Writing Wrongs: Archival Theory, Therapeutic Writing, and the Proposed Child Abuse Survivor Archive at the University of Manitoba

By Julianna Trivers

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Archives have had difficulty acquiring records of controversial subjects such as child abuse that society has deemed shameful and often prefers to ignore. Institutional records do contain information on child abuse, but it has not usually been made available to archives or sought by archives. Furthermore, institutional records often reflect more the perspective of the social workers or other professionals who have created them than the people they are trying to help. The silence and secrecy surrounding child abuse are also mirrored by the meagre store of personal records in archival repositories that document abuse. However, child abuse survivors have begun to speak out about their experiences. In addition, counselling professionals have recognized that writing about their experiences is a powerful method by which survivors can come to terms with abuse they endured as children. The proposed Child Abuse Survivor Archive at the University of Manitoba would serve as a place where child abuse survivors could deposit personal accounts of their experiences, which would also be available for historical and other research purposes. This thesis examines the proposed archive as an example of an archival response to a controversial subject that is difficult to document. It discusses the topic in light of previous efforts to document other controversial subjects such as prostitution and homosexuality. The thesis contends that greater openness in society about addressing child abuse, the emergence of therapeutic writing in counselling literature, and changes in thinking about archival theory offer intellectual support for this distinctive archive. The thesis suggests that the proposed archive challenges conventional archival theory in ways that are necessary if controversial and difficult to document subjects are to be addressed by archives.

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Introduction

Silent Cries. No More Secrets. Hidden Victims. The Common Secret. Bridging the Silence. Even a superficial perusal of child abuse literature reveals that child abuse is a social problem that is shrouded in secrecy. Child welfare legislation dictates that social welfare and criminal proceedings involving children are closed to the public. This is meant to protect children who have been victimized, but as child abuse literature indicates, it can result in feelings of isolation for survivors of child abuse. What then becomes of society's memory of a long suppressed significant social problem? These and other titles, such as *Remembering Trauma*, *Memory of Childhood Trauma,* and *Recovered Memories of Abuse* indicate that many think that societal silence about child abuse must be broken. In titles such as *Combining Voices*, *Breaking Down the Wall of Silence*, *Children Speak for Themselves*, *Speaking Out,* and *Fighting Back,* recent child abuse literature points to the fact that healing can be found in speaking out about abuse. Survivors are sometimes determined to break the silence that contributed to their victimization

Society has kept child abuse in the shadows because it is a troubling, horrific phenomenon. But attitudes toward speaking out about child abuse have changed in recent years. Publication of the titles listed above is evidence of the shift in attitudes. In part influenced by the efforts of the feminist movement and the child protection movement, child abuse now has a greater profile in our society. Many now maintain that more open discussion of child abuse will help society to deal with it more effectively. The recent decision to establish the Child Abuse Survivor Archive (CASA) at the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections is a further manifestation of this shift.

Chapter one of this thesis outlines changes in attitudes toward child abuse in Canada, in particular, which have made it possible to discuss this problem more openly and thus countenance the creation of an archives of records of the experiences of child abuse victims. The proposed CASA has an important and distinctive mandate. It aims to encourage the creation and preservation of records depicting child abuse from the survivor's point of view.[1] The only records that systematically document child abuse are created by social workers in government agencies. The rise of social history has brought attention to social welfare records for scholars interested in "the lives of stigmatized subjects."[2] However, historians and others have acknowledged that these types of sources are problematic because they consist of records created by the people administering social welfare. The stories they tell are subject to the case workers' interpretation and bias, in addition to the fact that they are second-hand accounts. Mediated by the record creator, the child's voice is, at best, muffled.

Chapter two examines trends in the history of social work theory and documentation which have responded to this problem and help make possible new efforts to archive personal documents related to child abuse. This chapter discusses the emergence of greater support for increased client involvement in the actual writing of counselling records. This has arisen from the view that such participatory writing has a therapeutic effect. The CASA plan to solicit the recorded accounts of child abuse victims is an expression of this therapeutic view of writing.

This thesis contends that CASA has important implications for archival theory

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[1] Shelley Sweeney, Raymond Currie, Tom Nesmith, Jane Ursel, Elly Danica. *"Giving Voice": The Creation of a Child Abuse Survivor Archive at the University of Manitoba.* (Winnipeg, 2002), p. 2.
[2] Karen W. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work.* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), p. 3.

and practice. Chapter three examines this aspect of the CASA proposal. The establishment of the archive raises significant archival questions. For example, the records that would be in the archive are unusual in that they may be created at the initiative of the archive and specifically for the archive, rather than acquired, according to conventional archival practice, after they have been created by others, who may or may not have an archival intention. The child abuse stories will be much like oral histories arranged and conducted by archives, which have not been a priority with archivists for many reasons, including their concern about the effect of archival involvement on their integrity as evidence. Yet, while the CASA child abuse records resemble oral histories in that they are deliberately solicited, and will be first person accounts, their format will differ, since they will not be interviews. These records will also be problematic in conventional archival theory because their provenance will be deliberately removed with the support of the archive. Material will be appraised and, if accepted as archival, all personal identifiers will be stripped from the records.

The implications for archival theory and research in archives of these aspects of the program will be explored in this thesis, as will the role of the appraisal process in addressing these concerns about the reliability and authenticity of the records. The Child Abuse Survivor Archive promises to be a unique bank of information about child abuse. I intend to investigate the implications for child abuse survivors, researchers, and archivists of the unorthodox way in which it will have to be constructed. That such a discussion is possible in archival circles reflects changes in archival thinking that also allow support for the CASA proposal. Recent thinking by archivists and some others about archives encourages archivists to become more involved in the actual creation and

of records than was once generally thought acceptable. This enables archivists to be more effective in responding to the need to document controversial subjects that are difficult to document. This new thinking about archives could help archivists address the challenges posed by such topics. How this challenge has been addressed with limited success within a more conventional framework of archival thinking is discussed in chapter one. That chapter concludes with an introduction to the changing ideas about archives.

This thesis also underlines challenges to conventional archival thinking in another way as well. In recent years, archives have been an increasingly valuable source of information for medical research. Archival material has been used in a variety of ways, including studying past research, trends in demographics, and epidemics.[3] A greater understanding of heredity in certain diseases has prompted new uses for archives in helping people compile family medical histories. Important research has also been done on Alzheimer's disease using the archives of an American Catholic religious order. The potential of archives in medical research has not yet been explored deeply. Serving as a repository for accounts of child abuse, CASA, unlike most archives, would be established to address a major health care concern. Indeed, it is likely that few have ever thought that archives might play such a role. Yet, survivors of child abuse could be empowered to

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[3] For example, Tywanna Whorley, "The Tuskegee Syphilis Study and the Politics of Memory," *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society*, ed. Richard Cox and David A.Wallace (Westport, Conn.: Quorum Books, 2002), 165-175; Bertrand Desjardins, Pierre Beauchamp et Jacques Légaré. "Automatic Family Reconstitution: The French Canadian Seventeenth-Century Experience". *Journal of Family History*, vol. 2, no 1 (Spring 1977), 56-76; François Nault, Mario Boleda et Jacques Légaré. "Estimation de la mortalité des adultes à partir des proportions d'orphelins: quelques vérifications empiriques à l'aide de données canadiennes des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles". Population, 41e année, nos 4-5 (juillet-octobre 1986), 749-762. Gari-Anne Patzwald and Sister Carol Marie Wildt, "The Use of Convent Archival Records in Medical Research: The School Sisters of Notre Dame Archives and the Nun Study," *The American Archivist* 67 (Spring/Summer 2004), 86-106.

regain health by the knowledge that their stories will not be forgotten, and their contributions to the archive would be used to help prevent future child abuse.

Child abuse is a prime example of a sensitive and controversial issue about which documentation is difficult to find and to archive. By striving to address this deficiency the Child Abuse Archive is responding to a social need by pushing the boundaries of archives to incorporate new kinds of documents into the archival record of our society for new types of social purposes, such as health care. This thesis hopes to show that in order to remain relevant to changing societal concerns, including such controversial and problematic matters as child abuse, archives must be willing to move beyond conventional archival practice, by imaginative and innovative application of archival theory.

Chapter One

Muted Voices: Documentation of Child Abuse in the Historical Record

Within the last two decades, we have become increasingly cognizant of the presence of child abuse in our society due to broad media coverage given to numerous cases, some of which will be examined in this chapter to illustrate how silence and secrecy enable abuse to occur. That this silence has been pervasive throughout our history is evident in the difficulty that historians have encountered in studying the phenomenon of child abuse and family violence. Historical references to child abuse, including those in Manitoba, tend to be limited to institutional or legal records, in which the voice of the victim is muted or absent. Chapter one will explore the reasons why certain societal phenomena, particularly those that are disturbing or controversial, have been scantily documented in the past, and how changing perspectives have brought these deficiencies to light. Finally it touches on the role that archives can play in preserving more inclusive documentation of society.

Occurrences of systematic abuse in religious and government institutions have thrust child abuse onto centre stage of the nation's consciousness. In 1989 the Newfoundland government instituted the Royal Commission on Mount Cashal to investigate abuse that occurred in an orphanage. Similar occurrences have come to light since then, such as in the case of the Duplessis orphans in Quebec. The vulnerability of children is exemplified in the claims of Duplessis orphans, who claim that they were used as subjects in medical experiments.[1]

There have been many other instances of abuse that have occurred in institutional settings. In the late 1990s, dozens of people who had attended reform schools operated

[1] William Marsden, "Duplessis orphans call for exhumations," *National Post*, 19 June 2004, A8.

by the Ontario government initiated statements of claim of having been subjected to sexual assaults, beatings, and emotional and psychological abuse by staff and supervisors while residing at the schools from the 1960s to the 1980s.[2] There have been cases of scandals in religious institutions, and residential schools, too numerous to be detailed here. Canadians have been horrified by the revelations of abuse and victimization of disadvantaged children that has occurred in such institutions.

The world of sports is not immune to abuse either, as evidenced by the case of junior hockey coach Graham James, which rocked Canada's national sport. Scrutiny intensified when Sheldon Kennedy, a hockey player with the Calgary Flames, stepped forward as one of James's victims. Kennedy endured sexual abuse for years because he felt that there was nowhere to turn, a feeling which he carried into adulthood, and which persisted throughout his career in the NHL: "Psychologically he suffered from extreme loneliness. 'I have always felt like I was not normal,' Kennedy told newspapers, adding that alcohol numbed him into a state he learned to think of as normal."[3]

On January 5, 1997 Kennedy came forward and allowed himself to be identified as one of James's victims. This was not necessary from a legal point of view, but it was very effective in focusing the nation's attention on the scourge of child abuse, because it helped personalize the abuse. Kennedy had initially contacted police in Calgary with his allegations in August 1996. In November 1996, James had turned himself in to the police. He pled guilty to the charges against him.

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[2]James McCarten, "Ontario training schools at centre of abuse claims," *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 14, 2003, A8.

[3]Laura Robinson, *Crossing the Line: Violence and Sexual Assault in Canada's National Sport*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1998), 162.

The disclosure of James's abuses sent ripples of uneasiness throughout the hockey world. Kennedy maintained that others had known of the situation, yet they had done nothing to stop it. Other incidents also came to light, and the Calgary Sexual Assault Centre experienced a dramatic increase in calls from men. As Laura Robinson writes, "Sheldon Kennedy had set the ball rolling. Players and former players were going to police with stories of sexual abuse suffered at the hands of coaches at the minor level."[4] Kennedy's disclosure of abuse was a necessary step in his own journey to healing, but by breaking his silence, he also reached out to others who had suffered sexual abuse.

According to Robinson, the minor hockey world in Canada is an ideal environment for pedophiles to take advantage of the children within their influence. Teenage boys as young as fourteen are drafted into the major junior level Canadian Hockey League, by teams that may be hundreds of miles from their homes, rendering them vulnerable. This is exacerbated by the fact that their future career rests in the hands of their team and their coach. Robinson observes, "It was up to Sheldon Kennedy himself to take the brave step of coming forward. Had he accepted the tradition of silenced pain that hockey reinforces in players, who knows how long it might have been before we could even get a glimpse of the crisis in our national sport?"[5]

The crippling burden of shame that accompanies abuse makes it very difficult for victims to acknowledge what occurred to them and to speak out about it. Kennedy's story exemplifies the concealment that accompanies abuse. Despite the fact that child abuse is becoming more open to discussion, it remains a phenomenon that is shrouded in

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[4] Ibid., 184.
[5] Ibid., 210.

secrecy. Like Kennedy, many people only disclose their abuse when they have reached adulthood.

Examples of the sense of isolation that envelops children who are abused abound. The father of one of Graham James's victims wrote: "As parents we believe that our children will always confide in us in their time of hurt or need. Maybe we are being naive. But one thing we have learned is that when your child is being sexually assaulted, don't count on them confiding in you or asking your advice. Maybe it is a feeling of guilt or shame but we think more that it is mental manipulation. They will be brainwashed into believing that they have no friends and not even their own parents care about them."[6] Sissela Bok informs us that children are particularly susceptible to the lure of secrets: "Few can resist the request for a 'promise not to tell,' least of all when a family member makes such a plea. But an important part of learning how to deal with secrecy is coming to recognize the aggressive intent behind some such requests: the desire to split loyalties, to burden, and to injure."[7] The isolation that results from injurious secrets within the family is reinforced by the position of the family as a distinct social unit within society.

The sanctity of the family as a private entity, beyond the jurisdiction of outside institutions has been pivotal in the way that child abuse and domestic violence have been perceived. According to Elizabeth Pleck, "The single most consistent barrier to reform against domestic violence has been the Family Ideal--that is, unrelated by nonetheless distinct ideas about family privacy, conjugal and parental rights, and family stability."[8] The components of the family ideal (which was formed over centuries) included the view

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[6] Ibid., 172-173.
[7] Sissela Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation.* (Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1982), 39.
[8] Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 8.

of the home and family as a refuge from the public world--it was seen as beyond the bounds of the public world, a view which still has currency today. Thus, the notion of familial privacy of providing a comfortable and familiar oasis from the outside world, also establishes an environment where abuse can be concealed. Bok explains, "Secrecy may accompany the most innocent as well as the most lethal acts; it is needed for human survival, yet it enhances every form of abuse.[9]

Child welfare legislation dictates that social welfare and criminal proceedings involving children be closed to the public. This is meant to protect children who have been victimized, but as child abuse literature indicates, it can result in feelings of isolation for survivors of child abuse. The implications for scholarship of these strictures on disclosure will be discussed further elsewhere.

Healing can be achieved through speaking out about abuse. Many survivors are eventually compelled to tell their stories. Kennedy kept the secret of his abuse until soon after his marriage when he disclosed his experience to his wife. And once this initial breach of the wall of silence occurred, Kennedy was eventually able to share the story of his abuse with other people in his life, including his coach and his teammates on the Calgary Flames. Part of the impetus behind these disclosures was the desire to prevent what had happened to him from being repeated with others. For example, the birth of his first child motivated Kennedy to speak in the hope that by doing so he could help make the world a safer place for his child: "When my daughter was born, and I thought if anything ever happened to her in the future like what happened to me and I never did anything about James, I'd feel pretty bad about it." Kennedy told the *Globe and Mail*, "I'd

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[9] Bok, xv.

feel like I should have done something."[10] Furthermore, Kennedy's revelations had the effect of inspiring others to begin to take steps to bring their abusers to justice and start on their own path to healing. Yet so insidious is the secrecy and silence associated with abuse, and particularly sexual abuse, that other hockey players, whom Kennedy and police investigators strongly suspected had suffered at the hands of James, refused to acknowledge it.

