal shall apply.

Waiver of fees

9(13) In any appeal to the Court of Appeal the normal fees payable by law shall be waived, and where an applicant or recipient for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance succeeds upon his appeal, the court, in the light of all the circumstances, may fix the costs to be paid to such applicant or recipient.

Fixing of costs

9(14) Where the appeal of such applicant or recipient for social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance is dismissed, the court, in the light of all the circumstances, may fix the costs and fees to be taxed, allowed and paid to the director or the municipality, as the case may be, notwithstanding the waiver of fees under the provisions of subsection (13).

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 7.

10 Repealed.

S.M. 1990-91, c. 12, s. 18; S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 8.

Permission d'appel supplémentaire

9(10) L'appel ne peut être interjeté qu'avec l'autorisation d'un juge de la Cour d'appel, dans le mois qui suit la date de l'ordonnance ou de la décision devant faire l'objet de l'appel, ou dans le délai plus long que peut accorder le juge lorsqu'il existe des circonstances particulières. De plus, l'appel doit être précédé d'un avis envoyé aux autres parties et indiquant les motifs de l'appel.

9(11) Abrogé, L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 7.

Règles de pratique

9(12) La Cour d'appel peut prendre des règles de pratique concernant les appels interjetés en vertu du présent article, mais jusqu'à l'adoption de celles-ci, les règles de pratique concernant les appels interjetés en matières civiles d'un juge de la Cour du Banc de la Reine s'appliquent.

Renonciation aux frais judiciaires

9(13) Lors d'un appel à la Cour d'appel, les droits habituels et prévus par la loi ne seront ni exigés ni versés, et lorsqu'est accueilli l'appel d'un requérant ou d'un bénéficiaire relativement à une allocation d'aide sociale, à une aide générale ou à une aide municipale, le tribunal peut, en tenant compte des circonstances, établir les dépens devant être versés à tel requérant ou bénéficiaire.

Détermination des dépens

9(14) Lorsqu'est rejeté l'appel relatif à une allocation d'aide sociale, à une aide générale ou à une aide municipale interjeté par un tel requérant ou bénéficiaire, le tribunal peut, en tenant compte des circonstances, fixer les dépens et frais judiciaires devant être accordés, taxés et versés au directeur ou à la municipalité, selon le cas, malgré toute renonciation aux droits faite en vertu du paragraphe (13).

L.R.M. 1987, corr.; L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 7.

10 Abrogé.

L.M. 1990-91, c. 12, art. 18; L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 8.

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Definition: shareable cost of municipal assistance

11(1) In this section, "shareable cost of municipal assistance" when used with reference to cost sharing between the province and a municipality, means the cost of municipal assistance provided in accordance with subsection 5.3(1), without regard to the cost of any greater amounts that are paid by a municipality pursuant to a by-law made under subsection 451(2) of The Municipal Act.

Grants to municipalities

11(2) Where a municipality provides municipal assistance, the Minister of Finance shall, out of moneys authorized by an Act of the Legislature to be so paid and applied, pay a grant to the municipality in respect of each year from the Consolidated Fund, in accordance with this section.

Amount of grant re residents

11(3) Where a municipality provides assistance to persons who are residents of the municipality as determined under The Municipal Act, the Minister of Finance shall pay to the municipality, in respect of each year, a grant that is the greater of

(a) 80% of the amount by which the shareable cost of municipal assistance provided by that municipality to its residents during that year exceeds an amount that is equivalent to .2 mill on each dollar of the total municipal assessment in that year; or

(b) 40% of the shareable cost of municipal assistance provided by that municipality to its residents during that year.

Amount of grant re non residents

11(4) Where a municipality provides assistance to persons who are not residents of the municipality as determined under The Municipal Act, the Minister of Finance shall pay to the municipality, in respect of each year, a grant that is equal to the shareable cost of municipal assistance provided by that municipality during that year to those persons who are not residents.

Additional amount of grant

11(5) The Minister of Finance may, in accordance with the regulations, increase the amount of a grant paid to a municipality under subsection (3).

Définition

11(1) Pour l'application du présent article, «montant partageable d'aide municipale», dans le contexte du partage des frais entre la province et une municipalité, s'entend du montant d'aide municipale fournie en vertu du paragraphe 5.3(1) sans qu'il ne soit tenu compte des montants plus élevés qui sont versés par une municipalité conformément à un arrêté pris en vertu du paragraphe 451(2) de la Loi sur les municipalités.

Subventions aux municipalités

11(2) Le ministre des Finances verse chaque année, sur le Trésor et conformément au présent article, une subvention aux municipalités qui fournissent de l'aide municipale, au moyen de sommes qu'une loi de la province affecte à cette fin.

Montant des subventions — résidents

11(3) Le ministre des Finances verse chaque année aux municipalités fournissant de l'aide aux personnes qui, selon la Loi sur les municipalités, sont des résidents la plus élevée des subventions suivantes :

a) 80 % de la partie du montant partageable d'aide municipale que la municipalité fournit à ses résidents durant l'année qui dépasse 0,2 millièmme par dollar d'évaluation municipale totale pour l'année;

b) 40 % du montant partageable d'aide municipale que la municipalité a fournie à ses résidents au cours de l'année.

Montant des subventions — non-résidents

11(4) Le ministre des Finances verse chaque année aux municipalités fournissant de l'aide aux personnes qui, selon la Loi sur les municipalités, sont des non-résidents une subvention égale au montant partageable d'aide municipale que la municipalité a fournie à ces personnes au cours de l'année.

Subvention supplémentaire

11(5) Le ministre des Finances peut, conformément aux règlements, augmenter le montant de la subvention visée au paragraphe (3).

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Restrictions re grants

11(6) Notwithstanding subsections (3) and (4), the Minister of Finance is not required to pay any grant to a municipality with respect to the cost of municipal assistance provided by the municipality if

- (a) the cost of that municipal assistance is not shared or shareable by the Government of Canada;
- (b) the municipality does not provide municipal assistance to persons in accordance with subsection 451(1) of The Municipal Act;
- (c) the municipal assistance is provided pursuant to a by-law of the municipality made under subsection 451(2) of The Municipal Act that has not been approved by the minister; or
- (d) the municipality fails to comply with any of the requirements of this Act or the regulations.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 9.

Records and disclosure

11.1(1) Each municipality shall

- (a) keep such records relevant to the provision of municipal assistance, in such form, and for such periods of time as the minister may require; and
- (b) furnish to the minister those records and any other information that the minister may request.

Access to documents

11.1(2) A municipality shall

- (a) give any person appointed by the minister an opportunity to examine, audit or make copies of any documents relevant to the provision of municipal assistance that are in the possession or control of the municipality; and
- (b) give the person appointed by the minister all reasonable assistance to enable that person to carry out his or her functions under clause (a).

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 10.

Restrictions

11(6) Par dérogation aux paragraphes (3) et (4), le ministre des Finances n'est pas tenu de verser aux municipalités des subventions couvrant les dépenses engagées pour l'aide municipale fournie par les municipalités si :

- a) le montant d'aide municipale n'est pas partagé ou partageable avec le gouvernement du Canada;
- b) les municipalités ne fournissent pas d'aide municipale conformément au paragraphe 451(1) de la Loi sur les municipalités;
- c) l'aide municipale est fournie conformément à un arrêté municipal pris en vertu du paragraphe 451(2) de la Loi sur les municipalités qui n'a pas été approuvé par le ministre;
- d) les municipalités ne se conforment pas aux exigences de la présente loi et de ses règlements d'application.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 9.

Dossiers et divulgation

11.1(1) Les municipalités :

- a) conservent les dossiers portant sur la fourniture d'aide municipale que le ministre exige, en la forme et pendant la période qu'il fixe;
- b) fournissent au ministre les dossiers en question ainsi que tout autre renseignement que le ministre leur demande.

Accès aux documents

11.1(2) Les municipalités :

- a) permettent aux personnes que le ministre nomme d'examiner et de vérifier les documents portant sur la fourniture d'aide municipale qui sont en leur possession ou sous leur responsabilité, et d'en faire des copies;
- b) fournissent aux personnes que le ministre nomme l'aide raisonnable dont celles-ci ont besoin pour exercer leurs fonctions en vertu de l'alinéa a).