The ramifications of individual and societal silence regarding abuse of children extend into the future, as historians studying the issue have discovered. There is no doubt that societal secrecy regarding child abuse has had an impact on our knowledge of it, and the documentation preserved in archives about it. Child abuse has been under-represented in historical scholarship. The reasons for this neglect can be identified by delving into existing research on this and other underrepresented groups and topics. Part of the reason that child abuse has been hidden in the past is the reluctance to face a disturbing subject. Certainly there are other groups and issues which do not receive the same attention as others. In part this has to do with current societal interests and concerns. Traditionally underrepresented groups such as women, the working class, and homosexuals were absent or only just marginal players in history until the appearance of social history in the 1960s. Greater societal awareness of a subject tends to result in increased interest in it by scholars.

One of the possible reasons for underrepresentation of certain groups is that there is a stigma associated with certain topics which may discourage pursuit of them. Canadian historian Steven Maynard writes of the issues involved in simply being a researcher in a subject area (homosexuality) that is highly controversial. He describes

[10] Robinson, 174.

feelings of trepidation when requesting archival materials which document sexual acts deemed criminal in the court records that form the foundation of his research. Maynard was concerned about the possible negative reactions to his choice of subject, and to himself since his interest in the subject could be construed as in indication of his own sexual orientation.[11] Although Maynard was writing in the early 1990s, the current debate over gay marriage indicates that homosexuality is still a controversial subject.

The recent surge of historical study of underrepresented groups has been influenced by postmodernism. Says Terry Cook, "Postmodernists seek, in short, to de-naturalize what society unquestionably assumes is natural, what it has for generations, perhaps centuries, accepted as normal, natural, rational, proven -- simply the way things are."[12] Postmodernism has inspired scholars to delve beyond conventional approaches to study aspects of society that had previously been ignored. Great strides have been made in the twentieth century in expanding the breadth of historical scholarship, as evidenced by the rise of social history. Groups which lacked status in society, such as women, children, the working class, and homosexuals are now the subjects of significant historical research. These shifts in scholarship have occurred alongside shifts in social values, and the histories of marginal groups are examined from the perspective of current and what we like to think are enlightened attitudes. Gender relations have evolved and the movement for equality between the sexes extends to striving for more equitable coverage in history. The evolution of a multicultural Canada has improved recognition of minority groups.

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[11] Steven Maynard, "'The Burning of Willful Evidence': Lesbian/Gay History and Archival Research," *Archivaria* 33 (Winter 1991-1992), 197.
[12] Terry Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001), 24.

Sex is an example of a subject in which increased scholarly interest has unearthed previously unrecognized nuances, thereby changing our perceptions of it. Due to greater openness about sexuality in recent years, it is no surprise that it has become a topic of historical study. Interest in the history of particular subjects arises out of contemporary interests and values. American archivist Timothy Guilfoyle comments, "Scholarly interest in the history of sexuality is also a practical reflection of the increasing prominence and discussion of sexual matters in American life."[13] Sexuality is now recognized as being influenced by social factors, as opposed to simply being a biological given, and therefore, only of interest within the realms of science and medicine.

Initial explorations in social history in the areas of class and gender served as a foundation for later works on more varied and specialized topics. Maynard notes that the rise of social history in the 1960s and 1970s paved the way for advances in the study of sexuality: "Within social history, the development of women's history was particularly important in sensitizing historians to issues of gender and sexuality, and the impact of the feminist movement made it clear that the 'personal' and 'private' were also political and historical."[14]

The idea that many aspects of class and gender are social constructs gave rise to the realization that almost every component of society has an element of construction about it. Understanding more about one phenomenon often builds upon our understanding of other phenomena. Constructions tend to evolve over time, some more quickly than others. They are influenced by various factors, such as economics, world

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[13] Timothy Guilfoyle, "Prostitutes in the Archives: Problems and Possibilities in Documenting the History of Sexuality," *American Archivist* 57 (Summer 1994), 516.
[14] Maynard, 196.

events, changes in science and technology, anything that changes the way we understand and perceive our world.

A contemporary illustration of the evolving social construction of child abuse is a case of an incest survivor seeking redress from her victimization that made headlines in 2003. Changes in societal views on child abuse over the course of her lifetime enabled an elderly woman to reveal (nearly 70 years after the fact) sexual abuse at the hands of an older brother. The assaults began in 1928, when Cecile Ringuette was 7, and continued until she was 14. Commenting on why she kept the abuse a secret for so long, Ringuette said, "It was taboo. You just didn't talk about such things. Everything was supposed to be beautiful."[15] The legacy of the abuse followed her throughout her life, as she endured nightmares, recurring headaches, sexual dysfunction, and a terror of being assaulted again. Prompted by a television program about incest, she sought counselling, and eventually sued her brother. Over Ringuette's lifetime, a shift in the way that our society views child abuse has occurred, which finally enabled her to finally reveal her lifelong secret. In her youth she felt that there was no one she could tell about the abuse, because such things just were not discussed. By contrast, as an elderly woman, television brought the discussion of incest into her home, presenting proof that there is a wider community of people who have endured abuse at the hands of relatives, and presenting counselling as a method of coming to terms with the havoc wrought by the abuse.

Perhaps the most obvious factor in the increased recognition of abuse in this example is the role of technology in spreading awareness about it, thereby reducing the sense of isolation that characterizes the survivor. In this case, television diminished the constraints of geography and of Ringuette's immediate social circle, reinforcing the point

[15] Ingrid Peritz, "She bore awful family secret in silence," *The Globe and Mail*, May 7, 2003, A1.

that she was not alone in her suffering, and there were resources available to help her. Internet technology further breaks down geographical and social boundaries.

Until the publication of Kinsey's research in the mid-twentieth century, Guilfoyle explains, "Intellectuals and the public considered sexuality to be the subject of biology and the natural sciences. Generally, both groups believed that sexual behaviour was a biological given, uniform across the species and, indeed, all forms of life."[16] This broadened conceptualization of sexuality has given rise to examination of related topics, such as prostitution, illegitimacy, homosexuality and child abuse.

A further factor that complicates historical study of subjects like child abuse and homosexuality is the fact that they have been differently regarded in the past. According to Maynard, this is exemplified by his argument that current understandings of sexual relations between boys and men have changed considerably since the early twentieth century.[17] Homosexuality and child abuse are both issues that are currently quite prominent in our society. The fact that there is so much interest in these topics today is more a reflection of present day societal issues than of concern about them in the past. Maynard notes that, "The identification of the sexual abuse of boys as a social problem is a very recent phenomenon. It has come about not through the efforts of those who obfuscate the issue of men's power by homosexualizing the abuse of boys but through the work of women and men, including lesbians and gay men, to confront child sexual abuse."[18]

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[16] Guilfoyle, 516.
[17] Steven Maynard, "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890-1935" *The Canadian Historical Review* 78, 2 (June 1997), 235.
[18] Ibid., 235.

There are other influences on historical constructions of child abuse, such as changing views on family life, childhood, and childrearing. These, in turn, were greatly influenced by the prevalence of the Family Ideal. Naturally the influence of the Family Ideal was not without fluctuation, but the general components of it remained consistent over time. In the context of our focus on child abuse, the main components of the ideal were the right to family privacy, parental rights in disciplining children, and the desire to preserve the family. The family idea instilled reluctance to intercede in cases of family violence.

Despite the dominance of the family ideal, Pleck identifies three specific eras in United States history in which domestic violence reforms were attempted. Seventeenth-century Puritan society, which strove to establish a model society to set an example for others, codified family violence reforms. The 1870s saw the rise of a movement through which societies for the prevention of cruelty to children were established. Finally, the 1960s and 1970s saw the development of an ethos which promoted equality and protection of minority rights, including those of children.

In the past, the balance has rested in favour of family rights over individual rights in regard to family violence. Pleck says, "Although abuse has always been separate from correction, the right of discipline has served as a justification for virtually all forms of assault by parents and husbands, short of those that cause permanent injury."[19] Reform efforts directed toward family violence, then, are at odds with the family ideal, as they involve intervention by the public sphere.

While attempts at reform are laudable, it must be noted that views of what constitutes child abuse are socially constructed. For instance, the past few years have seen

[19] Pleck, 9.

considerable debate in Canada over whether spanking of children is an acceptable form of discipline or ought to be viewed as abuse. By contrast, Pleck tells us that for the Puritans, "Acceptable punishment appears to have included most beatings and bruising that fell short of maiming or *permanently* injuring the child."[20]

Shifts in societal views of childrearing and acceptable means of discipline are perceptible today in the recent debate over whether spanking is permissible as a method of discipline or ought to be deemed criminal. Ultimately, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in January 2004, that spanking, within reasonable limits, was a viable method of discipline. In view of the widespread discussion of this issue, it is no surprise that perceptions of childhood and childrearing in North America have evolved over the last few centuries. The concept of childhood was influenced by the writings of John Locke in the late seventeenth century. Though he did not dispute the Calvinist perception of innate sinfulness, Locke believed that children were rational beings, and therefore, able to be raised by reason, rather than simply by corporal punishment.[21]

Throughout the nineteenth century modification of Locke's rational approach to childrearing occurred with the promotion of the use of affection rather than force to govern children.[22] Not surprisingly, this went hand in hand with the rise of the notion of the mother as the parent primarily responsible for childrearing. Rather than resorting to physical punishment, which would arouse resentment in a child, mothers were advised to withdraw love as a means of developing the child's conscience. Nonetheless, corporal punishment was still widely accepted as a valid means of correction, though moderation was advised. Naturally, exactly what constituted moderation was subjective. Acceptable

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[20] Ibid., 28.
[21] Ibid., 35.
[22] Ibid., 40.

corporal punishment was deemed to be anything from striking with the hand only, to use of various instruments. Whipping was replaced by spanking as the predominant method of corporal punishment in America. A further decline in the use of corporal punishment has occurred in the twentieth century.[23]

However, trends in childrearing were not universally adopted throughout American society. According to Pleck, "Reform of childrearing, appealing mainly to the educated middle class, did not greatly permeate American society as a whole."[24] In her survey of personal records created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Pleck notes that four noted Americans (Davy Crockett, John D. Rockefeller, Robert E. Lee, and Abraham Lincoln) recalled being subjected to whippings as children: "These farm boys, each of whom became a national leader, hero, and cultural icon, did not think of themselves as abused children, yet the treatment they received, while not preventing great accomplishment, may have harmed them."[25] But we have no way of knowing what psychological impacts these whippings might have had. Like sexuality, views on childhood and childrearing are influenced by society.

In her survey, Pleck came across references to sexual abuse of girls by relatives. The girls documented feelings of deep shame, and Pleck reports that they left the family home as soon as they were able to, which illustrates that the sense of shame engendered in the past is consistent with the impact of sexual abuse today. Even though this seems to indicate that the impact of incest on individuals has not changed over time, there have been changes in societal perceptions of it. In 1890, a law prohibiting incest was added to the Canadian Criminal Code, prompted, in part, by scientific advances in the study of

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[23] Ibid., 46.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 47.

genetics and by concern about lower class poverty and overcrowding, which were seen as promoting incest. Prior to that, incest had been prosecuted under rape and statutory rape laws. By the second half of the twentieth century, feminism was modifying Canadians' understanding of incest. Joan Sangster explains that, "As a result of new feminist perspectives after the 1970s, the dominant explanations for incest (though there was not one monolithic feminist approach) no longer portray incest as a perverse and rare practice, but rather describe it as an outgrowth of masculinist, patriarchal, or violent social and sexual relations within the family and society."[26] Thus, power and the lack thereof are further factors in social constructions of abuse. However, the ability to develop these constructs is also a function of power. "The evolution of incest in law," writes Sangster, "between its definition in 1890 and the post-World War II period, indicates how changing notions of sexuality, reproduction, and the family intersected to shape the dominant understandings of incest held by the legal, medical, and social work experts who exercised the power to define, discipline, and punish this crime."[27] Those who hold the balance of power tend also to be those who document a society.

While a number of factors influence the type of history that historians choose to investigate, the determining factor is the availability of sources. One of the characteristics of social history is that it draws on source records that were generally eschewed by traditional historians. This is an improvement over the notion that meeting minutes or memoirs of important political, economic, and victorious military figures are the basis of historical research, but these records have limitations. Sangster notes that her book's emphasis on the regulation of women rather than their resistance to regulation is

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[26] Joan Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920*-1960. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2001), 18-19.
[27] Ibid., 17.

partly because her sources, "including the records of reformatories and training schools, courts, Crown attorneys, professionals, and reform groups, were constructed by those in positions of authority."[28] Clearly, all facets of society have not been captured in archives. There are a number of reasons why this is so. Archives that are expected to support a wide range of social research are a relatively recent phenomenon. For much of the long history of archives, they were expected to serve the interests of their sponsors, which for the largest and most important archives were governments. It should come as no surprise that the mandates of archives have changed as social and political change altered perceptions of their role in society and how they should perform this role. There will be further discussion on this topic in chapter three.

There are particular factors that determine which groups in society have the greatest ability to create records, and these can fluctuate over time. For instance, literacy is an essential component of record creation. Before the advent of widespread literacy, the ability to create records rested almost completely in the hands of the upper classes. This continues to be a barrier to documentation of childhood, since even in highly literate societies, children possess the least ability to express themselves in writing. Time is another factor. Even when literacy became widespread throughout the working class, their leisure time would have been less bountiful than that of the middle and upper classes. Also, we tend to have more leisure time today, but there remains a question of priorities. Many people would not consider writing a good use of their leisure time.

Linked to time is the notion of authority for record creation, which is not spread evenly throughout society. Institutions are required by law to create records, and most find records essential to performing their business. All institutions create records, but not

[28] Ibid., 4.

all people do, even today when we are much more literate than in the past, and instruments of record creation are more within our reach, and we have more leisure time than people in the past. Furthermore, records created by individuals, no matter how voluminous and complete, are dwarfed by the masses of records produced by institutions. In addition to this dominance, the personal records of most individuals are not systematically managed and preserved in the way that institutional records are.

The late 1980s saw the beginning of a flood of studies of prostitution from the perspective of social history. This new avenue of historical study was heavily dependent upon government records. Guilfoyle asserts that the study of prostitution, in particular, relies considerably upon court records.[29] As an activity that took place on the margins of mainstream society, documentation of prostitution occurred predominantly when it came into conflict with 'respectable' society. As with other activities (and groups), at which those with the dominant views in society look askance, court and institutional records are an invaluable source in the study of sexuality, since our antecedents have avoided documenting their sexual activities. "Specifically," says Guilfoyle, "they offer one of the few unpublished manuscript records of human *behaviour* in this area."[30] Such is also the case for records of child abuse. Guilfoyle notes that the value of court records extends beyond the study of prostitution, giving insight into the history of such topics as homosexuality, obscenity, pornography, and abortion. Records of municipal governments prove to be another useful source on prostitution, as campaigns against vice were often raised as an issue in mayoral races. Records of charity and social reform institutions are also likely sources. However, Guilfoyle notes that these sources only

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[29] Guilfoyle, 519.
[30] Ibid.

represent a limited portion of prostitutes, namely the poorest ones.[31] Records of anti-vice or reform societies and the papers of individual reformers are a further source, as well as published sources, such as newspapers or magazine articles. Even guidebooks to brothels have been enlisted to gain an understanding of prostitution in the past.

Social historians have acknowledged the limitations of the institutional records that form the foundation of their research. In his examination of prostitution, Guilfoyle relied heavily on institutional records, one of the primary problems of which being that they were created not by inhabitants of the world of prostitution themselves, but by outsiders: "The persons speaking, recording, or describing the activity are usually investigators, judges, journalists, police, or law enforcement officials. Surprisingly, these sources provide the testimony of prostitutes infrequently."[32] Therefore, these sources do not provide us with the viewpoint of women who were prostitutes. The records may indicate why women became prostitutes, but they do not do so directly in the words of the women themselves. This not only occurs because the records of officials and institutions are more likely to be preserved, but also because individuals are less likely to create records.

The difficulty of documenting the experience of prostitutes, the majority of whom have been women, is compounded by the fact that it is generally difficult to find historical sources documenting the lives of women across all branches of society.

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[31] Ibid., 541.
[32] Ibid., 523.

Helen M. Buss notes that historians' "methods will be dictated in the first instance by the problems of locating subjects for continuing study -- the detective work that uncovers the often hidden, poorly documented and incomplete record of female persons."[33]

Stigmatized activities are often deliberately excluded from our documentary heritage. In her study of women who became pregnant out of wedlock in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, Regina Kunzel found that, "Few single mothers in this period wrote willingly of their experience of out-of-wedlock pregnancy, and most tried to cover their tracks."[34] However, the stories of those who were involved with social agencies or maternity homes were recorded in case records. On the deficiencies of case records Kunzel writes: "The experience of unmarried mothers as presented in case records, then, was mediated several times over--shaped by the kinds of questions asked, by who was asking, by the unmarried mother's relationship with the social worker, and by what that worker considered important enough to record. Consequently, case records often reveal as much, if not more, about those conducting the interviews as they do about the unmarried mothers themselves."[35] Furthermore, "Case records not only pose methodological challenges but also select and determine the group of unmarried mothers who become visible to the historian."[36] Thus, while case records are often voluminous, they tend to represent women who did not have the financial resources or the familial support to remain anonymous.

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[33] Helen M. Buss and Marlene Kadar (eds.) *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents.* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2001), 1.
[34]Regina G Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1980-1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 6.
[35] Ibid., 7.
[36] Ibid., 8.

Current constructions of sexuality have a foundation in the past, which means that history is essential to understanding present-day sexuality. Yet studying the historical foundations of sexuality is difficult due to limited source material on the subject. Maynard writes, "Competing ideas about sexuality, particularly notions that it is something personal and private, have conspired to determine that there has been very little *public* record of sexuality."[37] To reveal aspects of one's sexuality was considered shameful. Because it was considered deeply private, for the most part sexuality was unrecorded, except in cases where it was deemed to have crossed the boundaries of propriety set by society, in which case, it became a matter of public interest, and was therefore inscribed into the public record.

A difficulty that arises in the lesbian/gay research identified by Maynard is "the relative invisibility of the lesbian and gay experience."[38] Maynard believes that the difficulties presented by the invisibility of lesbians and gays surpasses those first encountered by social historians attempting to tell the stories of the anonymous everyday people of the past who did not leave personal records. He makes a valid point. Entire populations are enumerated in census records, but it is impossible to know their sexual orientation, because that information was not collected. Furthermore, Maynard informs us that those sources that do exist regarding lesbian and gay experience have often been suppressed due to the stigma associated with these subjects.[39]

Despite the growth of social history, Maynard and others have noted that although child abuse is now a widely discussed topic, there has been relatively little historical

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[37] Maynard, 1991-1992, 196.
[38] Ibid., 197.
[39] Ibid., 198.

investigation of it.[40] Is this due to the troubling nature of the topic, or the lack of sources? Karen Lamoree posits that among archivists, actively seeking records relating to controversial subjects "is often seen as less worthy of our professional attention, especially if it is current. Perhaps this judgement reflects less on historical analysis than our own discomfort with conflict, experience in analyzing current events for historical importance, elitism, fear of being tainted by controversy in coming near it, and/or lack of knowledge about the best way to proceed with documenting controversy."[41]

While archivists tend to focus on preserving societal memory, the obverse of this is that appraisal decisions also determine what will be forgotten. Foote has shown that this sometimes results from conscious decisions to remember or forget and at other times occurs passively. Child abuse is often 'forgotten,' since much of society prefers to avert its eyes in the face of horrific things that are difficult to explain. This collective aversion is manifest in the secrecy that surrounds child abuse, and which simply helps to entrench it in society. Since historians have commented on the lack of sources documenting child abuse, as well as the difficulties in using those sources that do exist, I undertook a brief survey of archival records in Manitoba to determine whether sizable holdings on this subject can be located.

The Association for Manitoba Archives has created a web resource entitled Manitoba's Child Care Institutions, which lists known child care institutions that existed in Manitoba, and describes their surviving records. In all, 44 institutions are listed, from orphanages to schools and maternity hospitals. Many of these institutions were sponsored by religious organizations. Surviving records include minutes,

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[40] Maynard, 1997, 193.
[41] Karen M. Lamoree, "Documenting the Difficult or Collecting the Controversial," *Archival Issues* 20, no.2 (1995), 147.

correspondence, annual reports, case files, and adoption files. In some instances, no surviving records have been located. It is possible that the records of these various institutions might contain documentation of child abuse. For example, in one case a religious order had gathered together documentation regarding child abuse amongst its holdings in response to court cases. However, these records were closed to the public. No doubt traces of child abuse can be discerned in the records of institutions focused on children, but in my sampling of these bodies of records, they follow the pattern identified by social historians of muting the voice of the children whose experiences they document.

The four Manitoba archives that I queried regarding fonds documenting child abuse replied with few leads.[42] Those records that do exist, other than the records of children's aid societies, tend to be institutional, religious, or government records, in which documentation of child abuse could exist, but would be difficult to locate. However, the Archives of Manitoba drew my attention to an oral history project, conducted in 1990 under the auspices of the Manitoba Association for Counsellors and Therapists, in which Manitoba women who had worked as 'hired girls' related instances of abuse perpetrated against them and the long-term emotional impact that had on them.

I also decided to consult the Archives Canada/Canadian Archival Information Network website, which contains thousands of fonds level descriptions of archival collections across Canada. Using 'child abuse' as my search term, the search engine

[42] The four Manitoba archives that I queried were the Archives of Manitoba, the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, the Archival Services of the Société historique de Saint-Boniface, and the City of Winnipeg Archives.

produced just 15 unique results.[43] Since the CAIN initiative is relatively recent, this may only represent a fraction of the total records that exist on this topic. However, the types of records that it contains may be a good indication of what types of child abuse records are being documented and preserved. Twelve of the collections were institutional or organizational fonds from activist or advocacy groups, government councils or departments, religious organizations, or social institutions. Thus, most of the available records are those created by institutions. The personal collections were those of a researcher, a filmmaker, and a journalist/activist.

Overall, the bulk of records relating to child abuse reside amongst the records created by institutions and governments, rather than in personal records. Societal silence limits survivors' disclosures of abuse. What then, becomes of society's memory of a significant social problem? As repositories for social memory, the purpose of archives is to document all aspects of society. Anyone working in the archival field is aware that while this is a laudable goal in theory, it is a tall order indeed. It is such a lofty goal that it is unlikely to be achieved, but even if it is, ultimately there is a limit to the success that archives can have in representing the past. "Like a conventional literary text, the archive, too, is a complex site of influences and representations," Buss and Kadar explain, "But it is also an incomplete site, created by this donor or that; by this survivor or by that librarian; in partial translation or in English and Spanish, etc. In other words, part of what makes the archive a complex text is that it is a fragmentary piece of knowledge, or

[43] Archives Canada - Canadian Archival Information Network, www.archivescanada.ca accessed April 28, 2005.

an unfixed and changing piece of knowledge."[44] Nonetheless, there are directions in which archives can move to maximize their representativeness.

Historians and archivists themselves have recognized that the records that document all facets of history are not always preserved. This may be in part due to the lingering influence of the Jenkinsonian approach to appraisal by which avoidance of active acquisition plans was considered to ensure archival objectivity. Archival educator Ciaran Trace summarizes Jenkinson's positivist view thus: "Traditional premises in archival theory and practice hold that archival records are authentic as to procedure and impartial as to creation because they are created as a means for, and as a by-product of, action, and not for the sake of posterity."[45]

However, as we have seen above, prevailing societal ideologies are a significant factor in determining which records survive to document times past. Postmodern thought is influencing archivists' perceptions of the roles of acquisition and appraisal. The fallacy of archival objectivity is giving way to a realization that documents are shaped and have many narrators and stories. Cook advises that "the archivist as much as the creator or researcher is one of the narrators."[46]

In addition to the influence of postmodernism, technological change is a factor in the shift in the way archivists perceive records and their role in relation to them. The rise of electronic technology is leading archival theorists to reconsider not just their approach to preservation, but to acquisition and appraisal as well. Trace argues that "continuing or broadening this inquiry into traditional assumptions about the nature of the record, no

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[44] Buss and Kadar, 115.
[45] Ciaran B. Trace, "What is Recorded is Never Simply 'What Happened': Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture," *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 137.
[46] Cook, 2001, 26

matter whether in paper or electronic form, opens up many new and exciting opportunities for the archival profession."[47] Although the discussion of electronic technology is not about child abuse archives, its questioning of the conventional roles of archivists enables us to suggest changes in our approach to traditional records, including those that document child abuse. As archivists orient their thinking to address the challenges presented by electronic records, approaches to traditional records are being influenced as well.

For instance, the traditional life-cycle approach to archives, in which the archivist becomes involved in managing records mainly after they have exceeded their current business value, is not an effective way to deal with long-term preservation of electronic records. Advocates of greater front-end involvement by archivists in creation of electronic records systems suggest that it is the responsibility of the archivist to be involved throughout the life of the record, rather than just at the end of the life-cycle. In order to facilitate long-term preservation, appraisal decisions can be made even before records are created. Why not, then, apply this methodology to acquisition of records relating to issues that are not readily documented? A case can be made for archives to actively solicit creation of archival documents by people who ordinarily would not be likely to create records, or whose records would not traditionally be deposited in archives.

This is not exactly a new idea. Many archives and historical societies, large and small, make an effort to collect oral histories in order to salvage some feeling for the past that has eluded documentation. Naturally there are limitations associated with oral history but few can argue with the value of these records in providing a picture of individual lives. Many archives have undertaken oral history projects in an attempt to

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[47] Trace, 138.

garner as much fleeting knowledge as they can, but active involvement in record creation is not acknowledged as a major archival function, and most oral history projects initiated by archives are limited.

What is to be done about the paucity of records relating to issues that society often prefers to ignore? There have been several instances when archives have been established for the express purpose of gathering and even actively creating the records that will carry past and present experiences forward into the future. One example is the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, established in the 1970s to gain an understanding of the homosexual past. Due to the lack of sources on the lesbian and gay experience, oral history projects were initiated as a means to capture what history still remained. Maynard writes, "Lesbian and gay history was born of a political movement; those of us working in it have long recognized how important a knowledge of our history is to building strong communities and effective politics."[48]

The Psychiatric Survivor Archives of Toronto (PSAT) is another example of an archive developed with the intention of documenting a group which has been relegated to the margins of history. PSAT is "dedicated to ensuring that the rich history of people who have experienced the psychiatric system is preserved for our community and the wider community as a resource from which everyone can share and learn."[49] A major theme of the archive appears to be a critique of psychiatry and the mental health system. The archive stands as a response to society's approach to mental health from those who have been most profoundly affected by the system: "The need for these archives has grown out of a recognition that our history has too often been ignored or trivialized by

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[48] Maynard, 1992, 200.
[49] Psychiatric Survivor Archives of Toronto website, http://www.psychiatricsurvivorarchives.com/index2.html, May 2, 2005.

main stream historians, researchers and medical professionals."[50] Because there is little room for the voice of the subject in professional discourse, psychiatric survivors have established a means of recording and preserving their thoughts and experiences.

On a broader level, the Mass-Observation project in Britain has been creating a repository of personal accounts of life in Britain since the 1930s. Dorothy Sheridan, Brian Street, and David Bloome found that, "The archival function of the Mass-Observation project and its affiliation with a university provide a way, according to some of the Mass-Observation correspondents, for the writing of ordinary people to be valued. It may also help redress the imbalance between those who are deemed *able* to write, whose writing is worthy of reading and those who are not."[51] Thus, Mass-Observation gives "ordinary" people authority to create records. In effect, it mimics the records creating climate of an institution, preserving the documents created by a variety of individuals carrying out the business of living everyday life.

The University of Manitoba's proposed Child Abuse Survivor Archive (CASA) will strive to take a similar approach, but will focus on a population highly prone to silence, survivors of child abuse. The idea for CASA was first conceived in November 2000, the impetus being a talk sponsored by Research and Education for Solutions to Violence and Abuse (RESOLVE) entitled "Narrative as Healing" delivered by Ms. Elly Danica. This resulted in the formation of a committee to investigate the development of an archive to house child abuse survivor accounts. A report outlining recommendations for the establishment of the archive was completed in 2002. The archive is seen as an

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[50] Psychiatric Survivor Archives of Toronto website, http://www.psychiatricsurvivorarchives.com/index2.html, May 2, 2005.

[51] Dorothy Sheridan, Brian Street, and David Bloome, *Writing Ourselves: Mass-Observation and Literacy Practices* (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 2000), 215.

effort to gather together a collection of records for the purposes of research, and also to serve as a therapeutic outlet for child abuse survivors.

Although CASA has not yet been established, the proposal raises questions concerning archival issues such as appraisal and acquisition. Furthermore, the removal of identifying features from survivor accounts challenges provenance, the cornerstone of the profession. It also raises the issue of whether the anonymity of survivor accounts that will be included in CASA compounds the problem of secrecy and shame as part of the survivor's burden. CASA must also ensure that it develops effective mechanisms for ensuring the records reliability and authenticity. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

It is not unusual for survivors' stories to be published in books these days. This option is still available to those who want to tell their story with all identifying information included. However, it would be impossible for all survivors of child abuse to publish accounts of their abuse, even if they wanted to. The social climate is still one in which people who were abused as children would prefer not to broadcast their experiences far and wide. CASA is geared toward such people, who would like to ensure that their stories are told, and will survive them. It is by getting their stories on record that the survivors of today will be able to play a role in alleviating the suffering of children in the future. However, future generations will not be the only beneficiaries of CASA. The opportunity to shed light upon their experiences by writing them out can be greatly beneficial to survivors, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The silence and secrecy surrounding child abuse is partly due to deliberate attempts by abusers to maintain control of their victims. Society facilitates the silence by

its tendency to avoid disagreeable subjects. However, Bok identifies reasons to overcome this tendency: "The concern with evil secrets arouses conflicting responses: the desire to leave them undisturbed and so avoid the suffering they might release, or on the contrary, to bring them into the open and drain them of their destructive power. The latter aim--the very reverse of leaving Pandora's box sealed--is often expressed in terms of healing and sunlight and fresh air being brought to secrets that would otherwise fester and infect."[52] By giving survivors a venue in which to tell their stories, which is, for many, a healing process, CASA provides society with a tool to help address the problems that cause child abuse.

[52] Bok, 9.