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 10.

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Restrictions on grants under sections 13 and 14

12 Notwithstanding sections 13 and 14, a municipality is not entitled to receive

- (a) any payments under section 13; or
- (b) any payments in respect of the costs of a work activity project or of social services, that are deemed to be municipal assistance under section 14;

unless it grants assistance in accordance with this Act, the regulations and The Municipal Act.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 11.

Grants for staff and administrative services costs

13 In addition to the grants set out in section 11, the Minister of Finance shall pay to each municipality in respect of each year, a grant equal to

- (a) 50% of the amount by which its yearly costs for salary and wages of staff of the municipality engaged in full-time social services work exceeds its cost in the year 1964 for such purposes; and
- (b) 50% of those administrative service costs associated with clause (a), which are shared or shareable with the Government of Canada;

if

(c) the municipality provides municipal assistance in accordance with this Act, the regulations and The Municipal Act; and

(d) the minister approves the costs referred to in clauses (a) and (b).

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 12.

Work activity projects by municipality

14(1) A municipality, by itself or in co-operation with another person, may carry out a project of work activity

- (a) approved as such by the minister; and

Restrictions quant à certaines subventions

12 Par dérogation aux articles 13 et 14, une municipalité n'a pas droit de recevoir :

- a) des versements en vertu de l'article 13;
- b) des versements concernant le coût d'un programme de travail, ou le coût de services sociaux, lorsque ces programmes ou services sont réputés être de l'aide municipale aux termes de l'article 14,

à moins qu'elle n'accorde de l'aide conformément à la présente loi, à ses règlements d'application et à la Loi sur les municipalités.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 11.

Subventions — personnel et administration

13 En plus des subventions visées à l'article 11, le ministre des Finances verse chaque année aux municipalités qui fournissent de l'aide municipale conformément à la présente loi, à ses règlements d'application et à la Loi sur les municipalités une subvention égale aux montants suivants s'il approuve les dépenses que la subvention couvre :

- a) 50 % de la partie des frais annuels que la municipalité a engagés en salaires pour son personnel oeuvrant à temps plein dans les services sociaux qui est en sus des frais qu'elle a engagés aux mêmes fins en 1964;
- b) 50 % des frais de services administratifs associés à l'alinéa a) qui sont partagés ou partageables avec le gouvernement du Canada.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 12.

Programmes de travail créés par la municipalité

14(1) Une municipalité peut, seule ou de concert avec une autre personne, réaliser un programme de travail :

- a) approuvé à ce titre par le ministre;

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(b) that, in the opinion of the minister, would not be undertaken except with the support granted under this Act;

and, where a municipality carries out such a project, the costs thereof to the municipality as prescribed in the regulations shall be conclusively deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be municipal assistance provided by the municipality.

Social services provided by municipality

14(2) A municipality, by itself or in co-operation with another person, may provide social services specifically approved by the minister in respect of that municipality; and, where a municipality provides such social services, the costs thereof to the municipality as prescribed in the regulations shall be conclusively deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be municipal assistance provided by the municipality.

Agreements with Canada

15 The Government of Manitoba, represented therein by the minister, may, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, enter into an agreement or agreements with the Government of Canada as to a general scheme whereby the Government of Manitoba may from time to time make claims on the Government of Canada for, and be paid by it, grants of moneys as reimbursement in whole or in part

(a) of the cost incurred by the Government of Manitoba for the purpose of providing social allowances and for the purposes of providing, under section 5.1, assistance to persons in need to whom that section applies, or for either of those purposes; and

(b) of the cost of the municipal assistance provided by municipalities in the province;

including the costs of administration in both cases where so agreed.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 13.

b) qui, de l'avis du ministre, ne serait pas entrepris sans le soutien accordé par la présente loi.

Lorsqu'une municipalité réalise un tel programme, les coûts à la charge la municipalité, conformément aux règlements, sont péremptoirement réputés, aux fins de la présente loi, être de l'aide municipale fournie par la municipalité.

Services sociaux fournis par la municipalité

14(2) Une municipalité peut, seule ou de concert avec une autre personne, fournir les services sociaux expressément approuvés par le ministre relativement à cette municipalité. Lorsqu'une municipalité fournit de tels services sociaux, les frais de ceux-ci engagés par la municipalité, conformément aux règlements, sont péremptoirement réputés, aux fins de la présente loi, être de l'aide municipale fournie par la municipalité.

Ententes avec le Canada

15 Le gouvernement du Manitoba, représenté à cette fin par le ministre, peut, avec l'approbation du lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil, conclure une entente ou des ententes avec le gouvernement du Canada relativement à un projet global en vertu duquel le gouvernement du Manitoba peut présenter des réclamations auprès du gouvernement du Canada et recevoir de celui-ci des subventions à titre de remboursement total ou partiel relativement :

a) aux frais engagés par le gouvernement du Manitoba dans le but de fournir des allocations d'aide sociale et, en vertu de l'article 5.1, l'aide aux personnes nécessiteuses auxquelles s'applique cet article, ou dans l'un de ces buts;

b) au coût de l'aide municipale fournie aux municipalités dans la province.

Les frais d'administration dans les deux cas sont compris, lorsqu'il est ainsi convenu.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 13.

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Agreements with other provinces

16 The Government of Manitoba, represented therein by the minister, may, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, enter into an agreement with the Crown in right of another province of Canada, or with the Crown in right of Canada or other duly constituted authority administering a territory of Canada

(a) for the payment of social allowances to residents of that other province or that territory who are temporarily in Manitoba;

(b) for the granting of moneys or assistance equivalent to a social allowance to residents of Manitoba who are temporarily in that other province or that territory; and

(c) for the administration of municipal assistance on behalf of each of the several municipalities in the province;

upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually satisfactory to the parties to the agreement.

Administration and annual report

17(1) The minister is responsible for the administration of this Act; and the director shall make an annual report to the minister respecting the administration thereof.

Tabling of report

17(2) The minister shall lay the annual report before the Legislative Assembly forthwith if it is then in session and, if not, then within 15 days of the beginning of the next following session thereof.

Applications

18(1) Any person may make application for a social allowance.

Form of application

18(2) Every application shall be made to the director in such form, and containing such information, as may be prescribed by the minister.

Ententes avec d'autres provinces

16 Le gouvernement du Manitoba, représenté à cette fin par le ministre, peut, avec l'approbation du lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil, conclure une entente avec la Couronne du chef d'une autre province du Canada, ou avec la Couronne du chef du Canada ou avec une autre juridiction dûment constituée qui administre un territoire du Canada :

a) relativement au versement d'allocations d'aide sociale aux résidents de cette autre province ou de cet autre territoire qui se trouvent temporairement au Manitoba;

b) relativement à l'octroi de sommes ou d'aide équivalents à une allocation d'aide sociale, aux résidents du Manitoba qui se trouvent temporairement dans cette autre province ou cet autre territoire;

c) relativement à l'administration de l'aide municipale au nom de chacune des diverses municipalités de la province,

selon les modalités et conditions que chacune des parties à l'entente considère satisfaisantes.

Application et rapport annuel

17(1) Le ministre est chargé de l'application de la présente loi; le directeur doit soumettre un rapport annuel au ministre relativement à l'application de celle-ci.

Dépôt du rapport annuel

17(2) Le ministre doit immédiatement déposer copie du rapport annuel devant l'Assemblée législative si elle est en session et sinon, dans les 15 jours du début de la session suivante.

L.R.M. 1987, corr.

Demandes d'allocation d'aide sociale

18(1) Toute personne a droit de présenter une demande d'allocation d'aide sociale.

Formes de la demande

18(2) Une demande d'allocation d'aide sociale doit être présentée au directeur en la forme établie par le ministre, et doit contenir les renseignements exigés par ce dernier.

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Regulations

19(1) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act according to their intent, the Lieutenant Governor in Council may make such regulations and orders as are ancillary thereto and are not inconsistent therewith; and every regulation or order made under, and in accordance with the authority granted by, this section has the force of law; and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, the Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations and orders,

(a) approving the kinds of expenditures made by municipalities that may be included by the municipality in the cost of municipal assistance provided by it;

(b) establishing the cost of the basic necessities as provided in section 6;

(c) prescribing rules for determining the income and financial resources of applicants or recipients and providing that certain income or classes of income shall be excluded from, or included in, the calculation of the income and financial resources of an applicant or recipient;

(d) prescribing rules for determining the amount of social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance that a recipient is entitled to receive and for determining whether an applicant is entitled to receive any social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance;

(e) fixing the amount of social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance that may be paid to an applicant or a recipient;

(f) prescribing procedures to be followed in the administration of the Act and prescribing forms for use for any purpose under this Act or the regulations, or providing that forms prescribed or approved by the minister shall be used for any purpose under this Act or the regulations;

(g) prescribing conditions that a recipient is required to comply with in order to be eligible to continue to receive social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or an applicant is required to comply with to be eligible to receive social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance;

Règlements

19(1) Le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil peut prendre des règlements et décrets d'application compatibles avec la présente loi et conformes à son esprit; ces règlements ou décrets ont force de loi. Il peut notamment, par règlement et décret :

a) approuver le genre de dépenses faites par les municipalités, qui peuvent être incluses par la municipalité dans le coût de l'aide municipale qu'elle fournit;

b) établir le coût des besoins essentiels mentionnés à l'article 6;

c) prescrire les règles pour déterminer les revenus et les ressources financières des requérants ou des bénéficiaires, et prévoir les revenus ou les classes de revenus qui sont exclus ou inclus dans le calcul des revenus ou des ressources financières d'un requérant ou d'un bénéficiaire;

d) prescrire les règles pour déterminer si un requérant a droit à l'aide sociale, à l'aide générale ou à l'aide municipale et pour déterminer le montant d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale qu'un bénéficiaire a le droit de recevoir;

e) fixer le montant d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale qui peut être versé à un requérant ou à un bénéficiaire;

f) établir les procédures devant être suivies lors de l'application de la présente loi, et prévoir les formulaires devant être utilisés pour les fins de la présente loi ou des règlements, ou prévoir que les formules établies ou approuvées par le ministre doivent être utilisées pour les fins de la présente loi ou des règlements;

g) établir les conditions qu'un bénéficiaire doit respecter afin d'avoir le droit de continuer de recevoir une allocation d'aide sociale, une aide générale ou une aide municipale, ou les conditions qu'un requérant doit respecter afin d'avoir droit à une allocation d'aide sociale, à une aide générale ou à une aide municipale;

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(h) prescribing the manner in which and the times at which returns and information required to be submitted by municipalities under this Act or the regulations shall be submitted;

(i) respecting the work activity projects or social services that may be approved by the minister under section 14;

(j) prescribing the costs that may be included in the costs of a municipality for a work activity project or for social services;

(k) repealed, S.M. 1993, c. 31, s. 3;

(l) prescribing terms for discharging any lien and charge for the purposes of section 21;

(m) defining words, phrases or forms for which no definition is given in the Act;

(n) respecting increasing grants to municipalities under subsection 11(5);

(o) making any provision of this Act apply to the granting of general assistance or municipal assistance;

(p) respecting those matters for which a municipality shall or may provide in a by-law under subsection 451(2) of The Municipal Act;

(q) respecting any matter the Lieutenant Governor in Council considers necessary or advisable to carry out the intent and purpose of this Act.

h) établir les modalités devant être suivies lors de la soumission, par les municipalités, des rapports et renseignements exigés de celles-ci par la présente loi ou par les règlements et prévoir les périodes auxquelles ces rapports et renseignements doivent être soumis;

i) régir les programmes de travail ou les services sociaux pouvant être approuvés par le ministre en vertu de l'article 14;

j) établir les coûts pouvant être inclus à titre de coûts à la charge d'une municipalité relativement à un programme de travail ou relativement à des services sociaux;

k) abrogé, L.M. 1993, c. 31, art. 3;

l) établir, aux fins de l'article 21, les conditions se rattachant à la mainlevée d'un privilège et d'une charge;

m) définir les mots, phrases ou expressions qui ne sont pas définis par la présente loi;

n) régir l'augmentation des subventions fournies aux municipalités pour l'application du paragraphe 11(5);

o) rendre applicable toute disposition de la présente loi à la fourniture d'aide générale ou d'aide municipale;

p) régir les questions que les municipalités peuvent ou doivent réglementer par arrêté pris en vertu du paragraphe 451(2) de la Loi sur les municipalités;

q) régir les questions que le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil considère nécessaires ou souhaitables pour l'application de la présente loi.

Retroactive regulation

19(2) A regulation under clause (1)(c) may, notwithstanding the provisions of The Regulations Act, be made with retroactive effect, but only to the extent that it applies to any additional benefits receivable by a recipient.

Règlement rétroactif

19(2) Un règlement pris en application de l'alinéa (1)c) peut, par dérogation aux dispositions de la Loi sur les textes réglementaires, être pris avec effet rétroactif, mais uniquement dans la mesure où ce règlement se rattache aux prestations supplémentaires pouvant être reçues par un bénéficiaire.

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Retroactive regulations

19(3) A regulation under clauses (1)(d) and (e) may be made with retroactive effect.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 14; S.M. 1993, c. 31, s. 3.

Recovery of payments made in error or on false statements

20(1) Where the government or a municipality has provided or paid assistance or any social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance to or for a person, if the assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, or any part thereof, would not have been provided or paid except for

(a) a false statement or misrepresentation made by the person; or

(b) an error;

the government or the municipality may recover from the person, or his executors or administrators, or his spouse, or the executors or administrators of his spouse, and, if the person is an infant, his parent or guardian or any person legally liable to pay his expenses, the amount of that assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or that part thereof as a debt due and owing from the person to the Crown or to the municipality, as the case may be.

Recovery from person liable for maintenance

20(2) Where the government or a municipality has provided or paid assistance or any social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance to or for a person, if the assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or any part thereof would not have been provided or paid except for the neglect or failure of another person to comply with any law or the order of any court requiring that other person to maintain or to contribute toward the maintenance of the person to or for whom the assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or part was provided or paid, the government or the municipality may recover from that other person, or his executors or

Règlements rétroactifs

19(3) Un règlement pris en application des alinéas (1)d) et e) peut être pris avec effet rétroactif.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 14; L.M. 1993, c. 31, art. 3.

Recouvrement de versements faits par erreur

20(1) Lorsque le gouvernement ou une municipalité a fourni ou versé de l'aide, notamment une aide générale ou une aide municipale, ou une allocation d'aide sociale à une personne ou pour celle-ci dans un cas où l'aide ou l'allocation d'aide sociale, ou une partie de cette aide ou allocation, n'aurait pas été fournie ou versée si ce n'était :

a) d'une déclaration fausse ou trompeuse faite par cette personne;

b) d'une erreur,

le gouvernement ou la municipalité peut recouvrer de la personne, de ses exécuteurs testamentaires ou administrateurs, de son conjoint, des exécuteurs testamentaires ou administrateurs du conjoint et, si la personne en question est un mineur, de son père, de sa mère, de son tuteur ou de toute personne légalement tenue civilement de défrayer les frais relatifs à ce mineur, le montant de cette aide ou allocation d'aide sociale, ou une partie de cette aide ou allocation, à titre de créance de la Couronne ou de la municipalité, selon le cas, envers cette personne.

Recouvrement du responsable de l'entretien

20(2) Lorsque le gouvernement ou une municipalité a fourni ou versé de l'aide, notamment une aide générale ou une aide municipale, ou une allocation d'aide sociale à une personne ou pour celle-ci dans un cas où l'aide ou l'allocation d'aide sociale, ou une partie de cette aide ou allocation, n'aurait pas été fournie ou versée si ce n'était de la négligence ou du défaut d'une autre personne de se conformer à une loi ou à une ordonnance d'un tribunal ordonnant que cette autre personne entretienne ou contribue à l'entretien de la personne à laquelle ou pour laquelle l'aide ou l'allocation d'aide sociale en tout ou en partie a été fournie ou versée, le gouvernement ou la municipalité peut recouvrer de

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administrators, the amount of that assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance or part, up to the total amount that the other person neglected or failed to provide or pay, as a debt due and owing from that other person to the Crown or to the municipality, as the case may be.