Chapter Two

A Bridge for Therapy: Client Involvement in Social Work Case Recording

In view of the paucity of sources documenting child abuse and considering the limitations of those sources that do exist, this chapter explores the rise of the social work profession, which has been responsible for creating the main body of existing records. This illustrates the identification of child abuse as a social problem, and contextualizes the discussion of social work records and their tendency to favour the perspective of the professional over that of the client. Recordkeeping was pivotal to the establishment of social work as a profession and the development of a professional discourse which distinguished its practitioners from their subjects. In recent years, counselling literature has recognized the role of records and language in creating an inequitable balance of power in the counselling relationship, and some have advocated inclusion of the client's input in case recording to redress this imbalance. Others have shown that encouraging clients to create their own records is an effective therapeutic tool. This chapter illustrates that CASA is building upon a new stream in social work and counselling theory toward more inclusive documentation of social work and counselling activities.

The history of social work reveals that therapy and recordkeeping go hand in hand. The essence of therapy, which aims to delve into the areas underlying the issues in a person's life, is narrative, telling one's story. In therapy, one expresses one's experiences. The therapist provides another perspective, helping people to evaluate the impact of their experiences, rethink them, and deal with them in constructive ways. According to Rebecca Leavitt and Cynthia Pill, therapy is about stories: "In each clinical encounter we listen to our clients' stories and, with them, co-construct new narratives

which may help them lead more satisfying lives."[1] Therefore, therapy is about an individual's expression of his/her experiences, which have traditionally been orally communicated, and recorded by the professional, which record then becomes the official record of the case.

As discussed in the previous chapter, traditional records documenting child abuse have limits of usefulness to scholars such as historians because the voice of the victim is drowned out by that of the professional who was responsible for documenting the incident. There are various types of records in which child abuse is documented, such as police records, medical records, court records, and the records of private charities, but the focus of this discussion will be on social work records.

According to Karen Tice, "The pen, pencil, and typewriter emerged as quintessential tools in a professional practice that celebrated scientific description, documentation, and investigation."[2] The centrality of recordkeeping to social work has resulted in voluminous documentation of social issues. However, Leslie Margolin cautions about the necessity of recognizing the limitations of social work records: "The critical point is that the neutrality of social work stories is preserved just so long as we think of them as literal transcriptions of dialogue and action. The moment we suspend the presumption of literalness, we see that what at first sight presents itself as apolitical appears to function socially as a method of structuring perception of authority, status, worth, deviance, and the causes of social problems."[3] Hence, crucial to an understanding

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[1] Rebecca S. Leavitt and Cynthia J. Pill, "Composing a self through writing: the ego and the ink." *Smith College Studies in Social Work*. 65, No. 2 (March 1995), 138.
[2] Karen W. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 2.
[3] Leslie Margolin, *Under the Cover of Kindness: The Invention of Social Work* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 74.

of the records is knowledge of the context of their creation. The history of the development of social work as a profession provides insight into this context.

Steven Hick identifies three eras in the history of child welfare in Canada. They are the pre-industrial era, prior to 1890, the period from 1890 to 1940, and the modern era, 1940 to the present.[4] Social work as a profession germinated in the first period, and came to fruition in the second. The rise of the welfare state has its roots in the inequities and 'iniquities' of the Industrial Revolution. Nineteenth-century social welfare responses to this took the form of moral regulation and were rooted in religious designations of worthiness. The twentieth century witnessed a shift to a scientific, positivist and state-administered program of attending to the less fortunate in society. The social work profession was forged in the transition from religious-based to scientific social welfare.

Hick has defined the era prior to 1890 as the moral reform era in pre-industrial Canada. Pre-Confederation Canada followed the example of the English Poor Law. However, as this period progressed, social welfare was carried out by private charities, run by people who were usually motivated in their endeavours by religion. These organizations provided material relief for the poor, but were also concerned with moral reform of individuals. The roots of social work can be found in the attempts by these organizations to improve the lives of the objects of their charity through attempting to modify their behaviour. From the 1830s onwards, scientific methods of charity were advocated, but were resisted by private charities.[5]

As discussed in chapter one, child welfare policies are influenced by various factors, chief among them being views of childhood. In the pre-industrial era, settlers to

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[4] Steven Hick, *Social Work in Canada*. (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 2002), 195.
[5] Ibid., 40.

Canada viewed children as economic dependents of the family unit. In contrast, aboriginal communities tended to see children as belonging to the community. Therefore, they were considered the responsibility of the entire community, rather than just the immediate family.[6]

From 1792, Upper Canada (UC) followed English common law. The first legislation regarding children in UC was the 1799 Orphan's Act, which dictated that town wardens could bind children under 14 to employers as apprentices. Later, the Guardianship Act of 1827 granted court-appointed guardians the authority to bind children as apprentices. The economic role of children is exemplified by these laws, which gave adults the authority to put orphaned children to work. Class dynamics were at play, with poor people often characterized as inadequate parents. "The role of the family in the early laws in Canada," says Hick, "did not extend beyond its value as an economic unit. Therefore, families that were poor were viewed as moral and economic threats, and their children were to be 'bound out' to proper self-supporting families who would not taint the children with their parental failure."[7] Furthermore, the Indian Act of 1876 strove to assimilate aboriginal children, thereby eliminating First Nations culture and society in Canada. The removal of Native children to government funded residential schools administered by Christian churches was driven by missionary and evangelical movements that were prominent in Canadian religious institutions of the time.

Assessment of the moral character of the poor was a key element in the administration of aid by charitable societies. Applicants for assistance were assessed to determine whether or not they deserved charity. Those who were judged to be of good

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[6] Ibid., 95.
[7] Ibid., 95-96.

moral character were deemed deserving, while those considered lazy or morally degenerate were judged undeserving. It was important that the undeserving not be granted assistance since it was believed that this would encourage poverty.

There is little to be said about records documenting child abuse in this period because recordkeeping was rudimentary, consisting primarily of concise statements entered into ledgers. It was not until social work became an established profession that substantial volumes of records relating to social welfare issues began to be created. David Vincent describes the impact of professionalization thus:

> The exponential growth of formal means of generating, storing, and reproducing information was placing a new status on secular knowledge as a key to authority, but at the same time presenting fresh difficulties in respect of its validation. As the largely (though never wholly) oral communities were invaded by ever-more elaborate versions of the printed word, and the influence of those who had heard and remembered the most was displaced by those who had read and learned the most, it became less easy to confirm information by appeal to tradition or immediate experience.[8]

Thus, literacy and recordkeeping were fundamental to professionalization.

Up to 1890, governments in Canada were not directly involved in child welfare activities, beyond enacting legislation. Actual child welfare activities were carried out mainly by religious institutions. The period between 1890 and 1940 saw a notable increase in government involvement in child welfare. With the enactment of the Ontario Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1893, the state was given the authority to determine what was in the best interests of a child. There was a growing interest in the 1890s in children's working conditions. Also, the age level of the legal definition of a child was raised to 16. The burgeoning women's movement played an instrumental role

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[8] David Vincent, *The Culture of Secrecy: Britain, 1832-1999.* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 14-15.

in child welfare reform. Many women's organizations acted on behalf of children, including the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the National Council of Women. Their concerns were couched in terms of women's role as mothers, with the aim of bringing these maternal affairs from the private to the political sphere.[9]

The children's aid society movement, which quickly spread to other provinces, was initiated in Toronto, with the establishment of the Toronto Humane Society in 1887. It was devoted to the prevention of cruelty to children and animals. The society was spearheaded by John Joseph Kelso, who served as Ontario's Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent children until 1934, and was a leading proponent of child welfare reform. He was instrumental in the passing of the 1893 *Children's Protection Act* in Ontario which launched a modern approach to child welfare and the prevention of abuse and neglect.[10] Child welfare reforms were prompted by emerging perceptions of children as more than simply miniature adults.

The half century between 1890 and 1940 is known as the era of social reform. It is marked by a shift from private charity to public welfare administered by government agencies staffed by trained professionals, such as the new profession of social work.[11] The support for public welfare was in part a response to the effects of the industrialization of Canadian society. Urban migration changed the face of Canadian cities, giving rise to a fear of the impoverished, mob violence, and spread of disease. The rise of the social gospel in many Canadian Protestant churches during this period caused them to change their approach to charity. Science was enlisted to help administer charity. This gave rise

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[9] Hick, 97.
[10] Ibid., 98.
[11] Ibid., 39.

to scientific philanthropy, which promoted more 'objective' approaches based on more thoroughgoing information gathering and recordkeeping, as opposed to moral judgements.[12]

The problem of poverty intensified as Canadian cities grew. Because poverty was equated with social instability, concern about its spread in urban centres grew. Royal commissions and social surveys were initiated in an attempt to determine the root causes and extent of the problem. Science and professionalism were heralded as the best way to tackle the problem, which contributed to the decline in the influence of volunteer charitable organizations and their resistance to the idea of paid charity workers. Volunteerism was considered more sincere, but this did not stem the growth of social work.[13]

The second era was characterized by increased government involvement in social welfare. Margolin speaks dismissively of issues that arose in the realm of the domestic sphere: "Social work rendered the most banal tasks and choices--housekeeping, child care, what to do about a mother who is not home, what to do about a husband who does not work--into domains of professional expertise."[14] Government institutions are often seen as imposing values upon the lower classes, but it is interesting to note instances where citizens sought government input into their lives. However, it is clear in Ladd-Taylor's account of letters written to the Children's Bureau of the United States government in the first half of the twentieth century that many women were overwhelmed by the demands placed upon them in their roles as wives and mothers, and they turned to their government for guidance.

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[12] Ibid., 43.
[13] Ibid., 44.
[14] Margolin, 54.

Women who were geographically isolated wrote to the Children's Bureau for advice about childrearing and reproductive issues, as did women who felt unable to broach such topics with family and friends. The fact that they turned to the government for advice on personal issues illustrates an expectation that the government had an obligation to assist them. At any rate, the staff of the Children's Bureau promoted the establishment of government health and welfare programs in response to the need for them that was evident in the letters that they received.[15] Anonymity was one of the benefits of the Children's Bureau. Women could write in asking any question at all, without revealing their most intimate secrets and questions to those around them. Greater government intervention enabled people to rely less upon their neighbours and families, which gave them the ability to keep aspects of their lives private. Furthermore, as living standards improved, people gained more control over privacy. Discussing this phenomenon in Britain, Vincent writes that, "The narrow band of respectable working class families who could afford to keep themselves to themselves was steadily widened."[16]

As mentioned above, some of the factors leading to the establishment of social work as a profession included poverty and crime that accompanied urban migration. Gale Wills notes that "Vigorous social and urban reform movements, of which social work was a part, were an expression of widespread concern over the profound changes that were taking place."[17] Application of the ideals of the progressive era to the problems that arose was widely viewed as the most likely method by which to bring order

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[15] Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Raising a Baby the Government Way: Mothers' Letters to the Children's Bureau, 1915-1932* (New Brunswick; London: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 5.
[16] Vincent, 228.
[17] Gale Wills, *A Marriage of Convenience: Business and Social Work in Toronto, 1918-1957* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 3.

to the chaos of urban life. Further influences were the Christian moral reform movement, which justified limited involvement of women in the public sphere in areas that were considered to be within the realm of their innate abilities. The social gospel movement took hold in the Protestant churches, but also extended into the secular world, as well. The social gospel movement was a further influence on the rise of the welfare state in the second era, because this movement regarded good works and service to one's fellow man as service to God. Thus, consciousness of a need to assist and provide for the disadvantaged became greater.

Nineteenth-century utilitarian philosophies which privileged science, rationality and expertise were also influential. These advocated state intervention in social matters and to promote social equality. There was a shift from training by volunteer agencies to university-based professional social work education, with the first program established at the University of Toronto in 1914. McGill and the University of British Columbia established social work programs in 1918 and 1928 respectively. Additional programs were established following the Second World War, which attests to the continuing expansion of the profession. The Canadian Association of Social Workers was established in 1927.

The development of scientific social casework was heavily influenced by Mary Richmond, who published *Social Diagnosis* in 1917, which outlined her view of the social work process. The first step was collection of evidence, in the form of details on family history, and data relating to the particular problem under investigation. The next step was to evaluate the information that had been accumulated, and develop a diagnosis.

The final step consisted of establishing, in concert with the client, a case plan by which the problem would be addressed.

Recordkeeping was an essential element of professional social work, where science was prized over sentiment. Progress demanded the abandonment of the allegedly haphazard application of charity by religious organizations, and the adoption of the scientific method. Thus, Tice explains, "By the 1920s, to be without case records, or to produce ones that were 'deficient' (not all forms of recordkeeping were considered professional), was to undermine social work's claims to scientific and professional practice and thus risk losing the endorsement and funding of local governments, charities commissions, chambers of commerce, and other professional and community standard-setting organizations."[18]

In her study of historical case records created by American social workers, Tice identifies two genres. One is tales of detection, in which the subject is portrayed as a menacing individual against whom the social worker sought evidence of misdeeds. Tales of protection, on the other hand, depicted clients as worthy, and striving to improve. The complexity of social work relationships is evident in the fact that Tice identifies "Considerable overlap existed between the two modes of narration, however, because changes in relationships between social workers and clients could easily transform a narration from one genre to another."[19]

The establishment of social work had major implications for privacy and some see it as an encroachment of external surveillance into the home. Margolin argues that "prior to social work, political surveillance was more or less restricted to public domains--

[18] Tice, 3.
[19] Ibid., 190.

streets, businesses, schools. With social work, however, it became possible to keep track of marginal and common people in their homes as they pursued the most personal activities."[20] The power of social work on individuals' lives was particularly pronounced early in its history due to a higher occurrence of illiteracy, coupled with the preponderance of immigrants entering North American cities early in the twentieth century. Documentation created by social workers had greater authority than their subjects' recollections and verbal accounts of events, meaning that the documents often spoke for them. Yet, these documents would have been incomprehensible to people who were illiterate, or did not speak English, even if they had access to them.

Tice's examination of the history of social work recordkeeping reveals that the purposes of records have remained consistent over the years. These include the use of case records to train social work students, to do research to promote efficient treatment, and as a basis for garnering public support by documenting social ills and communicating them to the public, and to enable social workers to resolve these problems. Tice describes how records were used to promote professional identity: "Case records, it was soon discovered, could be reshaped to serve as professional tales of accomplishment, highlighting professional social workers as rescuers and saviours."[21] Recordkeeping was pivotal to legitimating social work. In the early days, eliminating the need for the client to repeatedly tell his/her story to various professionals was touted as one of the benefits of case recording.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s child welfare activities revolved primarily around foster homes and institutions. There has been a shift away from this in the last

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[20] Margolin, 2.
[21] Tice, 7.

three decades as child welfare agencies have increasingly had older children in their care - older children who tend to be more complex to deal with due to emotional problems. Thus, there has been greater emphasis on treatment, to heal emotional wounds, and the group home approach has emerged. Furthermore, in the 1970s there was a growing unease regarding the effects of child welfare agencies on the children that they were intended to care for.[22] There was also uneasiness about the effects of child welfare interventions as possibly being more harmful than the initial problem.

The 1984 Ontario Child and Family Services Act directed that agencies were to adopt the course of action least detrimental to the child, leaving him or her in the home if possible, apprehending only if risk was deemed imminent. Similar legislation was enacted in other provinces as well. However, deaths of children left in the home too long have caused a shift toward quicker removal of children if deemed at risk.