Deductions from recipients

20(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or the regulations, where under subsection (1) or (2), a person who is liable to pay an amount of social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance paid to him as a debt to the Crown in right of Manitoba or to the municipality, as the case may be, is a recipient the director or the municipality, as the case may be, may authorize the deduction of an amount that would not cause undue hardship to the recipient from each subsequent payment of social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance to that person until the amount of the indebtedness of that person is discharged.

Unpaid balance continued as debt

20(4) Where pursuant to subsection (3), deductions are made from the social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance payable to a person and the social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance is for any reason discontinued or terminated and the amount deducted is insufficient to discharge his indebtedness to the Crown or to the municipality, as the case may be, the unpaid balance continues to be a debt owed by that person to the Crown or to the municipality, as the case may be, until fully paid and discharged.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 15.

Registration of statement**21(1)** Where

(a) a debt becomes due and owing from a person to the Crown or to a municipality under section 20; or

(b) the government or a municipality has made any payment to or for a person to cover

la personne fautive ou de ses exécuteurs testamentaires ou administrateurs, à titre de créance de la Couronne ou de la municipalité, selon le cas, envers cette personne, le montant total ou partie de cette aide ou allocation d'aide sociale, ou une partie de cette aide ou allocation, jusqu'à concurrence du montant total que cette autre personne a négligé ou a fait défaut de fournir ou de verser.

Retenue faite sur le montant versé à un bénéficiaire

20(3) Par dérogation à toute autre disposition de la présente loi ou des règlements, lorsqu'une personne est un bénéficiaire alors qu'elle est redevable à la Couronne du chef du Manitoba ou à une municipalité, selon le cas, en vertu du paragraphe (1) ou (2), d'un montant qui lui fut versé à titre d'aide générale, d'aide municipale ou d'allocation d'aide sociale, le directeur ou la municipalité, selon le cas, peut autoriser la retenue d'un montant dont la privation ne causera pas un préjudice injustifié au bénéficiaire sur chaque versement subséquent d'aide ou d'allocation versé à cette personne, jusqu'à ce que le montant de la dette de cette personne soit entièrement remboursé.

Solde impayé demeure une dette

20(4) Lorsqu'est discontinuée ou lorsque cesse pour une raison quelconque l'allocation d'aide sociale, l'aide générale ou l'aide municipale sur laquelle sont faites des retenues en vertu du paragraphe (3), alors que le montant déjà retenu ne suffit pas à acquitter la dette envers la Couronne ou la municipalité, selon le cas, de la personne à laquelle est versée l'allocation ou l'aide, le solde impayé demeure une dette de cette personne envers la Couronne ou la municipalité, selon le cas, jusqu'au remboursement intégral du montant dû.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 15.

Enregistrement d'une attestation**21(1)** Lorsque :

a) une somme devient due à la Couronne ou à une municipalité par une personne en vertu de l'article 20;

b) le gouvernement ou une municipalité a fait un versement à une personne ou pour celle-ci pour couvrir selon le cas :

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(i) the principal portion of any instalment payable under a real property mortgage or an agreement for the sale of land, or any part of that principal portion, or

(ii) arrears of real property taxes, or any part of those arrears, or

(iii) the cost of such building repairs as may be defined in the regulations to be major repairs;

the minister or municipality may cause to be registered in any Land Titles Office in the province a statement showing the minister's or the municipality's address for service certifying the amount of the debt, payment, assistance or social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, as the case may be, and in the statement the minister or municipality shall name the person indebted.

Statement of charge and registration

21(2) From the time of its registration, a statement registered under subsection (1), except as hereinafter mentioned, binds and forms a lien and charge on all lands of the debtor against which the statement is registered by instrument charging specific land, and, while registered in the general register, against all lands of the debtor in the Land Titles District in which the statement is registered that are held in a name identical to that of the debtor set out in the statement whether or not the lands registered under the Real Property Act for the amount certified in the statement and the amount of

(a) any debt that subsequently becomes due and owing from the person to the Crown or to the municipality under section 20 after the statement is registered; and

(b) any payment of a kind described in clause (1)(b) subsequently made by the government or by the municipality to or for the debtor.

(i) la portion de capital d'un versement dû relativement à une hypothèque sur un bien réel ou à une convention exécutoire de vente d'un bien-fonds, ou une partie de cette portion de capital,

(ii) des arriérés de taxes foncières, ou une partie de ceux-ci,

(iii) le coût des réparations de bâtiments définies par les règlements comme étant des réparations majeures,

le ministre ou la municipalité peut faire enregistrer dans tout bureau des titres fonciers de la province une attestation indiquant son adresse aux fins de signification, certifiant le montant de la dette, du versement, de l'aide, notamment de l'aide générale et de l'aide municipale ou de l'allocation d'aide sociale, selon le cas, et nommant la personne endettée.

Privilège

21(2) À compter de son enregistrement, l'attestation enregistrée en application du paragraphe (1) crée, sauf dans la mesure prévue ci-après, un privilège et une charge pour le montant attesté sur tous les biens-fonds du débiteur contre lesquels elle est enregistrée par instrument grevant un bien-fonds particulier et, pendant qu'elle est enregistrée au registre général, contre tous les biens-fonds du débiteur situés dans le district des titres fonciers dans lequel elle est enregistrée et détenus sous un nom identique au nom du débiteur figurant à l'attestation, que les biens-fonds soient ou non enregistrés en vertu de la Loi sur les biens réels, de même que pour la somme des montants suivants :

a) toute dette de cette personne envers la Couronne ou la municipalité qui devient exigible en vertu de l'article 20 à compter de l'enregistrement de l'attestation;

b) tout paiement du genre mentionné à l'alinéa (1)b) que fait subséquemment le gouvernement ou la municipalité au débiteur ou pour celui-ci.

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No affidavit of execution

21(3) A statement submitted for registration under subsection (1) shall be registered on its mere production, without any affidavit of execution.

Discharge of lien

21(4) A lien created by the registration of a statement under subsection (1) may be discharged by the registration in the same office where the statement is registered of a discharge executed by the minister or the municipality, as the case may be.

Notice

21(5) When a statement is registered against an identified parcel of land, the District Registrar shall forthwith notify the registered owner of the registration by ordinary mail sent to the address shown on the title.

R.S.M. 1987 Supp., c. 28, s. 13; S.M. 1990-91, c. 12, s. 18; S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 16.

Offence and penalty

22(1) Every person

(a) who makes a false statement in any form, application, record or return

(i) prescribed or required by this Act or the regulations, or a municipal by-law made under clause 451(2)(b) of The Municipal Act, or

(ii) approved by the minister for use under this Act; or

(b) who fails to inform the director, or the person designated by by-law made under clause 451(2)(b) of The Municipal Act to administer municipal assistance, of a material change in circumstances affecting his entitlement to any social allowance, general assistance or municipal assistance, within 30 days of the commencement of the change;

is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding \$500. or to imprisonment not exceeding three months or to both.

Pas d'affidavit de passation de l'acte

21(3) Une déclaration soumise pour enregistrement en vertu du paragraphe (1) doit être enregistrée sur dépôt de celle-ci, et sans affidavit de passation de l'acte.

Mainlevée du privilège

21(4) Un privilège créé par l'enregistrement d'une déclaration en vertu du paragraphe (1), peut, être éteint par l'enregistrement au bureau où a eu lieu l'enregistrement de la déclaration, d'une mainlevée accordée par le ministre ou la municipalité, selon le cas.

Avis

21(5) Lorsqu'une attestation est enregistrée à l'égard d'une parcelle de bien-fonds déterminée, le registraire de district doit envoyer sans délai, par courrier ordinaire, un avis de cet enregistrement au propriétaire inscrit. L'avis est envoyé à l'adresse indiquée au titre.

Suppl. L.R.M. 1987, c. 28, art. 13; L.M. 1990-91, c. 12, art. 18; L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 16.

Infraction et peine

22(1) Commet une infraction et se rend passible, sur déclaration sommaire de culpabilité, d'une amende d'au plus 500 \$ ou d'un emprisonnement d'au plus trois mois, ou de ces deux peines, quiconque :

a) soit fait une fausse déclaration dans toute formule, demande, dossier ou rapport :

(i) prévu ou exigé conformément à la présente loi, à ses règlements d'application ou à un arrêté municipal pris en vertu de l'alinéa 451(2)b) de la Loi sur les municipalités,

(ii) approuvé par le ministre;

b) soit omet d'informer le directeur ou la personne désignée pour administrer l'aide municipale par un arrêté pris en vertu de l'alinéa 451(2)b) de la Loi sur les municipalités d'un changement de circonstances qui touche son droit à l'aide générale, à l'aide municipale ou à l'allocation d'aide sociale, dans les 30 jours à compter du changement.

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Repayment of moneys

22(2) Where a judge or justice finds a person guilty of an offence under subsection (1) he may, in addition to any penalty imposed under subsection (1) order the person to repay to the Crown or to the municipality, as the case may be, any moneys obtained by that person by reason of the commission of the offence.

Filing of order in court

22(3) Where moneys are ordered to be paid under subsection (2), the director or the municipality may file or cause to be filed, a certified copy thereof, in the Court of Queen's Bench and thereupon the order shall be deemed to be, and enforceable as, a judgment of the court in favour of the Crown in right of Manitoba or the municipality, as the case may be.

Limitation

22(4) Notwithstanding anything in this Act or in any other Act of the Legislature, no information or complaint in respect of an offence under this section shall be laid or made after the expiration of four years from the time when the matter or cause giving rise to the information or complaint arose.

S.M. 1992, c. 30, s. 17.

Remboursement

22(2) Le juge de paix qui déclare une personne coupable d'une infraction aux termes du paragraphe (1) peut, en plus de toute peine imposée en application de ce paragraphe, ordonner à la personne de rembourser à la municipalité ou à la Couronne, selon le cas, les sommes qu'elle a obtenues en raison de la commission de cette infraction.

Dépôt de l'ordonnance devant le tribunal

22(3) Lorsque le remboursement de sommes est ordonné en vertu du paragraphe (2), le directeur ou la municipalité peut déposer ou faire déposer une copie certifiée conforme de cette ordonnance à la Cour du Banc de la Reine. Dès ce dépôt, l'ordonnance est réputée être, pour toutes fins que de droit, un jugement en faveur de la Couronne du chef du Manitoba ou de la municipalité, selon le cas, rendu par le tribunal et exécutoire à ce titre.

Prescription

22(4) Malgré toute autre disposition de la présente loi ou d'une autre loi de la Législature, la poursuite à l'égard d'une infraction aux termes du présent article se prescrit par quatre ans à compter de la date à laquelle les faits reprochés sont survenus.

L.M. 1992, c. 30, art. 17.

Appendix B**THE SOCIAL ALLOWANCES ACT
(C.C.S.M. c. S160)****Social Allowances Regulation**

Manitoba Regulation 404/88 R
Filed October 11, 1988

Definitions

1(1) In this regulation

"Act" means The Social Allowances Act;

"department" means the Department of Family Services;

"enrol" means to approve an application for the payment of a social allowance or general assistance;

"household" includes an applicant or recipient and any dependants of the applicant or recipient;

"special care" means care provided to a dependant of an applicant or recipient in a residential welfare institution that has been approved by the minister, or in a day nursery that has been approved by the minister, or care approved by the director and provided to a dependant by a nurse, housekeeper or homemaker in the home of the applicant or recipient or in a foster home;

"major repairs" means any essential home improvement repairs, the cost of which exceeds the sum of \$200. in any fiscal year;

"residential care facility" means any building or part of a building, or any other structure, however named, which is advertised, announced or maintained for the express or implied purpose of providing residential care or transitional care to persons not related by blood or marriage to the owner of the facility, but does not include a facility which is licensed or designated as a residential care facility by the Manitoba Health, Insured Benefits Branch;

"licensed or approved residential care facility" means a facility which is licensed or with respect to which a letter of approval is issued by the licensing authority pursuant to the appropriate regulation made under The Social Services Administration Act.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

1(2) Repealed.

Application

2 An applicant for a social allowance or for general assistance shall make written application, in such form as the minister prescribes or as may be prescribed in the regulations, to the office of the department in the area in which the applicant is living.

3 An applicant or recipient and the applicant's or recipient's spouse shall provide such information and evidence in support of the application as may be required by the director to determine the applicant's or recipient's eligibility for a social allowance or for general assistance.

Determination of Eligibility

4(1) For the purpose of determining eligibility for a social allowance or for general assistance under subsection 5.3(1) of the Act, the director shall calculate

- (a) the financial resources of an applicant's or recipient's household in accordance with sections 4 and 8; and
- (b) the cost of basic necessities for that household in accordance with sections 5 to 7 and Schedule A.

4(2) Moneys paid under the Child Related Income Support Program to eligible persons under this regulation shall be part of the social allowance or general assistance payment for which the person is eligible.

4(3) Notwithstanding subsection (1), an applicant or recipient with financial resources not immediately available for use may be granted a social allowance or general assistance for a period up to four months while his or her assets are being converted.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

4(4) If at any time within five years before, or at any time after, the date of application for a social allowance or for general assistance, an applicant or recipient or a dependant of an applicant or recipient has assigned or transferred any property and the consideration received was inadequate or the purpose of the transfer was to reduce assets to qualify for a social allowance or for general assistance, the director may, subject to the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan and regulations,

- (a) determine that the applicant or recipient is not eligible for a social allowance or for general assistance; or
- (b) reduce the amount of social allowance or general assistance that would otherwise be payable by deeming
 - (i) the property assigned or transferred to be a financial resource of the applicant or recipient, and
 - (ii) an amount that might reasonably have been earned as income from the property assigned or transferred, or from investments of equivalent value, to be income available to the applicant or recipient.

4(5) Subject to the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan and regulations, where an applicant or recipient or a dependant of an applicant or recipient owns premises that are occupied by another person who pays no rent, or rent that is less than the market value of the occupancy of the premises, the director may include in the income of the applicant or recipient an amount that fairly represents the net value of the occupancy of the premises.

Basic necessities

5(1) Repealed.

5(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this regulation, where the minister or the person or persons authorized by the minister is informed and believes that an applicant, a recipient, or the dependants of the applicant or recipient continue to lack the basic necessities, the minister or the person or persons authorized by the minister, in accordance with terms that may be prescribed by the minister, may make such further provision as will ensure that basic necessities are provided.

6(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this regulation, where an applicant or recipient resides in an area of the province north of latitude 53°00', or in an area of the province east of Lake Winnipeg north of latitude 51°12', the cost of the basic necessities for food and clothing may be exceeded by an amount up to 25%.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

6(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this regulation, where an applicant or recipient requires a special diet by medical prescription, the cost of basic necessities for food may be exceeded as required to meet that cost, as estimated from time to time by the provincial nutritionist.

Child care, housekeeper or attendant

7(1) Where an applicant or recipient requires child care or housekeeper or attendant services by reason of ill health or employment or for the purpose of receiving or improving his or her educational qualifications, expenses incurred for any of those services provided by a person related to that recipient or applicant or to his or her spouse by blood, marriage or adoption, shall be deemed not to be expenses for the purpose of this regulation.

7(2) Notwithstanding subsection (1), or any other provisions of this regulation, the minister or any person authorized by the minister may, under special circumstances, approve payments for child care or housekeeper or attendant services provided by persons as stated in that subsection.