Child welfare legislation requires all allegations of child abuse that are reported to be investigated and thus, documented. The social worker must determine from the records whether it is in the child's best interests to remain in the home, or to be removed and placed in care. As a result, Hick explains, "The social worker operated with the knowledge that she or he must obtain and assess as much background information as possible and use the information to make judgements regarding the parents and the child's best interests, all the while knowing that the process is not an exact science."[23]

Information remains pivotal to social work functions, and documentation is crucial in enabling social workers to account for their decisions and actions. Incidents involving maltreatment and death of children in care that have been widely reported in

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[22] Hick, 100.
[23] Ibid.

the news have led to demands for greater accountability by child welfare agencies, which means, Hick explains, that recordkeeping requirements are being increased: "In response to high-profile inquests into the deaths of children in care, provincial governments are mandating new administrative requirements. It is fast becoming impossible for the workers to comply with the mounting paperwork and computer work within the time allotted."[24] It is estimated that social workers spend one-fifth of their time on recordkeeping.[25]

Prince notes a discrepancy between the importance of recordkeeping in social work and the coverage that it gets in social work literature. She offers no explanation, but it is likely tied to the complexity surrounding social work and its records, as well as the widely seen tendency to regard recordkeeping as secondary and subordinate to the functions that it documents. In her study of social workers and their clients in the UK, Katie Prince found that records and recordkeeping were consistently referred to by social workers as boring. However, this was belied by the fact that the subjects in the study generally had much to say about records once the interviews were underway. So Prince surmises that, "Thus dismissing recordkeeping as *boring* seemed to have become the usual way of pushing all its inherent difficulties, complexities, and conflicts well away from painful scrutiny and examination."[26]

Furthermore, it is no surprise that she found that clients' views of the purposes of records differed from those of social workers. Prince's findings in her interviews with social work clients in Britain revealed that they did not regard records as a benevolent

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[24] Hick, 114.
[25] Katie Prince, *Boring Records?: Communication, Speech, and Writing in Social Work.* (London and Bristol, PA: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996), ix.
[26] Ibid.

force. Rather, they had concerns about their own ability to communicate accurately and effectively, and tended to look for help from the social worker in verbalizing their concerns: "Clients considered the exchange of information was unequal: they felt disadvantaged by record keeping but regarded it as a price to be paid for help with their children."[27] This is in keeping with Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Star's assertion that "the lives of individuals can be broken, twisted and torqued by their encounters with classifications systems."[28] They define 'torque' as a twisting and conflict within the life of an individual as a result of being classified in a certain way, which can result in conflict with how the individual defines himself or herself, not to mention how he or she is viewed in society.[29]

Some therapists have expressed a desire to increase the voice of the client in the official record in part because this is seen as conducive to quicker therapeutic progress. However, some also regard it as a means to redress social imbalances, making it a departure from the traditional approach in that it constitutes writing with the client rather than about the client. This approach recognizes that there is an imbalance inherent in the relationship between therapist and client, irrespective of the good intentions of the therapist. "Writing *about* clients, the most extensive form of writing in the clinical professions," Gonzalo Bacigalupe notes, "introduces the notion of how we define clients, therapists, and the relationships among them in the context of power relationships. The voices of clients in the writing of therapists are frequently absent or filtered by the

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[27] Ibid., xi.
[28] Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: The MIT Press, 1999), 26.
[29] Ibid., 27-28.

language of academic and professional discourses."[30] He advocates a greater role for clients in record creation of therapeutic encounters with the intent of expanding the boundaries of the therapeutic relationship in order to address the inequities which are imposed by outside social structures. Whether or not the therapeutic professions will embrace this ideal, there is growing evidence in psychological research that there are therapeutic benefits in having clients create their own records.

Allocating some of the responsibility for documenting therapy to the client gives the client more authority in the relationship. "By writing about particular problem areas," Jeannie Wright and Man Cheung Chung elaborate, "the client becomes expert on their own material, thus challenging the boundaries between ...'expert knowledge' and 'local knowledge.'"[31] Thus, though the counselling professional has ultimate authority, empowering the client through giving him or her authority to create records contributes to a more equitable therapeutic environment, and allows the client to take a more active role in his or her own course of therapy. With people who belong to marginalized groups, this has the additional effect of redressing the additional tension created by their difference in social status. Bacigalupe explains, "The therapeutic encounter, including collaborative writing, occurs in the context of wider social relationships. Therapy may create the same social relationships that exist 'outside' of the clinical context. Although as therapists we may strive to be 'neutral', we bring our particular values and location in society into the session."[32]

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[30] Gonzalo Bacigalupe, "Writing in therapy: a participatory approach," *Journal of Family Therapy*. 18, (1996), 361.
[31] Jeannie Wright, and Man Cheung Chung, "Mastery or mystery? Therapeutic writing: a review of the literature," *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 29, no. 3 (2001), 278-291, 282.
[32] Baciogalupe, 362.

Giving clients a greater voice in recordkeeping affords them a greater role in their own therapeutic experience. The participatory approach to documentation encourages more active participation in the direction of the therapy. Thus, the professional no longer exerts total control over the relationship and the client is not entirely dependent upon the therapist. Client involvement in case recording gives clients a greater sense of involvement and control over the therapy. This has been found to increase the efficacy of therapy, as the therapist can react to the client's assessment of his or her progress. The therapist receives more information from the client in participatory therapy, which enables the therapist to respond more effectively to the client's needs. Furthermore, in summing up a case study, Bacigalupe noted that "The letters became a tool for the client to manage 'her own case' and her words became constant reminders of her personhood for the professionals who usually describe clients in the language of psychotherapy and/or systems."[33] Thus, the classification that, in the traditional records of therapy, obscures the client and creates the perception of the client as a subject, rather than an individual can be decreased, if not overcome.

Bacigalupe encourages his peers to question and ponder their methods of case documentation. Thus, he identifies the impact of professionalization and classification upon the therapeutic relationship, such as "the oppressive dimensions of case documentation and issues of power, such as the distance created between the lived experience of clients and the clinician's notes through the use of technical words and abstractions."[34] He points out that the ownership of case records is a direct indication of the power imbalance and posits that case records would be vastly different if held by the

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[33] Ibid., 369.
[34] Ibid., 370.

client rather than the therapist. This sentiment is corroborated by Margolin, who defines recordkeeping as "the mechanism that assures the differential distribution of power."[35] This power has been in the hands of the professionals, and the clients, who are the subjects of the records, have not had access to them, either to read them, or change or add to them. The challenge this may present to social workers is indicated in Prince's comment on the centrality of recordkeeping to social workers' conception of themselves: "The social worker felt de-skilled as she tried to establish a practice routine which empowered clients to participate meaningfully in compiling records."[36]

The context in which case records are created and the therapist's position within an institution influence the final record. For instance, the client/therapist interaction is not the only relationship that influences case documentation. Therapists operate in an institutional and professional or academic environment. Bacigalupe asks, "How much of your writing is done having in mind supervisors, colleagues, clients, insurance companies, journal review board members, etc? If you were presenting the 'case' in the context of a paper or conference presentation, what would your clients' reaction be if they were spectators or readers?"[37] Therapists not only have ingrained personal and societal biases, they are also influenced by their position within their institution and their profession.

Participatory writing is not a new idea, as it has been discussed since the 1970s. Its advocates hope that as well as encouraging a greater level of understanding between the client and the caseworker, social workers are also inspired to "greater clarity, more

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[35] Margolin, 37.
[36] Prince, 180-181.
[37] Baciogalupe, 371.

meaningful words, less jargon, more focus, and more precise thinking."[38] Caseworkers are compelled to decrease their use of professional terminology, which has the effect of fostering a more equitable relationship with the client as they are less likely to have the disadvantage of not understanding the caseworker's meaning. There is a shift in the power relationship by making the client privy to the documentation process. Prince explains, "There are many ways in which the form and language of recording affect the balance of power between client and worker. Language is more than the use of jargon--social work language tends to distance the service user from the service provider precisely because the language of case files was intended primarily for professionals."[39]

According to Bacigalupe, "Writing can play an important role in aiding clients and therapists to include multiple voices and diverse positions in their communications. Writing in systemic therapy can help clients to distance themselves from problem-saturated descriptions, mobilize multiple meanings and voices and facilitate the re-storying of their dilemmas."[40] In other words, they are more able to resist the tyranny of classification. Bowker and Star identify some of the implications of classifications: in some respects they are 'objects of cooperation', enabling diverse groups to communicate using a shared or standardized vocabulary. On the other hand, there are instances where classifications act as 'boundary objects', removing access to professional discourses from the reach of those outside of the profession.[41] Both aspects of classification are evident in the literature on social work records, as we see how social work terminology is used to

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[38] Prince, 23.
[39] Ibid., 24.
[40] Baciogalupe, 372.
[41] Bowker and Star, 115.

facilitate communication with other professionals, but acts as a barrier to involvement and understanding from the client's point of view.

Studies of participatory recordkeeping have revealed benefits and challenges in including the client in the documentation process. It enables the client and therapist to share ideas more freely, promotes trust and self-esteem, and helps neutralize to some degree language and classifications that are used. However, the welfare of the client, especially if a child, is paramount, so it is sometimes impossible for the social worker to be completely candid because, as Prince notes, "part of the social worker's therapeutic responsibility is to identify information which is 'damaging' to clients and to devise ways of making it bland or inaccessible."[42] In cases involving children, it is necessary to balance the child's interests (through records controlled by the social worker) with the amount of control afforded the parents.

Participatory writing has an impact on the form of the records. This raises the question of whether it inhibits the documentation of the social worker's point of view. Prince notes that the value of the participatory approach rests in the fact that it removes the secrecy of the record, thereby decreasing the power of the records to subjugate the client, and giving the client more control over the experience. Thus, a sort of compromise was achieved, according to Prince: "The recording method relied upon an understanding that the information was potentially damaging and both client and worker had to agree to forms of words in order to record it in the least toxic manner."[43] Thus, the recordkeeping process is being mediated by the shift in the relationship between the social worker and the client, since the social worker must take more of the client's perspective into

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[42] Prince, 181.
[43] Ibid., 183.

consideration or risk damaging the therapeutic relationship with the client. The voice of the social worker is less direct, so the records provide greater evidence of the fact that the therapeutic process is a give and take relationship. However, Prince suggests that sometimes this need to compromise could inhibit the social worker's ability to speak frankly in the record: "Where possible the social worker tried to record secrets arising in the session in ways which would preserve her therapeutic relationship with the client, but her responsibility to children and the wider public interest sometimes prevented this."[44] Thus, it could be argued that inclusive recordkeeping might sometimes compromise the social worker's ability to clearly identify issues arising with clients.

Traditional social work records have been deemed one-sided, documenting the power imbalance between the dominant class over the lower classes, and imposing standards and judgements upon them. Thus, the participatory approach to recordkeeping alters the meaning of the social work record by expanding the audience for whom it is written. Previously created for the eyes of professionals, the social worker is now being urged to lead the creation of the record with direct input from the client.

The right of the client to some degree of ownership of the records of his or her case means that the client is now part of the intended audience for the record. Thus, the social worker must construct the record in such a way that the client is not alienated and reduce the jargon and professional terminology used. From the point of view of the professional, does this decrease the usefulness of the record? The social worker's voice is mediated by input from the client and concern for the client's feeling. Does this then create a more balanced record, or simply one in which the voices of both the client and the professional are intermingled to the point of obscurity? On the other hand, since the

[44] Ibid.

social worker still directs the recordkeeping process, and has the final say on what is included, it is erroneous to infer that participatory recordkeeping equalizes the relationship between client and social worker, although it does promote a more equitable relationship. The fact remains that the social worker is an agent that has been granted the authority to investigate the private life of the client, whether the client likes it or not.

Participatory writing is a method of increasing the role of the client in the therapeutic process that gives the client greater agency, and can confront social inequalities that make their way into therapy sessions. Thus, social imbalances are broached when clients have a role in the actual recording of cases. While many others have recognized that there are benefits to client record creation, they tend to see writing's mainly therapeutic purposes, rather than view it as a way to arrive at a more equitable balance of power. Even if therapists choose not to involve the client in recording the official case record, client record creation within the therapeutic context can still be utilized to great benefit. Wright and Chung define writing therapy as "client expressive and reflective writing, whether self-generated or suggested by a therapist/researcher."[45]

[Formerly on p. 62]In some instances, the therapeutic benefits of journal writing were recognized long before counseling became a common mode of addressing life problems. The Canadian author of the Anne of Green Gables novels, avid diarist L. M. Montgomery, identified writing as a process which enabled her to deal with the problems and frustrations that she encountered throughout her life, noting in 1910 that, "of late

[45] Wright and Chung, 279.

years I have made my journal the refuge of my sick spirit in its unbearable agonies."[46] She noted that her tendency to use her diary to vent likely gave the reader an unbalanced view of her life since she tended to turn to it in times of trouble more often than in times of joy.[47] Thus, it appears that Montgomery was a practitioner of therapeutic writing long before the term was coined by counseling professionals.

Obviously Montgomery, a best-selling author and voracious writer, is not characteristic of the general population. However, as Leavitt and Pill explain, "People of all ages try to organize and make meaning of their experience, and through this process they develop, refine, and reconstruct their personal sense of self."[48] Thus, therapeutic writing is a specialized approach that harnesses a fairly common human drive, the desire to document one's experiences.

The positive effects of therapeutic writing have been illustrated in studies which show that people who have suffered trauma can better manage the effects of these experiences by writing about them. In addition, both physical and emotional benefits are attributed to therapeutic writing. People who have endured traumatic experiences are often subject to feelings of shame, embarrassment and fear of censure. As discussed in the first chapter, this is a common response to child abuse, the effect of which is silence. Suppressing the experience of trauma can result in damage to an individual's physical and mental health. Thus, the expression of traumatic occurrences, particularly in writing, enables individuals to embark on a process of evaluating their experience and its impact on their life. Through writing, patients confront troubling emotions that they often strive

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[46] Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston (eds.), *The Selected Journals of L. M. Montgomery Volume II: 1910-1921.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 1.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., 138.

to avoid. Through this process of confrontation, they reappraise their memories of the incidents.

Therapeutic writing gives the client greater control over the rate at which he or she makes revelations about the past, as opposed to being prodded, however gently, to respond to questions raised by the therapist. This control enables the client to be more actively involved in the therapeutic process, and less dependent upon the therapist.[49] Furthermore, people are often more apt to disclose the most painful elements of their experiences in writing than verbally. According to Alfred Lange, "The required degree of self-confrontation is usually not achieved by merely talking about events because the most painful aspects are often avoided."[50]

Studies in which the subjects were required to write about the same traumatic experience several times determined that the intensity of emotions elicited through revisiting the experience declined with each repetition. This effect has been attributed to two phenomena: habituation and cognitive reappraisal. James Pennebaker and Janel Seagal sum up these phenomena in the following way: "Forming a story about one's experiences in life is associated with improved physical and mental health across a variety of populations. Current evidence points to the value of having a coherent, organized format as a way to give meaning to an event and manage the emotions associated with it. In this way, having a narrative is similar to completing a job, allowing one to essentially forget the event."[51] It is interesting to note that record creation is

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[49] M. J. A. Schoutrop, A. Lange, G. Hanewald, C. Duurland, & B. Bermond, "The Effects of structured writing assignments on over-coming major stressful events: an uncontrolled study." *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*. 4 (1997), 179.

[50] Alfred Lange, "Using writing assignments with families managing legacies of extreme traumas." *Journal of Family Therapy*. 18 (1996), 375.

[51] James W. Pennebaker and Janel D. Seagal, "Forming a story: the health benefits of narrative." *Journal of Clinical Psychology*. 55, no. 10 (1991), 1251.

associated with forgetting in this context, since we tend to think of record creation as a method of preserving memories. By expressing traumatic events in a relatively permanent way by committing them to paper, people are freed, in a sense, from the necessity to remember them.