Calculating financial resources

8(1) In calculating the financial resources of an applicant or recipient, the director shall exempt

(a) the following assets:

- (i) the cash surrender value of life insurance policies, up to a maximum total value of \$2,000. for each household,
- (ii) equity in the home in which the applicant or recipient resides and the property on which it is located that is essential to the home,
- (iii) inventory and equipment essential to carrying on a viable farming or business operation,

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

Calculating financial resources (cont'd) 8(1)

(iv) liquid assets

(A) for an applicant or recipient who by reason of physical or mental ill health, or physical or mental incapacity or disorder is enrolled under clause 5(1)(a) of the Act, up to \$2,000. for a single person and up to \$3,000. for a person with one dependant and \$500. for the second and each additional dependant, to a maximum of \$4,000. per household,

(B) for an applicant or recipient enrolled under subsection 5(1) of the Act, other than those specified in paragraph (A), up to \$1,000. for a single person and up to \$2,000. for a person with one dependant and \$500. for the second and each additional dependant, to a maximum of \$3,000. per household, or

(C) for a recipient enrolled under section 5.1 of the Act, up to \$400. and \$400. for each dependant, to a maximum of \$2,000. per household,

(v) repealed,

(vi) for funeral and burial expenses in the case of an applicant or recipient who, at the date of enrolment has attained the age of 65 years

(A) funeral plan up to \$1,000. paid one year prior to application for a social allowance, or

(B) in the absence of financial resources of equivalent value under subclauses (i) to (iii) above, liquid assets up to \$300.,

(vii) property of a value up to \$25,000. that is held in trust for a dependent child of an applicant or recipient or for an applicant or recipient under clause 5(1)(f) of the Act if

(A) the trust property derives from compensation paid in respect of personal injury to the dependent child or the death of a parent of the dependent child or from an inheritance from a parent of the dependent child,

(B) the terms of the trust are evidenced in writing, and

(C) no property is removed from the trust without the prior consent of the director,

(viii) gifts of a non-recurring nature received while in receipt of a social allowance or general assistance, of a value up to \$100. each,

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

Calculating financial resources (cont'd)

8(1)

- (ix) federal compensation payments to persons infected with the HIV virus through blood transfusions or the use of blood products;
- (b) subject to subsections (2.1) to (2.3), income from the following:
 - (i) the federal Child Tax Benefit,
 - (ii) foster home maintenance received by an applicant or recipient on behalf of a child in the care of the Director of Child and Family Services or an agency as defined in The Child and Family Services Act,
 - (iii) the Manitoba Cost of Living Tax Credit Plan and the Manitoba Property Tax Credit Plan pursuant to the Income Tax Act (Manitoba),
 - (iv) start-up and operating grants for providers of family day care under the Manitoba Child Day Care Program,
 - (v) repealed,
 - (vi) an incentive allowance from a work activity project under the department's Human Resources Opportunity Program,
 - (vii) the Goods and Services Tax Credit,
 - (viii) contributions other than ordinary maintenance to a recipient or dependants who require special care,
 - (ix) earnings at the rate of
 - (A) the greater of up to \$50. per month or 70¢ for each hour worked or 30% of gross monthly earnings for a recipient who is not self-employed and who has been enrolled for 30 days or longer under clauses 5(1)(a), (b) or (c) or under section 5.1 of the Act, or
 - (B) 30% of gross monthly per diem payments received by a recipient licensed under the Manitoba Child Day Care Program as a provider of family day care services, or
 - (C) up to \$50. per month or, at the discretion of the director, up to \$600. in any fiscal year for all other employed recipients, and in addition to any amount excluded under paragraph (A), (B) or (C), earned income which is allocated to current special needs as approved by the director,
 - (x) notwithstanding subclause (ix), employment or self-employment earnings of children who are in full-time attendance at an approved educational institution,
 - (xi) payments from roomers or boarders as follows:
 - (A) 70% of gross income from boarders, and
 - (B) 10% of gross income from roomers.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

8(1.1) A trustee or other person administering the assets or income of an applicant or recipient or of the dependent child of an applicant or recipient shall make available to the director information concerning the type and financial value of the assets and the amount of income in such detail as the director requires to determine eligibility for assistance.

8(1.2) In paragraph 8(1)(a)(vii)(A), "parent" includes a person who has stood in loco parentis to the dependent child.

8(2) Income received by an applicant or recipient from roomers or boarders or both, as described in subclause (1)(b)(xi), is not subject to a further exemption under subclause (1)(b)(ix).

8(2.1) In determining the financial resources of an applicant, income described in clause (1)(b) on hand or on deposit at the date of application shall be considered to be a liquid asset under subclause (1)(a)(iv).

8(2.2) In determining the financial resources of a recipient, income described in clause (1)(b)

- (a) shall be exempted from the calculation of financial resources in the month it is received; and
- (b) may be exempted at the discretion of the director for an additional reasonable period not exceeding 12 months following its receipt.

8(2.3) Any income described in clause (1)(b) that remains unexpended after the date it is exempted under subsection (2.2) shall be considered to be a liquid asset under subclause (1)(a)(iv).

8(3) Notwithstanding anything in this section, where an applicant, recipient or dependant of an applicant or recipient dies, all financial resources of the deceased are considered to be available for funeral expenses.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

General obligations

9(1) An applicant or recipient and the applicant's or recipient's spouse shall immediately report to the director any material change in circumstances that may affect the entitlement to, or the amount of, a social allowance or general assistance, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, a change in address, marital or family status, employment or financial situation.

9(2) An applicant or recipient and the applicant's or recipient's spouse shall make all reasonable efforts on behalf of himself or herself and any dependants to obtain the maximum amount of compensation, benefits or contribution to support and maintenance that may be available under another Act or program.

9(3) Where a social allowance or general assistance is paid pending receipt of funds described in subsection (2), the director may require that the person entitled to the funds assign to the department the right to receive a portion of the funds sufficient to recover any social allowance or general assistance that would not have been paid if the funds had been available.

9(4) Subject to the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan and regulations, where an obligation described in subsections (1) to (3) is not met, the director may deny, suspend or discontinue a social allowance or general assistance or reduce any assistance to which the recipient later becomes entitled by an amount not exceeding the amount that would not otherwise have been paid.

Obligations respecting employment

10(1) Every applicant, recipient and spouse of an applicant or recipient, and every dependent child of an applicant or recipient who is 16 years of age or more and is not in full-time attendance in a course of education or training has an obligation to satisfy the director that he or she

- (a) is willing to undertake any full-time, part-time or casual employment of which he or she is capable;
- (b) is making reasonable efforts to secure all such employment; and
- (c) has explored and is continuing to explore every reasonable possibility of self-support.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

10(2) Subject to the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan and regulations, the director may deny, reduce, suspend or discontinue a social allowance or general assistance

- (a) to which an applicant or recipient would otherwise be entitled, where the applicant, recipient or the applicant's or recipient's spouse fails to meet an obligation set out in subsection (1); or
- (b) to which an applicant or recipient would otherwise be entitled in respect of a dependent child 16 years of age or more who is not in full-time attendance in a course of education or training and who fails to meet an obligation set out in subsection (1).

Assistance to be used for basic necessities

11 A recipient shall use any social allowance or general assistance he or she receives to provide the basic necessities for himself or herself and any dependants.

Periodic review

12 Each recipient's circumstances shall be reviewed by the director periodically and not less than annually, and the allowance shall be adjusted accordingly.

Special conditions for student applicants

13 Repealed.

Forms

14 The forms set out in Schedule B are forms to be used for the purposes of the Act and this regulation.

Municipal returns

15(1) Repealed.

15(2) Repealed.

15(3) Repealed.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

SCHEDULE A

1(1) Food, clothing, personal needs for adult recipients and household supplies:

(a) subject to clauses (c) to (i), the amounts set out in Table 1 are payable to

- (i) recipients enrolled under subsection 5(1) of the Act, and
- (ii) recipients enrolled under section 5.1 of the Act, other than adult recipients without dependent children, after the first six months of a period of enrollment:

Table 1
Monthly Rates

Number of Children	12-17 Years	7-11 Years	0-6 Years	One Adult Person	Two Adult Persons
0	0	0	0	\$254.80	\$446.40
1	1	0	0	428.40	629.00
	0	1	0	388.60	589.20
	0	0	1	356.40	557.00
2	2	0	0	611.00	800.20
	0	2	0	531.40	720.60
	0	0	2	467.00	656.20
	1	1	0	571.20	760.40
	0	1	1	499.20	688.40
	1	0	1	539.00	728.20
3	3	0	0	782.20	989.40
	0	3	0	662.80	870.00
	0	0	3	566.20	773.40
	2	1	0	742.40	949.60
	2	0	1	710.20	917.40
	0	2	1	630.60	837.80
	1	2	0	702.60	909.80
	1	0	2	638.20	845.40
	0	1	2	598.40	805.60
	1	1	1	670.40	877.60