Pennebaker and Seagal have determined that processing an event in order to put it into words is integral to the habituation process: "Once a complex event is put into a story format, it is simplified. The mind doesn't need to work as hard to bring structure and meaning to it. As the story is told over and over again, it becomes shorter, with some of the fine detail gradually levelled. The information that is recalled with the story is that which is congruent with the story. Whereas the data (or raw experience) was initially used to create the story, once the story is fixed in the person's mind, only story-relevant data is conjured up."[52] Interestingly, this is almost a metaphor for electronic records. Like a relational database, the mind is replete with various bits of information scattered throughout. Archival theory does not recognize databases full of raw data as records. Rather, it is the output of the database that is the record, which is the focus of archival activity. Like electronic data, the contents of the brain must be processed, brought together to form a coherent story. If people choose not to record their stories, their information is lost forever, never to be recovered.

Leavitt and Pill contend that therapeutic writing, like participatory writing, has the effect of promoting a deeper understanding between the client and the therapist: "Through the writing, the clinician is drawn into the client's world as it exists, rather than as it is being described. Since the clinician can reach a deeper level of understanding by experiencing a person rather than hearing a client, the moment becomes alive and clinical

[52] Ibid., 1250-1251.

empathy is heightened."[53] The notion that writing is somehow more reflective of the client's actual experience than conversing with the therapist is an interesting one, and can perhaps be attributed to the lack of direction from the therapist as the client writes. This is confirmed by the discovery that talking into a tape recorder had benefits similar to those resulting from writing.[54] Furthermore, client writing is likely to take place outside of the therapy session, in the client's own familiar surroundings.

The benefits of writing in therapy are not contingent on the type of writing that is done. Writing can take the form of autobiography, directed writing that focuses on a specific incident, or even creative writing. Expressing their experiences as a story or as a chapter in their life seems to give resolution to clients. Thus, there is significant variation in the types of therapeutic writing that therapists employ, ranging from a scientific approach, to an orientation more grounded in the humanities. Those from the latter school promote the benefits of creative writing and poetry as sources of healing. Those who are more scientifically oriented strive to measure, analyse and explain using controlled studies. They have found that there are both physical and emotional benefits to therapeutic writing. According to Leavitt and Pill, therapeutic writing, particularly that with a creative approach, does not only focus on past events, but on clients' visions of the future: "In creative writing we invent new stories, frequently feeling unbounded by principles of rationality and logic. As such, writing opens new possibilities for storying our lives differently, providing a powerful therapeutic opportunity."[55]

The above-mentioned studies of therapeutic and participatory writing within the counseling professions illustrate that people who have suffered trauma can benefit

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[53] Leavitt and Pill, 146-147.
[54] Pennebaker and Seagal, 1246.
[55] Leavitt and Pill, 138.

through writing about their experiences. CASA will draw upon this recognition of the value of record creation in therapy. It will not only document child abuse survivors' accounts of their experiences, but also their attempts to overcome their abuse.

While writing about our difficulties is a method by which we can come to terms with them, writing also enables people to express or develop their personal identity. According to Buss, "Just as a child might realize his or her separateness by seeing his or her reflection in a mirror, so we all, as human beings, begin our development when we begin to use language as a mirror of ourselves. But just as the mirror offers us not the body itself, but a two-dimensional image, so language offers us a false self."[56] As archivists, we ought to recognize, indeed, have been trained to recognize that records are only representations of people, places, and events. On the level of personal documentation, records can really only represent certain aspects of people and their lives.

McKemmish summarizes recordkeeping in this way: "Recordkeeping is a 'kind of witnessing.' On a personal level it is a way of evidencing and memorialising our lives--our existence, our activities and experiences, our relationships with others, our identity, and our 'place in the world".[57] For people labouring under the shadow of childhood abuse, personal recordkeeping may be their only opportunity to relate their version of their experiences to the world. Yet it is important to remember that CASA accounts will likely focus mainly on one aspect of the lives of child abuse survivors.

For some, a blank piece of paper has the power to enable people to confront troubling issues. However, there are those who resist, or are unable to confront their pasts though writing. Counseling professionals noted, during the focus group sessions

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[56] Helen M. Buss and Marlene Kadar, (eds.) *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*. (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2001), 5.
[57] McKemmish, 29.

held prior to the drafting of the CASA proposal, that approximately half of their clients refuse to keep a journal. This is not surprising, since personal recordkeeping is not uniformly practised in our society. Only a portion of individuals concern themselves with documenting their lives. What characteristics determine/influence participation in personal recordkeeping? McKemmish explains that personal recordkeeping, like corporate recordkeeping, relates "to issues of competencies and related rights, obligations, responsibilities, the need to continue to function effectively in a particular role, or with fundamental needs relating to a sense of self, identity, a 'place' in the world."[58]

Thus, for Montgomery, journaling was a method by which she worked through her problems, but she also recognized that, as a successful author, her diaries would be of interest to people in the future. As a result, she revisited diaries she wrote prior to becoming famous and edited and annotated them. Survivors of child abuse are driven to tell their stories based on their relationships and concepts of self. For instance, Cecile Ringuette revealed her abuse only to her husband. When he died, the loss of her confidant resulted in depression because it left her, once again, in sole possession of her secret. The secret of her abuse was less of a burden when she did not have to carry it alone. The loss ultimately resulted in her seeking therapy many decades after the abuse occurred. Eventually Ringuette was able to reveal herself as a survivor of incest to her family, and the nation, since her story appeared on the front page of the *Globe and Mail.*

Ringuette chose to reveal this aspect of her life via official channels, resorting to the justice system to help resolve the situation, and agreeing to be photographed and interviewed for an article which appeared on the front page of a national newspaper.

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[58] Ibid., 31.

After decades of keeping her secret, Ringuette eventually reached a point where she was capable of full disclosure. In her words, "I just couldn't keep the secret any longer."[59]

In contrast, there are those who are unable to document their experience even within the confidential setting of therapy. As one service provider noted, "For a lot of people it's because their boundaries are violated and people read their things, so they have a negative reaction to writing. I think it's also a reaction to sharing very private parts of themselves and then being exposed when someone reads them. It is then a permanent record."[60] Some people resist the creation of permanent evidence of their victimization, either because they are unable to come to terms with it, or they fear their personal records could be violated and used against them. Reluctance to create records about their experiences may be due to resistance to defining themselves as survivors or victims, or due to feelings of shame and self-blame associated with child abuse.

In addition, there are those who feel that holding on to documents directly corresponds to holding on to the past. McKemmish presents Australian author Patrick White as a former proponent of this belief, in part owing to the fact that his excellent memory precluded the need for recordkeeping as a tool of memory. She writes, "Yet, for White too, there eventually came a time when 'privacy was no longer the issue' and carrying forward evidence of his life beyond his own lifetime was what 'mattered most.'"[61] When faced with the inevitability of mortality, perhaps some people become more motivated to create and preserve a record of their life. This may be part of the reason that Ringuette chose to reveal her abuse after so many years. She felt a need to

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[59] Peritz, A1.
[60] Sweeney et al, 17.
[61] McKemmish, 35.

provide evidence of and to memorialize a defining aspect of her life and identity.[62]

The construction of a narrative of one's experience is a microcosm of the larger archival endeavour. The mind carries out appraisal, determining what elements of the experience are most important to keep, while discarding others that are unessential to the story as a whole. Pennebaker and Seagal maintain that processing one's experience in order to produce a story constructs a version of what happened. In creating a narrative of one's experiences, one is compelled to simplify complex events and feelings in order to render them more comprehensible. This, in effect, distorts one's memory of the event. "Translating distress into language ultimately allows us to forget or, perhaps a better phrase, move beyond the experience."[63] Just as archival appraisal constructs societal memory by rejecting some records and accepting others as archival, so too, do individuals appraise their own experience, and construct stories and records that eventually constitute their individual memories. This may result in an ability to forget experiences for specific individuals, but if records are created and maintained, synopses of individual experiences can be retained as a facet of the social memory.

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[62] Ingrid Peritz, "She bore awful family secret in silence," *The Globe and Mail*, May 7, 2003, A1.
[63] Pennebaker and Seagal, 1251.

Chapter Three

Opening the Floodgates: Archival Implications of the Child Abuse Survivor Archive

This chapter examines the archival implications of the proposed CASA initiative. There are two main issues to be considered. First, the need to preserve anonymity within the records means that the provenance of individual records will have been removed. Since provenance is one of the cornerstones of archival theory and practice, it is necessary to consider what impact, if any, the removal of provenance will have on the viability and integrity of CASA. The second issue that arises out of the proposal to establish CASA is that its mandate to solicit the creation of records rests at the very least on the boundaries of theories regarding archival appraisal.

Research and Education for Solutions to Violence and Abuse (RESOLVE) was established in 1992 as the Manitoba Research Centre on Family Violence and Violence Against Women at the University of Manitoba. Now with satellite offices in Saskatchewan and Alberta, RESOLVE engages in research with the goal of developing ways of addressing and eliminating family violence. In addition, it provides support services to victims of family violence, as well as offering treatment for offenders. However, RESOLVE is particularly committed to developing strategies to end the cycle of violence. With this in mind, the idea of establishing a repository for child abuse survivors' accounts was first articulated in November 2000 in response to an address by Ms. Elly Danica at RESOLVE's first research day. As a result, a committee was formed to investigate the feasibility of such an undertaking. The survivor accounts gathered by CASA would serve as a rich resource for RESOLVE's research activities. Although CASA is still in the planning stages, the archival implications of the CASA proposal

make it worthy of study at this time as a concept designed to address certain difficult archival challenges.

The stated purpose of CASA is to "provide a repository of stories survivors have recorded and wish to share. The archive will facilitate research for practitioners and academics concerned with the treatment and prevention of child abuse and facilitate the publication of monographs that will highlight the horror of child abuse as well as the survival and healing of child abuse victims."[1] CASA will help alleviate researchers' frustration with the limited access that they have to sources on the subject. Furthermore, the archive will augment existing institutional sources to give a more complete accounting of child abuse in our society than has been previously possible. The report goes on to state, "It is our firm hope that these archives will aid in the process of healing for those who have been victims of child abuse as well as assist researchers in this area to learn from survivors in the quest to break the cycle of violence and abuse."[2]

Although it is true that the archive is not the only opportunity for people to document their experiences, donating to CASA is a simpler process, and more accessible to a wider number of people than formal publishing of their stories. The other avenue for self-expression is posting their stories on an Internet website, and the ubiquitousness of Internet technology puts this option within reach of a wide number of people. The CASA report recognizes that some survivors of child abuse have harnessed the potential of the Internet as a medium for making their stories available to a wide audience, and as a means of reaching out to help others. However, the Internet lacks the permanence of an established archive. Furthermore, if they are retained permanently, these records would

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[1] Sweeney et al, 2.
[2] Ibid., 5.

likely still lack the authority of records created by official bodies, since it may be that the provenance of records on websites is unclear.

Ideally, CASA would serve as a further avenue by which child abuse survivors could achieve the benefits that are possible through giving vent to the emotions that many struggle with as a consequence of abuse perpetrated upon them as children. Acquisitions by CASA will occur via donation rather than active solicitation of stories by counselling professionals since, as one focus group participant noted, "You don't want to make it part of the therapeutic expectation."[3] Service providers felt that it would be acceptable to place posters in their offices which clients could then approach them about if they had an interest, rather than the service providers initiating the subject. Materials will be selected for the archive by an appraisal team consisting of a representative of RESOLVE, a social service agency, and an academic clinician.

It is anticipated that the majority of records captured by the archive will be written accounts, although records of other kinds will also be accepted, such as music, art, and poetry. Although donor information will be retained in the Archives' accession records on donor agreements, and for copyright purposes, authors' names will be removed from all materials submitted to the archive, as well as any references or identifiers relating to anyone else who appears in the accounts. The CASA proposal does not detail to what degree information will be removed, and what information will be retained, but suggests that it may depend on various factors. Precise geographic and socioeconomic information will be replaced with general indicators, in order to prevent identification of the donor. Some might see this as stripping the provenance from the records, but the context of creation and the provenance is also the RESOLVE-based appraisal framework

[3] Ibid., 20.

of CASA, since it is the means by which the records are being assembled and acquired.

CASA would have immediate application for contemporary researchers, and for child abuse survivors interested in preserving their stories for posterity. On a different level, its implementation might be seen to contest archival thinking on provenance and appraisal. Does CASA fly in the face of current archival thinking, or is it a practical extension of it? Regarding the question of the removal of identifiers from survivors' accounts, this is an essential aspect of CASA, as it is necessary that survivors feel that they can safely contribute their stories if they do not wish them to become public knowledge. Furthermore, it is important that the privacy of others be protected in view of the fact that the accounts could contain damaging or troubling information about third parties. CASA is not intended as a means of shielding wrongdoers from the consequences of their actions, and doesn't aim to reinforce society's tendency to ignore the presence of child abuse.

Postmodernism has influenced all branches of academia. In archives it is prompting reconsideration of archival functions and the records that archives hold. Archival theorists such as Terry Cook have heralded postmodernism as an approach with much to benefit archival practice. Cook provides this concise summation: "Postmodernists seek, in short, to de-naturalize what society unquestionably assumes is natural, what it has for generations, perhaps centuries, accepted as normal, natural, rational, proven -- simply the way things are."[4] Thus, postmodern thinking applied to archives enables us to evaluate current theory and practice from a new perspective. "In this way," says Cook, "postmodernism, especially in its deconstruction form, allows the

[4] Terry Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives." *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001), 24.

release of tremendous energies by sweeping away that which has been constraining, that with which archivists have lived by habit or professional fiat."[5] Thus, postmodernism has led archives to take a greater interest in the context of record creation, to see how the records have been shaped, and how they are affected by power relationships within society.[6] Postmodernism is bringing about shifts from traditional approaches to archivy, and the role of archivists. Archivists are coming to regard themselves not as passive custodians of records, but as active participants in the creation and construction of societal memory.[7] Does CASA correspond with this idea, or does it actually push it further?

The dominant political culture within a society influences the direction and role of its archives. According to German archivist Hans Booms, the goal of archives can be described thusly: "Within the pluralistic structure of our modern industrial society, the purpose and goal of the archival formation of the documentary heritage can only be to document the totality of public life as manifested in communities formed by common interests or other ties."[8] Writing in 1988, archivists Richard Cox and Helen Samuels identified documenting society as the archivist's first responsibility. They explain that it is necessary for archivists to strive for more systematic documentation of society, rather than haphazard appraisal and acquisition of various records that happen to come within their purview.[9] In order to accomplish this, they claim that it is necessary for archivists to move beyond traditional methods of appraisal, which are usually carried out

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[5] Ibid., 22.
[6] Ibid., 25.
[7] Ibid., 29.
[8] Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," *Archivaria* 24 (Summer 1987), 106.
[9] Richard J. Cox and Helen W. Samuels, "The Archivist's First Responsibility: A Research Agenda to Improve the Identification and Retention of Records of Enduring Value." *American Archivist* 51 (Winter & Spring 1998), 30.

independently by individual institutions, with a focus on acquiring historical records.

In essence, Kenneth Foote claims, "archives can be seen as a valuable means of extending the temporal and spatial range of human communication."[10] Archives are a means of attempting to thwart the inexorable march of time from sweeping out of its path the lessons learned by each successive cohort of humanity. The development and refinement of non-verbal forms of communication extended the range of time over which humans are capable of communicating complex ideas and information. Archives foster this by preserving some of these records. However, oral and ritual traditions that were the original methods employed have continued. Archives are repositories of representations of the past, representations which are influenced by various factors, such as institutional mandates, and societal values.