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

1(1) Food, clothing, personal needs, etc. (cont'd)

(b) subject to clauses (c) to (i), the amounts set out in Table 2 are payable to:

- (i) repealed,
- (ii) recipients referred to in subclause (a)(ii), during the first six months of a period of enrollment, and
- (iii) adult recipients without dependent children enrolled under section 5.1 of the Act:

Table 2
Monthly Rates

Number of Children	12-17 Years	7-11 Years	0-6 Years	One Adult Person	Two Adult Persons
0	0	0	0	\$221.80	\$386.40
1	1	0	0		569.00
	0	1	0		529.20
	0	0	1		497.00
2	2	0	0		740.20
	0	2	0		660.60
	0	0	2		596.20
	1	1	0		700.40
	0	1	1		628.40
	1	0	1		668.20
3	3	0	0		929.40
	0	3	0		810.00
	0	0	3		713.40
	2	1	0		889.60
	2	0	1		857.40
	0	2	1		777.80
	1	2	0		849.80
	1	0	2		785.40
	0	1	2		745.60
	1	1	1		817.60

(c) for each additional child add: \$189.20 for 12-17 year olds, \$149.40 for 7-11 year olds and \$117.20 for 0-6 year olds, per month;

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION**1(1) Food, clothing, personal needs, etc. (cont'd)**

- (d) for each child not living with his or her own family, additional costs for clothing as required may be authorized by the director;
- (e) for each employed adult, an amount of \$23.90 per month may be added for work clothing;
- (f) where a recipient is a resident in a hospital or an institution listed in clause 5(c), the amount may be apportioned in accordance with the terms authorized by the director;
- (g) where a recipient by living arrangement does not require one or more of the basic necessities referred to in this subsection, the amount may be apportioned in accordance with the terms authorized by the director;
- (h) repealed;
- (i) where an allowance is provided under section 4 of this Schedule, the amount shall be apportioned in accordance with the terms authorized by the director to provide an allowance for clothing and personal needs for adult recipients;
- (j) repealed.

1(2) A supplementary benefit payable to a person other than a person to whom clause 5(1)(f), (g) or (i) of the Act applies, calculated as follows:**(a) Basic amount:**

- (i) for each household for which a shelter allowance under section 2 or clause 4(b) of the Schedule is payable, in which the oldest person is under 65 years of age: \$48.80 per month,
- (ii) for each household for which a shelter allowance under section 2 or clause 4(b) of the Schedule is payable, in which the oldest person is 65 years of age or older: \$57.10 per month,
- (iii) for each household for which a shelter allowance under clause 4(a) of the Schedule is payable: \$38.80 per month,
- (iv) for each household for which no shelter allowance under section 2 or 4 of the Schedule is payable: \$13.30 per month;

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

1(2) A supplementary benefit payable, etc. (cont'd)

(b) Additional amounts:

- (i) for the spouse of a recipient in a two adult household, add: \$10.80 per month,
- (ii) for the only child or for one child in a one adult household, add: \$10.80 per month,
- (iii) for each person who is 65 years of age or older, add: \$9.20 per month,
- (iv) for each recipient who by reason of physical or mental ill health, incapacity or disorder is enrolled under clause 5(1)(a) of the Act and for each adult who is a dependent of that recipient and who by reason of physical or mental ill health, incapacity or disorder meets the criteria for enrollment under clause 5(1)(a) of the Act, add: \$7.80 per month.

2 Shelter:

- (a) the following amounts, subject to clauses (b), (c) and (d):
 - (i) for a single person living alone, the actual rent up to \$45. per month,
 - (ii) for two adults living together, the actual rent up to \$60. per month,
 - (iii) for a family of one or two adults and one or more children, the actual rent up to \$75. per month;
- (b) where the actual rent exceeds the maximum allowed under clause (a), additional grants may be made as follows:
 - (i) for the actual rent in housing for which a licence has been issued under The Elderly and Infirm Persons' Housing Act,
 - (ii) up to the actual rent, at the discretion of the director, taking into account individual circumstances;
- (c) home upkeep in lieu of rent for recipients who own or who are purchasing their home may be paid as follows:
 - (i) the total cost of current taxes and insurance on the home and principal and interest on a mortgage or agreement for sale, up to the maximum amount that would otherwise be allowed for rent under clause (a), or an amount up to the total actual cost of taxes, insurance, principal and interest, at the discretion of the minister or any person authorized by the minister, in accordance with terms and conditions that may be prescribed by the minister,
 - (ii) minor repairs up to \$200. in any fiscal year;
- (d) principal on mortgage or agreement for sale referred to in subclause (c)(i), major repairs and tax arrears granted as special needs under section 5 of this schedule shall be secured by a lien registered under section 21 of the Act.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION**3 Utilities and fuel, including water, light, fuel and rentals or installment payments on essential appliances (furnace, hot water tank, etc.):**

- (a) for each household unit where these items are not included in the rent, the estimated monthly cost based on actual expenditures for the last previous 12 months, but where circumstances have changed so that this estimate is not valid, the estimated actual cost for the next 12 months may be used; subject to
- (b) allowable grants may be paid in amounts and at intervals appropriate to the circumstances of the case.

4 Food and shelter away from home:

- (a) for board and room, general:
 - (i) single person in the home of a relative: actual cost up to \$252. per month,
 - (ii) single person in a private boarding home: actual cost up to \$331. per month,
 - (iii) for a couple, add \$195. per month to the amount paid under subclause (i) or (ii), as the case may be;
- (b) for board and room, special for persons requiring care or supervision, or both:
 - (i) single person in the home of a relative: actual cost up to \$392. per month,
 - (ii) single person in a private boarding home: actual cost up to \$501. per month,
 - (iii) for a couple where one requires special care, add \$140. per month to the amount paid under subclause (i) or (ii), as the case may be,
 - (iv) for a couple where both require special care, add \$273. per month to the amount paid under subclause (i) or (ii), as the case may be,
 - (v) single person whose living arrangement requires restaurant meals may be granted up to \$277. per month plus actual cost of room instead of room and board,
 - (vi) children boarding in foster homes and institutions: foster home or institutional rates as approved by the director,
 - (vii) in exceptional circumstances the director may approve the payment of actual costs in excess of the maximums stated in subclauses (i) through (vi),
 - (viii) maintenance in a licensed institution for care of the aged and infirm: the daily rate approved by authorized governmental authority,
 - (ix) maintenance of a recipient of social allowances

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

(A) suffering from mental retardation, the aftermath of mental illness, or the infirmities associated with age, in a licensed or approved residential care facility at a level of care needed by the recipient and provided at the facility and as determined by the designated departmental staff, shall be at the rates established by the minister as follows:

Level 1 care up to \$501. per month

Level 2 care up to \$561. per month

Level 3 care up to \$621. per month

Level 4 care up to \$681. per month

Level 5 care up to \$741. per month

but a recipient in a residential care facility owned by a relative of the recipient is eligible for social allowance under subclause (b)(i) of this section and is not eligible for any further allowance under this paragraph,

(B) notwithstanding paragraph (ix)(A) and the repeal of Manitoba Regulation 59/79, those recipients who were receiving a social allowance in accordance with the rates specified in paragraph (ix)(A) as enacted by Manitoba Regulation 59/79 shall continue to be eligible to receive and shall continue to receive a social allowance in accordance with that regulation until the minister determines otherwise.

5 Special needs:

- (a) up to \$150. per household in any fiscal year, but the minister or any person or persons authorized by the minister may, in accordance with terms and conditions that may be prescribed by the minister, grant an additional amount;
- (b) expenses essential to the employment of a recipient;
- (c) \$70. per month for each recipient who by reason of physical or mental ill health, incapacity or disorder is enrolled under clause 5(1)(a) of the Act and for each adult who is a dependant of that recipient and who by reason of physical or mental ill health, incapacity or disorder meets the criteria for enrollment under clause 5(1)(a) of the Act, but no amount is payable under this clause for a person residing in a hospital or in one of the following institutions:
 - (i) Brandon Mental Health Centre,
 - (ii) Eden Mental Health Centre,
 - (iii) Manitoba Developmental Centre,
 - (iv) Pelican Lake Training Centre,
 - (v) St. Amant Centre, or

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(vi) Selkirk Mental Health Centre.

6 Housekeeper or attendant service during illness or other emergency as required.

7(1) Health care:

- (a) essential medical and surgical care;
- (b) essential optical supplies including eyeglasses where a duly qualified medical practitioner has certified that there is no systemic or ocular disease of the eye;
- (c) such essential dental care, including dentures, as may be agreed upon from time to time between the minister and The Manitoba Dental Association and the minister and The Manitoba Dental Mechanics Association;
- (d) such essential drugs as may be prescribed by a duly qualified medical practitioner;
- (e) such other remedial care, treatment and attention including physiotherapy as may be prescribed by a duly qualified medical practitioner;
- (f) for chiropractic treatment the director may authorize up to \$100. per recipient per year in excess of the coverage provided by the Manitoba Health, Insured Benefits Branch before requiring consultation with a duly qualified medical practitioner;
- (g) such emergency transportation and other expenses as may be authorized by the director and which, in the director's opinion, are necessary to provide the care, treatment or attention required;
- (h) such other rehabilitative treatment or care as the director may authorize.

7(2) Where the social allowance payable to a recipient under

- (a) clause 5(1)(a) of the Act by reason of physical or mental ill-health, incapacity or disorder; or
- (b) clause 5(1)(b) or (c) of the Act;
would, but for the possibility of the recipient's incurring irregularly occurring health costs, be reduced to zero due to earned income, the recipient shall be entitled to receive the amount of the irregularly occurring health costs until the time described in subsection (3).

7(3) The recipient is entitled to receive the amount of the irregularly occurring health costs under subsection (2) until the earlier of

- (a) the end of any period of three consecutive months in each of which the recipient's financial resources exceeded the cost of basic necessities including the irregularly occurring health costs; and

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES REGULATION

- (b) 12 months after the end of the month in which, but for this section, the social allowance of the recipient would have been reduced to zero.

7(4) In this section,

"irregularly occurring health costs" means those costs referred to in clauses 7(1)(b), (c) or (d) that are not incurred on a monthly basis;

"amount of irregularly occurring health costs" means the greater of

- (a) \$50. per person to a maximum of \$150. per family per month; and
- (b) the recipient's estimated monthly costs for irregularly occurring health costs based upon the monthly average of the costs referred to in clauses 7(1)(b), (c) and (d) for the three months in which these costs were the highest for the 12 month period ending with the month in which, but for this section, the social allowance of the recipient would have been reduced to zero.

8 Funerals: such fees and service charges as may be agreed upon from time to time between the minister and the Manitoba Funeral Service Association, plus essential costs authorized by the director for cremation, burial plot or ash plot, opening and closing of the grave and such other costs that may be necessary and incidental to the burial or cremation of the deceased;

9 Care of children in special circumstances: the rates payable to agencies as defined in The Child and Family Services Act for children eligible for social allowances under clauses (5)(1)(d) and (e) of The Social Allowances Act shall be the per diem rate set by the minister as provided in section 6 of The Child and Family Services Act.

Appendix C

Social assistance and the Social Allowances Act has been administered by numerous departments and sub-departments of the Manitoba government. The following outlines the departments that have been responsible for the Social Allowances Act from 1928 to 1989:

- 1) 1928 - 1961 Department of Health and Public Welfare which was responsible for the Public Welfare Division.
- 2) 1961 - 1968 Department of Welfare.
- 3) 1968 - 1969 Department of Health and Social Services which was responsible for the Department of Welfare and Department of Health.
- 4) 1969, 1970, 1971 - Department of Health and Social Services responsible for Social Services Division.
- 5) 1972, 1973, 1974 - Department of Health and Social Development responsible for Community Operations Division.
- 6) 1975, - Department of Health and Social Development responsible for the Division of Social Security and was responsible for Income Security.
- 7) 1976, 1977 - Department of Health and Social Development responsible for Social Security Division and was responsible for Income Security
- 8) 1978 - Department of Health and Community Services was responsible for Social Security Division which was responsible for Income Security.
- 9) 1979, 1980 - Department of Health and Department of Community Services and Corrections which was responsible for Social Security Division.
- 10) 1981 to 1983 - Department of Community Services and Corrections was responsible for The Office of Social Security Services which provided Social Allowances - administers the Social Allowances Health Services
- 11) 1984 to 1989 - Department of Employment Services and Economic Security was responsible for the Economic Security Division which the Social Allowances Programs

Appendix D

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

The Mothers that I will be interviewing already are informed about the nature of the research and have expressed a willingness to be involved in this research project. So, at the time of the first interview I will explain all the aspects of the written agreement that I would like each of us to sign. Again I will explain that I am interested in documenting, analyzing and reporting their experiences with social assistance. I will emphasize that I am interested in both their positive and negative experiences and strongly encourage them to ask as many questions as they like throughout the interview. I also encourage them to provide any feedback or comments about any part of this research process. Lastly, I will emphasize their right not to participate in this research project, their right to choose what they share with me and the right to decide the nature of their involvement with this research project.

Interview Questions

The research focus is to obtain a further understanding of Mothers' experiences on social assistance. I am seeking an overall description of your experiences with social assistance and then we will discuss your perspective of these experiences.

I will begin with some specific questions about you and your family.

1) Who would you describe as in your immediate family? Ask probing questions about everyone's ages, sex, schooling. What is your ethnicity/cultural background? How far did you go in school? Have you taken any further training or courses? Ask probing questions related to class - father/mother occupations, mobility, involvement with external family/support.

I would like to present this information as a history of your experience with social assistance. Therefore I would like to go back to the beginning of your involvement with social assistance. It is not important to remember the exact details or dates and times but to provide a general picture of your feelings and any significant experiences throughout your dealings with social assistance.

- 2) Why did you have to approach social assistance?
- 3) What did you know about social assistance before the first contact?
- 4) When did you first apply for social assistance?
- 5) What do you remember about that first contact?

- 6) Do you remember anything particularly positive or negative about this experience?
- 7) What kind of help or information were you given during this experience?
- 8) What information would have been beneficial to know during this experience?
- 9) Since that first experience, have there been any other experiences that stand out in your mind? Please outline these experiences as your relationship with Social Assistance developed.
- 10) Do you remember anything particularly positive or negative about your experiences?
- 11) How have you felt during these experiences?
- 12) How much contact have you had with social assistance workers during these experiences?
- 13) How did you feel you were treated during these experiences?
- 14) Do you think that your ethnicity/class/sex had any influence over how you were treated? If so, how and why?

Do you think you are treated differently based on the workers ethnicity/class/sex? If so how and why?

- 15) How do you think these experiences have affected your life?
- 16) Was there anyone/agency who was helpful and supportive during these experiences? How?
- 17) What would have been helpful during these experiences?
- 18) What things would you change about the current social assistance system to make it a better one?
- 19) What kind of information do you think is crucial to inform other Mothers who might be applying for social assistance?
- 20) I would really like to know if there is anything else that you may want to add or expand upon?
- 21) Are there any questions that you have or comments about anything?

Express my appreciation of their time and energy. Ask their permission to call them if I have any further questions or for any clarification. Explain that they may also call me if they think of anything that they would like to include in this process. Also ask if they

would like to be involved and to what extent in some of the data analysis process i.e. reading their transcribed interviews for accuracy, clarification and interpretation.

Appendix E

Statement of Informed Consent

Mothers' Experiences on Social Assistance

I am doing this research as part of the requirements to complete my Master of Arts degree in the Department of Sociology at the University of Manitoba. The purpose of this research is to explore Mothers' experiences on social assistance.

I would like your permission to tape-record, make notes and transcribe each individual interview. I promise to keep all of this information in strict confidence and in no way will your identity be revealed. You have the right to refuse to participate at any time during this process. You have the right not to answer any questions and to ask as many questions as you like. If you want, a copy of your transcript will be provided and any comments or further information would be appreciated.

I appreciate your time and energy in willing to participate in this research. Thank You.

Jacqueline Bedard

My signature below signifies that I have read and understood the nature of this research and I am willing to participant.

_____ Participant's signature
Date

_____ Researcher's signature
Date

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