There is an interrelationship between society and the individual, and in a democratic society this involves a continuous effort to balance the rights of the individual with the rights of the larger society. The two are interwoven, with individuals influencing society, while society, at the same time, plays a role in the shaping of their lives.[11] This democratic vision of society, carried into archives, demands that records created by individuals be acquired alongside those created by governments. According to Sheridan, Street, and Bloome, "There is a sense in which writing about and by ordinary people gives value to ordinary people, makes lives count that are usually lost in aggregations of statistical data for marketing and political purposes."[12] Thus, in submitting accounts to CASA, survivors become more than a statistic, which is a

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[10]Kenneth W. Foote, "To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture." *American Archivist* 53 (Summer 1990), 379.
[11] Booms, 75.
[12] Sheridan, Street, and Bloome, *Writing Ourselves: Mass-Observation and Literacy Practice.* (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 2000), 218.

significant shift, because social history, which focuses on the ordinary, had to resort to statistical records as its source material. Records documenting ordinary people were all but absent. Naturally, it would be impossible to document everyone, but initiatives like CASA and Mass-Observation are valuable in that they systematically attempt to preserve records of the broader public.

Archives are often promoted as a means of preserving cultural or societal memory, yet they are just as much about forgetting. Appraisal decisions determine what is considered worth remembering, and, whether consciously or unconsciously, what can be forgotten. Some records may be unconsciously neglected, but there are also instances where deliberate choices are made to exclude documentation on particular subjects whether this is because they are considered insignificant, or too controversial for comfort. Furthermore, it is often the case that such decisions are not made explicitly by archivists, but more tacitly by society as a whole. The silence that has historically accompanied instances of child abuse is a good example of this. Oftentimes people would prefer not to be reminded that such unsavoury things can occur in their neighbourhood, or institution, or society.

Foote describes how society sometimes chooses to memorialize tragic events, while other times it seeks to forget them, what he describes as the effacement of memory.[13] "A society's need to remember," says Foote, "is balanced against its desire to forget, to leave the memory behind and put the event out of mind... If a tragedy seems to illustrate a lesson of human ethics or social conduct worth remembering, or it demands that warnings be forwarded to future generations, tension may resolve in favour of a

[13] Foote, 384.

permanent monument or memorial."[14] For instance, in Germany, effacement of Nazi buildings occurred, yet at the same time, locations where atrocities that they committed, notably Auschwitz concentration camp, have been preserved to serve as memorials to the people murdered there. Also, it is hoped that remembering this genocide and how it was perpetrated will prevent similar atrocities in the future. Thus, like individuals, as outlined in chapter two, society attempts to come to terms with traumatic events by reflecting on them and reinterpreting them.

In the context of the counselling professions, Leavitt and Pill have written that, "The mystique that writing is only for the gifted, the educated, or the highly literate person needs to be dispelled."[15] Service providers who participated in the CASA focus groups suggested that some people would be reluctant to submit their stories, or to agree to have them published due to a lack of confidence in their ability to express themselves.[16] Service providers also speculated that such feelings might cause some people to choose poetry or art as a means of expression rather than writing.[17] Archives that make an effort to acquire the records of groups who have traditionally been omitted reshape our notions of what constitutes a valuable record. The Mass-Observation project in the United Kingdom gives 'ordinary' people the authority to create records: "The archival function of the Mass-Observation project and its affiliation with a university provide a way, according to some of the Mass-Observation correspondents, for the writing of ordinary people to be valued. It may also help redress the imbalance between those who are deemed *able* to write, whose writing is worthy of reading and those who

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[14] Ibid., 385.
[15] Rebecca S. Leavitt and Cynthia J. Pill, "Composing a self through writing: the ego and the ink," *Smith College Studies in Social Work* 65 No. 2 (March 1995), 137.
[16] Sweeney et al, 19-20.
[17] Ibid., 18.

are not."[18] Current archival thought is also in line with this notion. Part of the context of record creation is determining with whom society has vested the authority for creation of valued records, as well as which records are deemed archival. As one of the arbiters of society's documentary heritage, archives have the ability to grant such value and authority to records created by groups or individuals by including them in the archives. By cooperating with the RESOLVE appraisal process and providing a repository for CASA, the University of Manitoba Department of Archives & Special Collections is doing just that.

Some therapists have recognized that the power of record creation can increase the efficiency of the therapeutic process if the client has a hand in creating the documentation of their case. Through this means, clients are involved where they had been previously excluded, in documenting their interaction with counselling professionals. However, while the client is involved in record creation, custody and ownership of the records remains with the counselling professional or the institution in which he works. This means that the records are subject to various types of restrictions which are necessary to protect client confidentiality, but which place the information they contain out of reach of researchers, historians, and other child abuse survivors who might benefit from them.

Doubtless the removal of identifiers in some ways reduces the impact of the stories held in the archive. However, the Archive is not the proper venue for prosecuting abusers; there are other institutions that survivors can resort to if that is their aim. The purpose of CASA is to provide a venue in which survivors can ensure that their story is preserved for posterity, in the hopes that this will help prevent future abuse. It is hoped

[18] Sheridan et al, 215.

that the preservation of anonymity will attract survivors who feel compelled to maintain the secret of their abuse, yet would benefit from the opportunity to disclose their experiences in an arena where they would not have to suffer further the negative impacts keeping them from revealing their abuse to the people in their lives. The necessity of ensuring confidentiality and anonymity is crucial, as evidenced by the fact that one of the focus group participants was reluctant to support the idea of CASA, as she was unconvinced that either one could be assured.[19] .

The contemporary archival profession only took shape in the nineteenth century. According to Tom Nesmith, "The nineteenth-century European discovery of the contextual approach to archival administration is the most important intellectual development in the history of the archival profession."[20] Thus, it is important to consider records in relation to those surrounding them and also in view of the conditions in which they were created. Provenance is, therefore, a key element of this contextual approach to archives.

Provenance is important as a means of understanding the context of the record, but it is also significant in protecting the integrity of a record, since known provenance determines the degree of authority that can be attributed to the record. Oral history has been used by archives for some time to ensure that the stories of people of significance or personal accounts of areas and events of importance that would otherwise not be documented are captured. The value of oral history as a historical source is contentious, as some regard it as less trustworthy than the written record. This is because oral histories are usually collected toward the end of the subject's life, but focus on

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[19] Ibid., 16.
[20] Tom Nesmith, ed., *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance.* (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 1.

happenings decades earlier. This calls into question the subject's memory.

Even if the person does have an accurate memory of events, the subject's recollections are influenced by the intervening years, and life experiences subsequent to the events or eras in question. Therefore, some would discount the value of this historical testimony. Oral histories lack the immediacy of such personal accounts as diaries and letters. For instance, contemporary accounts of World War II have an immediacy that cannot be recaptured, that is preserved in documents created at the time. In spite of this preservation, we who did not experience the war can never quite realize what it was like in 1939 to be on the verge of World War II, or in 1942 when there was no end in sight, because we cannot escape our knowledge of the fact that the war ended in 1945. Even people who experienced the war have a different perspective on it, since they now know that it ended with an Allied victory.

However, this does not mean that oral history should be avoided. After all, history is always written in relation to the present day. Historiography is proof of this. Otherwise, Pliny's history of Rome would be the definitive history of the Roman Empire. The impetus behind writing history is curiosity about how we got to where we are today. Academic historians are lauded for this. Is it not equally valid for an individual to reflect on his/her past in the same way? Just as in the sciences, students of history are encouraged always to read the most recent work in their area of interest. Older works may also be used but with the caveat that they are from a particular historical period, and the scholar must take into account the biases that shaped them. This must also be done for recent works.

Therefore, at face value oral history informs us about the events, people or eras that are the subject of them. However, recorded oral histories are also a document of the time in which they were recorded. People comment on their past experiences in the context of the present, which is very similar to the way that history is written. Thus, just as historians consider the prevailing social attitudes in their study of older works of history, this must also be done when using as sources oral histories not collected recently.

Some would say that CASA is not an accurate historical source because, like oral history, it is not the voice of the child, rather the voice of the adult reflecting on childhood abuse. Therefore the narrative is coloured by his or her intervening experiences. And this is true. The voice of the child is obscured. But the record has enormous value as the individual's interpretation of the effect of the abuse on the course of his or her life.

Because CASA will be soliciting records documenting a very specific subject, there will obviously be limits to what these records tell us. McKemmish notes that, "the kind of evidence that archival documents capture is related to the evidence from other kinds of documents – how the different documentary genres communicate different aspects of a life, speaking to us in different voices."[21] However, these records can then be used in conjunction with other records to get a more complete picture of child abuse and its impacts. CASA records will not be multifaceted in the way that a personal fonds can be. However, the purpose of CASA is very specific, to show how lives are affected by childhood experiences of abuse, rather than to document survivors' lives as fully as possible. The records will document lives viewed through a very specific lens. On a

[21] Sue McKemmish, "Evidence of Me," *Archives & Manuscripts* 24 (1) (May 1996), 33-34.

broader level, they will document one of the ways that our society has devised to deal with child abuse and its demons.

In contrast with traditional views of provenance, recent archival thought has suggested that provenance is more accurately regarded as a process than a static attribute determined and fixed at the time of a record's creation. The initial provenance of CASA accounts rests with the survivor, but further components of its provenance are its review and acceptance by CASA appraisers and then the arrangement and description it undergoes when accessioned. Thenceforth, use of the record adds further nuances to its provenance.[22] In the context of the process theory of provenance, the loss of provenance for CASA records will only be partial, and in any case, outweighed by the benefits that result from an initiative such as CASA. The structure proposed for CASA serves as a strong foundation of provenance for the records that CASA will accrue.

Perhaps the most contentious aspect of CASA has to do with the way in which CASA's records will be acquired. In fact, CASA is going a bit farther than simply gathering records, as it may even go so far as to cause records to be created, which runs counter to traditional appraisal theory. However, it might be difficult to agree on what constitutes "traditional" since Muller, Feith, and Fruin (authors in 1898 of the most influential early monograph on modern archival theory) made little or no mention of it. Muller, Feith, and Fruin had little to say about appraisal, which can be attributed to the circumstances of their world, where the volume of records being created was a fraction of today's. Their key interests were expression of the idea of original order and of provenance in the context of governmental and institutional records.

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[22] For a further discussion of how the history of a record reflects its changing provenance, see Lori Podolsky Nordland, "The Concept of 'Secondary Provenance': Re-interpreting Ac ko mok ki's Map as Evolving Text," *Archivaria* 58 (Fall 2004).

Jenkinson built upon the work of Muller, Feith, and Fruin, but articulated very definite ideas about impartiality as a cornerstone of archives. Therefore, Jenkinson actively discouraged appraisal since he viewed it as interfering in the flow of records to archives which was the responsibility of record creators, not archivists. Though there is scarcely two decades between the work of Muller, Feith, and Fruin and Jenkinson's, the fact that Jenkinson touches on appraisal is the result of the rapid growth in record creation that accompanied World War I and was the impetus for his work. By that time, it was apparent that it was impossible to keep all records; archives could only hope to keep the most significant ones. According to Jenkinson, it was the role of record creators, not archivists, to determine which records merited permanent retention. Unfortunately, Jenkinson's approach only reinforces the dominance of the powerful in the creation of the historical record.

Cook notes that Jenkinson, like Muller, Feith, and Fruin, predicated his theoretical concepts on the notion of archivists being primarily concerned with older records, rather than those that were recently created, despite the fact that World War I had accelerated record creation.[23] The nature of record creation has changed in conjunction with the increase in the bounty of records being created in our society. Cox writes that, "Nothing approaching what we could term an archival or historical manuscripts repository worried about a function such as appraisal until well into the middle of the twentieth century."[24]

It is likely that Jenkinson saw the volume of records produced in World War I as an anomaly, a response to the contingencies of war. However, as the century unfolded, it

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[23] Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898 and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997), 24.
[24] Richard J. Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal.* (Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004), 269.

became apparent that record creation was increasing. This influenced the work of American T. R. Schellenberg, who, in turn, had a major impact on the archival profession. The relative youth of the US further underscored the question of contemporary records since North America did not have the backlog of older records that preoccupied European archivists. Thus, many American archivists, like Schellenberg, focussed on the problem of how to identify archival records within the mass of contemporary records.

Regarding appraisal, Schellenberg identified two groups with an interest in determining what was to be archived, based on his concept of the primary and secondary values of records. Administrators of the record creating bodies were concerned with the records' primary values, which encompassed the business purposes of the records in the operations of their users. Secondary values, which consisted of the evidential and informational significance of the records were to be assessed by archivists and those with research interests in the records. While Jenkinson advocated that archivists accept records diverted to the archives by "Administrators", Schellenberg deemed it necessary for archivists to make appraisal decisions themselves.[25]

Appraisal based on the notion of future use of archival records was advocated by Schellenberg, and was widely accepted, but is now being rejected as failing to capture enough of the wide variety of records needed to support the increasingly diverse range of uses of archives. Furthermore, the emergence of the 'new' social history is a prime example of the difficulty of predicting what future research interests will be. In the postmodern era some leading archival thinkers, including Cook, have rejected the limitations of the Schellenbergian approach to appraisal: "Believing that archives should

[25] Cook, 1997, 28.

reflect more globally the society that creates them, these differing 'societal approaches' explore new conceptions of archival theory and methodology."[26]

"Now," says Cook, "it may be said that archives are of the people, for the people, often even by the people."[27] Archival theorists see archivists as having a responsibility to the larger society, to see that archives document as broad a cross-section of society as possible. Hans Booms asserted that the historical record should be determined by the public, via the study of the functions that they saw fit to authorize their government bodies to deliver. "We are at a crossroads and we have the dilemma of choosing the path to follow -- to success, to convergence and integration, or to oblivion."[28] Glenda Acland is referring to dealing with electronic records, "the threat of computer technology."[29] And she is mainly referring to the corporate situation, where the traditional archivist has only been on the sidelines. Records are becoming increasingly valuable in business mainly through their rising importance as legal evidence. According to Acland, the archival profession must strive to attain relevance to corporations, by rising to the challenges of electronic records. Since it is now apparent that computer technology is here to stay, other archival theorists have called upon archivists to take a more active role in the creation of automated information systems. Such admonitions run contrary to traditional approaches to archiving, but there are reasonable arguments for changing our methods to meet new circumstances. Would it not also be possible to further expand our conception of the archivist's role to include more active involvement in acquisition of traditional records as well?

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[26] Ibid., 30.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Glenda Acland, "Archivist: Keeper, Undertaker or Auditor," *Archives & Manuscripts* 19 (May 1992), 9.
[29] Ibid., 10.

Objectivity is impossible to achieve, but Booms has exhorted archivists to strive to limit the impact of their subjectivity as much as possible. He writes, "It goes without saying that the formation of a documentary heritage is a subjective and therefore socially conditioned process."[30] In order to achieve this he recommends development of documentation plans, developed cooperatively by a team, through which the documentary heritage is formed. According to Cox and Samuels, "the goal for archivists is clear – to improve their ability to identify and preserve a record of society."[31] One way of doing this is to forge partnerships with other organizations to identify records to be retained, and to devise plans for their acquisition and retention.

Cox and Samuels advocate the use of documentation strategy as a means by which archives can attempt to document society. This involves the creation of partnerships with others: "The documentation strategy is carried out through the mutual efforts of many institutions and individuals influencing both the creation of the records and the archival retention of a portion of them."[32] The value of this approach they attribute to various factors. Ideally there would be input from the various people and organizations involved in the creation of the records. Furthermore, this would facilitate involvement of archivists in establishment of automated information systems, which would mean that they could raise the issue of long-term retention at the start, so that provisions could be made for it well in advance. The interrelatedness of records becomes more apparent with a documentation strategy. Finally, it enables archivists to gain greater insight into uses for archival records.[33] The CASA proposal was developed along

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[30] Booms, 106.
[31] Cox and Samuels, 32.
[32] Ibid., 39.
[33] Ibid., 40.

these lines, drawing upon the perspectives of archivists, counselling professionals, and child abuse survivors. Together they identified an area where documentation was lacking, and devised a method by which this deficiency could be alleviated.

CASA could be said to go beyond the most vociferous exhortations to active acquisition since it mandates the creation of records specifically for inclusion in the archive. This is not to say that all the records it gathers would not have been created otherwise, as donors may decide to donate such records as personal journals documenting their therapy. However, other types of therapeutic writing may be created specifically for the purpose of archiving rather than for a specific counselling purpose or for documentation within an individual's own life. In a way, CASA is a conjunction of personal and institutional record creation. It is in keeping with the idea that archives should strive to document citizen-state interaction. It must be noted that not all archives have the goal of documenting citizen-state interaction since not all archives are government archives. However, archives are usually sponsored by a larger institution, which means that the goal of documenting citizen-state interactions can be adapted to suit, for example, religious or university archives by documenting their institutions' interactions with their clientele, users, or subjects of their activities.

Many archives already do this to some degree, such as university archives that canvass their alumni for records documenting their university experience. Some institution-citizen interactions are more likely than others to prompt individuals to create records, and the university is one of them. On the other hand, in keeping with the principle of *respect de fonds*, it would certainly make sense that archives acquire the

complete fonds of an individual, rather than select only the materials relevant to the individual's experiences with regard to the collecting archives' mandate.

So, in many cases it is impractical for archives to seek to acquire client-created records, either because the interaction is not likely to inspire personal recordkeeping in a significant number of individuals or, even if it does, to isolate these records for acquisition by subject-oriented archives would destroy the integrity of a personal fonds. University archives may be a popular choice for individuals' archival deposits because they are seen as pivotal to personal and professional development. It is not unusual for people to identify with their alma mater decades after they have left its hallowed halls. They are much less likely to feel such kinship for their financial institution or willingness to disclose more of their personal lives to them than is necessary. On the other hand, there are other institutions which do prompt or encourage significant amounts of such personal recordkeeping. Social work, dealing as it does with significant, life-shaping events, is one of them. As chapter two has shown, this has increased in recent times as the benefits of writing and recordkeeping have been recognized by the counselling professions.

While asserting that archivists play a necessary role in ensuring that both corporate and personal records are preserved as evidence of cultural identity, McKemmish notes that the approach taken in acquiring personal records may differ: "Although it is possible to draw parallels between the ways that archivists might analyse and explain personal and corporate recordkeeping, it is not so easy to identify a role for archivists in personal recordkeeping that parallels the role that they are taking on in developing and implementing postcustodial strategies for corporate recordkeeping."[34] One such way may be through the development of initiatives such as CASA, as it

[34] McKemmish, 40.

supports the creation and archiving of personal accounts to act as a counterpoint or a complement to the institutional records that currently serve as the dominant source of documentation of child abuse in society.

Naturally there are limitations to what CASA can achieve in documenting child abuse, and survivors' interactions with social institutions established to assist them in dealing with the fallout from their pasts. For one thing, the Archive seeks only to include those who sought therapy, so is not complete documentation of all survivors, only those who accessed counselling resources. Of this portion of child abuse survivors, the people most likely to contribute to CASA would probably be those who felt that they had benefited from therapy.

The mediated character of existing child abuse records is an obstacle to their use by historians and researchers. Though these records have proven useful, it is unfortunate that they lack the voice of the people who are the subject of them. CASA aims to complement traditional records by giving voice to survivors, but it would be folly to fail to recognize the influences that will shape the records it collects. Though CASA's accounts will be written by survivors, mediating factors will be at play with them as well. As stated before, the records gathered by CASA will be the products only of those child abuse survivors who sought to address the fallout from their abuse through the avenue of therapy. Thus, the record will have been shaped to some degree by the therapeutic process. This may be evidenced by the presence of counselling terminology or concepts in the records. Such records will reveal aspects of the survivor's response to therapy, as they will document the therapeutic experience from the client's perspective. Since the

archive expects to draw its donations primarily from social service agencies, it will not document the stories of survivors who do not traverse the route of professional therapy.

CASA records would also be mediated by the years and experiences intervening between the occurrence of the abuse in childhood, and the point during adulthood that the records are created. Thus, the records will not document the abuse from the child's perspective. Rather, they will be representations of the abuse and its implications based on the adult's memories and encounters in life. For this reason the accounts will be valuable in illustrating the long term effects of child abuse. Thus, mediating factors have the effect of rendering the records more suitable for some purposes than others. It is important, therefore, that the Archives ensure that users are provided with as much of the records' context as possible to enable them to make the most effective use possible of the records. The records will not only document child abuse and its legacy, but also a societal process of dealing with it.

Conventional notions of provenance generally hold that provenance rests with the direct creator of a record. Yet CASA seeks to deliberately obscure this information by removing identifiers from the records in its custody. The appraisal process, itself, is a mediating factor, but a crucial one as it will serve to authenticate, to a degree, the records maintained by CASA. Since identifiers will be removed, individuals submitting their stories would be at liberty to fabricate stories with little likelihood of being held accountable for them. This is not to say that false accounts are considered likely, but for the records to be considered accurate, authentic, and reliable (thus similar to their more conventional institutional counterparts), it is necessary that mechanisms exist to support the integrity of the records. The appraisal framework serves this purpose by ensuring that

the survivor's experiences have been verified through their therapy sessions. It is unfortunate that this verification process is necessary, since it is a further imposition by professional authorities of their opinions and classifications on the individual. An unfortunate corollary of this approach is that it implies that the records of those who do not embark on the route of professional therapy lack value, or are somehow less truthful. The CASA proposal states that RESOLVE will oversee the acquisition of survivors' stories diverted to CASA via "credible social service agencies."[35] Without the stamp of approval of a professional, survivor records will not be eligible for inclusion in CASA. The CASA appraisal process is meant to serve as assurance that the records are legitimate and worthy of research despite the fact that part of their provenance is obscured. This is important, as it was noted in one of the focus group sessions when the suggestion of one participant that an honorarium be given to donors was rejected by the other participants as inviting fabricated stories donated for financial gain. A further possibility would be the creation of accounts under the influence of false memory syndrome. The expertise of professionals is meant to preserve the integrity of the records by preventing false accounts, whether or not they are wilfully created, from being included in the Archive.

Furthermore, the requirement for anonymity, though necessary from a legal perspective, could be seen as a further instance of keeping abuse in the shadows by dissociating the experience from the individual, thus promoting the notion that it is something that the survivor should be ashamed of. Unfortunately, anonymity is a close relative of secrecy, which itself pervades child abuse. Does the anonymity that will be imposed on CASA's records reinforce the shame that many survivors struggle with? It is certainly not intended to. Rather, it is this very shadowing that will provide the security

[35] Sweeney et al, 9.

that will enable reticent survivors to record their stories. In requiring anonymity, CASA is merely responding to and working within the confines of present realities in its attempt to appeal to as many survivors as possible.

Accounts will be further mediated, to some degree, by the professionals since they are the ones determining what is acceptable for inclusion. Therefore, the appraisal panel will need to document appraisal decisions as completely as possible, perhaps including an outline of the time spent in therapy by the survivor. If the panel suggests that the contributor make any significant edits to his or her records, it is important for the panel to document the nature of these changes, and why they deemed them necessary. Finally, when the panel rejects proposed contributions, it ought to keep records of why this decision was reached. It would also be of benefit for the University of Manitoba archives to preserve the records of RESOLVE, to give researchers a fuller understanding of the context in which CASA was created.

Postmodern thought proposes that records have multiple meanings, and serve different purposes for different audiences. These meanings can evolve over time, and are affected not only by the archivists who ultimately have custody of them, but also by researchers and others who use them even after they have been archived, regardless of the fact that there is no physical alteration of the record.[36] Mediation is inescapable, some of it even coming from the archives themselves, according to Nesmith's definition of archives as:

> ...an ongoing mediation of understanding of records (and thus phenomena), or that aspect of record making which shapes this understanding through such functions as records appraisal, processing, and description, and the

[36] Cook, 2001, 26.

implementation of processes for making records accessible.[37]

How the record's provenance is communicated to the end user via archival arrangement and description is one of the ways that the archives will act as a mediating force on the record. Since the records are anonymous, how are they to be arranged and described? Clearly the user must be made aware of the context of creation and acquisition in the framework of CASA. This could be augmented by associating the CASA accounts with archival records of RESOLVE, which ought to be collected alongside them.

In the absence of unique identifiers in the shape of donors' identities, how are the accounts to be arranged and described? Initially this is unlikely to be of much concern since it is unlikely that the Archive will be inundated with a voluminous influx of donations. Thus, simply to arrange the accounts in accession order would perhaps be sufficient. However, as records accumulate, it may be necessary to group them in some way that would render them more easily accessible. Indexing the records would be a useful method to facilitate access based on various characteristics, such as form of abuse, or geographic location, for instance. This would be a more invasive type of mediation in that it would involve imposing classifications upon the records. However, the alternative of leaving the records unclassified could itself also be seen as a negative intervention by prohibiting access to the records by making use of them difficult and time-consuming. Regardless of what approach is taken, decisions about arrangement and description must be carefully considered, as they are areas in which the archivist influences understanding of records beyond the appraisal decisions.

Archivists have recognized that the creation of the historical record is not

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[37] Tom Nesmith, "Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the 'Ghosts' of Archival Theory." *Archivaria* 47 (Spring 1999), 145.

accidental. As Cook puts it, "since ancient times, those in power decided who was allowed to speak and who was forced into silence, both in public life and in archival records."[38] In chapter one, the impact of this privileging of the records of the powerful was illustrated in the frustrations faced by historians seeking to study marginalized groups and troubling subjects. What, then, is the role of archives in addressing this imbalance? Historical and cultural institutions form part of the group of societal mechanisms that serve to create our collective memory. Archives are not solely responsible for societal memory. Oral traditions, rituals, other institutions, monuments, all of these serve to create and promote collective memory. According to Foote, "Setting archives in such a broad context ... gives us a better understanding of how social pressures influence and shape the archival record."[39] Mythological representations play a role as well, being no longer confined only to oral tradition, thanks to Disney.

As well as preserving our cultural memory, archives may play an important symbolic role as a bridge to the past and the future. For many who have suffered and suppressed trauma endured as children, documenting it plays an important role in the healing process. Could it be that there is also therapeutic value in contributing these records to an archive, thereby knowing that their suffering and triumph over it will be preserved for posterity? Information gathered during the CASA focus group sessions alludes to this possibility, as one participant reflected that, "To give voice to the story of child sexual abuse is really important and it's an ongoing project. This is always going to be alive."[40] Perhaps there is therapeutic value in completing the transition from nursing a closely guarded secret, to knowing that one's story will survive and be available to future

[38] Cook, 1997, 18.
[39] Foote, 380.
[40] Sweeney et al, 23-24.

generations. Other service providers predicted that some survivors would be motivated to contribute by the belief that their story could then be used to help other child abuse survivors. On another level, inclusion of their story in the Archive might afford survivors feelings of acknowledgement and recognition: "Someone else cares, someone will listen ... someone is interested in their story."[41] Whether this affects the health of a survivor is an intriguing question that is worthy of further investigation.

Cook illustrates the adaptability of archival thinking to the changes that have occurred throughout the twentieth century. With a history of adapting it seems likely that the archival profession is well able to modify some of its current approaches in order to see all parts of society documented.[42] Ultimately, the impact of postmodernism, Cook says, is the recognition that "archival concepts are themselves not universal truths ... but, rather, are constantly evolving, ever mutating as they reflect changes in the nature of records, record-creating, recordkeeping systems, record users, and the wider cultural, legal, technological, social, and philosophical trends in society."[43] Concrete, universal truths can not be permanently established, rather as archivists we need to be prepared to adjust to our perpetually changing world.

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[41] Ibid., 23.
[42] Cook, 1997, 20.
[43] Cook, 2001, 29.

Conclusion

The majority of existing records relating to child abuse tend to be government or institutional records rather than personal records. Surviving documentation of child abuse usually has taken the form of records of the activities undertaken by governments and institutions to address the issue of family violence. The task of healing social ills in the twentieth century was taken up by professional social workers, who played a dominant role in shaping the documentary record of family violence. As designated government representatives, social workers held the upper hand in the relationship between the government, and the citizens who were deemed in need of its intervention. Although these records have been valuable for historians and researchers studying family violence, their major limitation is that the voice of victims of child abuse are difficult to discern in them.

Historians and archivists are not the only ones to have identified the power relationships inherent in interactions between individuals and social workers or counsellors whose task it is to assist them. Scholars in the counselling and social work professions have proposed means by which this inequity may be addressed, by including clients in the case recording process. A related trend that puts record creation in the hands of clients is the use of writing as a therapeutic tool. These developments dovetail with macroappraisal's aim of ensuring that both sides of citizen/state interactions are preserved in archival repositories.

In soliciting donations of records created by child abuse survivors, CASA draws upon this trend toward greater involvement of clients in social work and counselling case recording. If social work and counselling professionals are starting to promote the idea

that their clients' deserve the authority to create records, CASA reinforces this message by the fact that it considers their records worthy of preservation. While it has been demonstrated that the writing process has therapeutic benefits, further study is needed of whether further therapeutic benefits are derived from archiving these records. Does realization that their records are considered important enough to be retained for posterity serve as validation for people who have endured child abuse? Is it empowering for survivors to realize that by including their records in CASA, they are helping prevent others from suffering as they did? These intriguing questions suggest a vein of archival research that has yet to be mined.

Macroappraisal is a relatively new development on the archival scene, and many archivists are wrestling with how to apply its tenets in the real world. Although it was developed primarily with governmental archives in mind, the CASA proposal suggests a way that other types of archives can play a role in promoting more comprehensive preservation of the relationships between citizens and their government, or other societal institutions. CASA makes a foray into new archival territory with its reliance upon the appraisal framework as the source of the records' provenance, since contributors must remain anonymous.

CASA is a worthy initiative in that its creation aims to serve multiple, yet complementary roles of benefit both to individuals, and to society as a whole, present and future. It offers a forum for expression to people who are often compelled to keep silent, while it gathers together their stories for the benefit of researchers whose efforts, it is hoped, will result in a decline in the incidence of child abuse in the future. Furthermore, future historians will have a repository of first person accounts available to them. Since

CASA has not yet been implemented, how effectively it will function remains to be seen. Its success rests upon the degree to which child abuse survivors regard it as a viable means of expressing the stories.

There is nothing that can undo the wrongs inflicted on child abuse survivors. By giving survivors a venue in which to tell their stories, CASA, once it is established, hopes to perform a role in the healing process of individual child abuse survivors. This will result in a repository of information that can help society address the problems that cause child abuse. Thus, individual healing contributes to societal healing.

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